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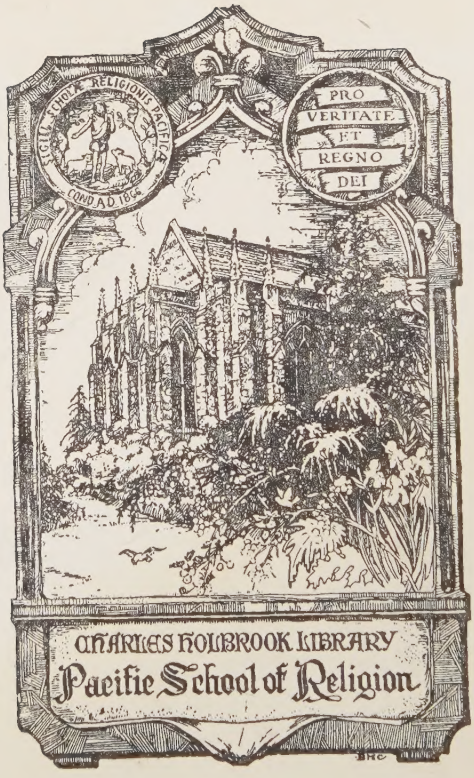
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LITURGICA HISTORICA

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK
TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY
HUMPHREY MILFORD
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

LITURGICA HISTORICA

PAPERS ON THE LITURGY
AND RELIGIOUS LIFE
OF THE WESTERN CHURCH

BY

EDMUND BISHOP

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1918

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PREFACE

THE papers contained in this volume were written in a period extending over the last thirty years. They may all, I think, be described as 'occasional'.

So far as those included in the first part ('Liturgica') are concerned, only one is really 'popular'—the first. The rest are more or less technical, though not perhaps always in the usual and proper technical form. In reprinting them I have reviewed and revised them all. To some new supplementary notes are added, running somehow in more than one case to a length almost equalling that of the original paper; and to all, or nearly all, additional foot-notes have been freely added. This new matter is printed in square brackets. A supplementary note which stood at the end of No. VII has been suppressed for reasons specified at p. 163. As regards No. X, *On the Origin of the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin*, there are reasons why it is altogether desirable to reprint it in the shape in which it originally appeared in 1886. And as it stands in this volume, the end of the supplementary note, pp. 250–9, is really the concluding part of the original paper itself. Had I to write such a paper now, and with present knowledge, it would be cast in a different shape. No. XV has been entirely rewritten and retains but a few shreds of the original preliminary notice in *Neues Archiv*.

Mgr Mercati has been kind enough to let me print here his paper *More 'Spanish Symptoms'* (No. VIII A), which first appeared in the *Journal of Theological Studies*.

It may be well to explain what is the object of, what is the connecting link between, the very miscellaneous-looking papers composing this first half of the volume.

The first paper indicates the conditions determining the develope-

ment of the Western Mass in the critical period, the seventh century to the tenth, in which the fusion of the two great types of religiousness, the Roman and the Hispano-Gallican, took place. The second is an illustration of the same subject, from an earlier to a much later period, from the point of view of one single material object, the Christian Altar.

Nos. III, IV, V, and XV are devoted to three points:—First, the precise fixation of the form and contents of the Gregorian Sacramentary, or Book of Mass and Sacraments, at the earliest stage of its history at which the full text of that book is presented to us in the extant manuscripts, namely, the time of Pope Hadrian I, in the closing decades of the eighth century. Secondly, an explanation of the process to which this book was subjected in France when it was officially adopted as the Sacramentary of the future by Charlemagne. Incidentally it is shewn that the author of the Supplement added in France to Hadrian's *Gregorianum* was Alcuin. Thirdly, the fixation of the text of the Gregorian Canon of the Roman Mass; by which I mean the text of the Canon as settled by Gregory the Great.

The full value and result of the precise fixation of these three definite points may not at once appear evident or be adequately realized. It will become clear, I have no hesitation in saying, in the course of time. It will be seen that it becomes possible, working backward into the earliest period of the use of the Gelasian book, as the then Book of the Mass and Sacraments of the Roman Church, to see how Gregory discarded earlier practices, now out of date and almost meaningless, and modernized the rite. On the other hand—and this is much more important, and may to some appear more attractive—it will be possible to appraise the religious implications of the Gregorian book and understand what is, I venture to think, an almost astounding as it is a unique survival and conservation of old and simple ideas in regard to some matters that most deeply touch the Christian life. We shall then also be able to appreciate more justly and truly the Gallican type of religious mind, by way indeed of contrast.

Paper VI and the following numbers are each devoted to an

examination of some particular liturgical item, to the best of my ability, according to the methods to-day accepted and applied to the investigation of documents. Those particular items were not specially selected, but were dealt with simply because some occurrent incident set me to work upon them. Nor, as will be seen from what is said above as to the Gregorian Sacramentary, were they the most important items: far from it; perhaps they may even count among insignificant ones. But it is the method that matters.

These papers of the first part, besides the fact of their technicality, were penned always with a sense that it needs wariness to take any step, whether forward or backward, in a region so obscure and so disputable as Early Liturgy, Eastern or Western. As said elsewhere, it is a region not merely full of pitfalls, but one where the paths are as sliddery and 'difficult' as the *via colubri super petram*. This at all events is an impression borne in upon me by the experience of a time that is now not far short of half a century. But (I would here repeat) half, perhaps the major part, of the difficulty lies in the ease with which theories and 'views' have been allowed to outstrip the accurate investigation, or knowledge, of facts.

The antiquarian papers forming the second part of the volume were all originally printed in the *Downside Review*. If these tiny vignettes do not of themselves commend themselves to the reader, I have nothing further to advance in their favour. They were included simply because I liked them, as having given me occasion to write in my own natural style.

Before bringing these introductory words to a close I should like in some way to associate this book with the names of three liturgists of the last century whom I hold in very particular respect: Ernst Ranke, who first taught me the criticism of liturgical documents; Theodor Kliefoth, from whom I learnt that for a full and real understanding of 'Liturgy' a lively interest in the forms and formulae of public worship in nothing less than the whole range of the communities that 'profess and call themselves Christians' is a necessity; finally, and before all, our fellow-countryman G. H. Forbes,

whose liturgical work, carried out in conditions of great difficulty in an obscure country place near Edinburgh, simple and modest as is its appearance, seems to me to rank in quality and value with the work of the three or four *sommités*—Cassander the pioneer, Bona, Tommasi, Mabillon. His *Gallican Liturgies* can never have been in the hands of many; and now, overlaid by the great productivity of a later generation of liturgiologists, seems to have become practically forgotten, lost. A new edition, with the text revised on the manuscripts, some modifications or corrections of a certain kind in both text and marginalia, and the addition of the *Missale Francorum*, would be, so I consider, the best contribution to the study and understanding of Liturgy since his death, and a veritable boon to a young generation of students growing up after the war, among whom may (it is to be hoped) be found some who perceive that the history of Christian worship, in its varieties and differing forms through the centuries, is at the least and lowest a subject of human interest not less worthy of attention than the ancient religions of Greece and Italy.

Mr K. Sisam of Oxford has most kindly read the proof-sheets, and helped me with many suggestions relating to those inaccuracies of style which either debase the expression or obscure the meaning: helped me also to make alterations in some of the later papers, which improve their form and bring some of the arguments into clearness and evidence.

And what shall I say of the Clarendon Press? What can I say but express the wish that the contents of this volume were better worth the liberality, zeal, determination and speed with which, in days of unexampled stress, the book has been carried through? For after all I must recognize that it is but a volume of scraps, with only this of unity that they are the product of the native sense of a single brain, occupied ever in the space of half a century with the problems of our early religious history as Western Christians. And so at the age of threescore years and beyond, thus gathering together these fragments *ne pereant*, I commit the volume to the judgement and I would fain hope the indulgence also of my readers. And if any of

them should find use or profit in the perusal of anything contained in this volume, their thanks are due to Dom Hugh Connolly, without whose help this collection of papers would certainly never have reached the printer's hands.

EDMUND BISHOP.

CABURN, PARK LANE,
BARNSTAPLE.

Mr Edmund Bishop died on February 19, 1917, leaving still unfinished the proof-sheets of this book, to which he gave the last of his strength. By his wish we have undertaken the final revision; and as most of the papers in their present form differ from the original prints, sometimes substantially, sometimes in details of word or phrase, it seems necessary to assure the reader that these changes are due to the author himself. Mr Bishop had carefully revised all the slip proofs; and, still more minutely, the sheets of the first twelve papers. He had long since delegated to Dom Connolly the verification of references and quotations, and the compilation of the indexes. There remained only the minutiae of proof correction; so that the volume appears in the form which the author had chosen as final.

R. H. C.
K. S.

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PART I: LITURGICAL

I

THE GENIUS OF THE ROMAN RITE[1]

IT is with much diffidence that I venture to address any assembly on the subject of this paper, or, indeed, discuss the Liturgy at all. On questions connected with the origin, the relations, the extension, or the history of the Roman rite, much has indeed been said and learnedly written any time during this last fifty or sixty years; much has been disputed with regard to it within certain circles, and hotly disputed too. Yet, after all, as the result of so much labour and zeal it cannot be said, I think, that much real knowledge of the subject exists. By '*real knowledge*' I mean knowledge of such a kind as can be grasped by the educated man who is no specialist, but who, regarding the Roman Liturgy as a factor, and no inconsiderable factor, in the religious history of the past, desires to possess some common notions as to its character, compared with other rites that have existed in the Christian world; and would wish to know why, whilst they have been discarded, it has become so widely spread and is now universal throughout the West. Learned volume accumulates on learned volume, theory is elaborated after theory, and yet the remark which has been reported to me of an eminent historical writer, accustomed to all the niceties of critical enquiry, has only too much justification. 'In the course of my studies of the early middle ages', he said, 'I have not infrequently had need to obtain information on liturgical subjects in order to understand the general history. I turn to the most authorized books on the subject, and I confess I cannot understand them, or bring what they say into accord with the results obtained by the accepted modern methods of investigation.'

I am afraid I may have already managed to possess my hearers with a somewhat unfavourable opinion in regard, generally, to the subject of this essay. I should be sorry to do so, for it is really a subject of deep interest, and one which it is desirable that, as Catholics, we should be able to understand. And my belief is that

[1] A paper read at the meeting of the Historical Research Society at Archbishop's House, Westminster, on May 8, 1899, and first printed in the *Weekly Register*, May 1899 (three articles).

the history of our sacred rites should be matter quite capable of rational and simple exposition.

But our subject this evening is a much narrower one. It will be well, first of all, to understand precisely what is meant by the title of this essay: 'The Genius of the Roman Rite.' Some one a very long time ago described Genius as 'Son of the Gods and Father of Men'. It is thus we speak of the Genius of a people—the French or the English, the German or the Italian; a something intangible and indefinable, it is true, but a permanent reality that we can quite well apprehend; a characteristic and distinguishing spirit that manifests itself in all that that people says and does, in its history and its literature; determining the character of both, and affecting the general character even of its thought.

An enquiry into the genius of the Roman rite is therefore an endeavour to get at, and to recognize, the particular, the native spirit animating and penetrating that rite, which differentiates it from others, Gallican or Gothic, Greek or Oriental. If we can, as I say, get at this and bring it into clear recognition, it is reasonable to anticipate that a great step will have been taken towards understanding how it has come about that this rite has so far recommended itself as to supersede all others in Western Christendom. I say 'all others', viewing the Ambrosian rite as really Roman at bottom. Of course, to some minds, the idea of a simple fiat of authority is sufficient explanation for any or all such change. But, as a fact, it is not commonly so that great changes do come about in this world. When the case is looked closely into, it is generally found that sound reason and rational method, after all, play the great part in human revolutions.

Our first business is to turn not to remains of antiquity, accessible for the most part to the learned only, but to the authorized and official Roman service books in current use, with which we are all familiar; and especially to the missal, the missal being the most important of them all. Perusing the masses for the ecclesiastical year in the Roman missal, or the votive masses, the attentive reader who has no theories on the Liturgy, who will divest himself of book learning on the subject and be content to note and observe just what is obviously there, cannot fail to perceive how different in character, style, and feeling are many of the prayers of the missal. Here is an example which I hope will bring home what I mean; it is in no way an extreme case, and I choose it for that very reason. The prayers taken for comparison are the collect, secret, and post-communion (1) for All Souls Day, (2) those prescribed for the Living and the Dead to be said in the third place on Ash Wednesday and during Lent.

1. *Collect.*—O God, the Creator and Redeemer of all the faithful,

grant to the souls of Thy servants departed the remission of all their sins, that through pious supplications they may obtain the pardon which they have always desired.

Secret.—Mercifully look down, O Lord, we beseech Thee, upon this Sacrifice which we offer to Thee for the souls of Thy servants; that to those to whom Thou didst grant the merit of Christian faith, Thou mayest also grant its reward.

Post-Communion.—We beseech Thee, O Lord, that the prayer of Thy suppliants may benefit the souls of Thy servants; that Thou mayest deliver them from all their sins, and make them partakers of Thy redemption.

The following are the corresponding prayers 'for the Living and the Dead', prescribed to be said throughout Lent.

2. *Collect.*—O Almighty and Eternal God, who hast dominion over the living and the dead, and art merciful to all whom Thou foreknowest shall be Thine by faith and good works; we humbly beseech Thee that they for whom we have determined to offer up our prayers, whether the present world still detains them in the flesh, or the future hath already received them out of the body, may, by the intercession of all Thy saints, and the clemency of Thy pity, obtain the pardon of all their sins.

Secret.—O God, who alone knowest the number of the elect who are to be placed in supernal felicity, grant, we beseech Thee, that, by the intercession of all Thy Saints, the names of all those who have been commended to our prayers, and of all the faithful, may be kept in that book of blessed predestination.

Post-Communion.—May the mysteries which we have received purify us, we beseech Thee, O Almighty and Merciful God, and by the intercession of all Thy Saints, grant that this Thy sacrament may not be made unto us a means of condemnation, but of pardon and salvation; may it be the washing away of sins; the strength of the weak; protection against all the dangers of the world; and the remission of all the sins of the faithful, living and dead.

It suffices, I think, only to listen to the reading of these prayers to perceive how different are the two sets in spirit, in feeling, and in the run of ideas. In the one set the ideas are as simple and elementary as the expression is pregnant and precise: they are plain matter of fact, without imagination at all. In the second set we are in a different region—in one aspect vague and figurative, as with the 'book of blessed predestination'; in another, in the midst of theological ideas, the fruit of Christian reflection and speculation—with 'the number of the elect' and 'those whom Thou foreknowest shall be Thine by faith and good works'. Again, the plain designation, 'the souls of Thy

servants departed', becomes in the second set, 'those whom the future world hath already received out of the body'. Once more the simple petition for the forgiveness of sins and the partaking of the redemption becomes in the second set of prayers quite a litany.

I am not now saying 'this is Roman' or 'that is not Roman'; I am not even saying that these two sets of prayers could not have been written by one and the same man. But I do say that in that case his mood, and sense, and feeling, issuing in his style, must have been very different on the two occasions; and that there is a difference as great and as perceptible, as between the style of Addison and the style of Macaulay.

But when, on going further and endeavouring to trace back the history of the prayers just read, up to the earliest point at which I have any knowledge of them, I find that the one set comes from a book that is certainly, though not in every detail of its contents, Roman, and that the other set comes from a quarter that is not Roman, but may conveniently be called Gallican, a new aspect is given to the whole question, and I begin to see possibilities of historical investigation.

It has been said that one reason for choosing the foregoing example taken from within the covers of the Roman missal is that the contrast is not extreme. To illustrate, however, the differing 'genius' of liturgical rites, I take a second example and compare a preface of the Roman rite, and the corresponding preface from the Spanish Gothic rite commonly called the Mozarabic.

Here is that marvellous preface for Pentecost in the Roman missal:

'It is truly meet and just, right and salutary, that we should always, and in all places, give thanks to Thee, O Holy Lord, Father Almighty, Eternal God, through Jesus Christ our Lord; Who ascending above all heavens, and sitting at Thy right hand, poured forth the promised Holy Ghost this day upon the children of adoption. Wherefore with joy that knows no bounds the whole universe[1] exults; the Powers, too, above and the Angelic Hosts together hymn Thy glory, saying evermore: Holy, Holy, Holy.'

It strikes one immediately as characteristic that, whilst in its preface for Pentecost our Roman rite takes only some eight lines to commemorate that great mystery, the Gothic preface takes some eighty lines. It would be impossible and wearisome to translate the whole; but I give the beginning and the end as shewing the contrast with the Roman formula:

'It is meet and right, O God Almighty, to acknowledge, as far as

[1] *Totus in orbe terrarum mundus.* The prayers in which the Roman genius expresses itself are truly hard to render; there have been in the past samples of excellence in that line, and yet to the fastidious ear and sense, even these, in all their old world beauty, are not satisfying after all.

man can do, Thy gracious benefit, and ever in yearly round to celebrate the gift of eternal salvation granted this day. For who shall keep silent on the advent of Thy Holy Spirit, since through Thy Apostles every tongue of the barbarians finds voice? But who can sufficiently tell the illapse of that fire on this day?'

The preface then goes on by slow meander to reach and to develop the theme that the preservation of the unity of the faith is not prejudiced by the variety of languages spoken by the faithful. It proceeds, by and by, to touch on mystic meanings involved in the seven weeks or fifty days of Eastertide; and comes round at length again to the idea of the unity of the faith in the diversity of the nations. The preface closes thus: 'O flame that in burning confers fruitfulness, whom every intellectual creature, vivified by it, confesses to be the Lord Omnipotent; participating in whose fire in more abundant measure the Cherubim and Seraphim, magnifying the equality of the Holiness Divine and the Omnipotence of the Trinity, never resting and never wearying in their office, amidst the song of choirs of the celestial host, of crying aloud with everlasting jubilation, adore and glorify, saying: Holy, Holy, Holy.'

Prefaces, even those for the greatest mysteries of religion, worked out into trifling considerations, are no rare exception in these early Gallican and Spanish books. Read in the student's closet or the library, these books are of the deepest interest; they contain also prayers of great beauty; but when regarded as living rites, as giving the prayers actually said and sung in public, they not only proclaim themselves as the productions of a late, and sometimes of a barbarous age, but they evince a tone of mind, and are the product of a spirit alien to that which we have now become accustomed to regard as most befitting the Divine worship, tutored as we have so long been in the sobriety of Roman forms. Many fine things have been said of these books, and much sentiment has been expended on them, but they could not stand the test—a simple one—of a full translation into English.

Features that are most characteristic of them are not, indeed, wholly wanting in the Roman missal, as, for instance, in the third prayer for the blessing of the palms on Palm Sunday, which begins much like an ordinary collect, and then breaks forth into an expository instruction on the mystical meaning of the ceremony. 'The branches of palms, then, signify His triumph', &c.;—an exposition quite in place in an address to the people, but surely not so, according to our now common notions, in a prayer addressed to God; yet the style here adopted is perfectly consonant with what is found in the prefaces of the early Gallican and Spanish missals.

We are, of course, now accustomed to a printed Roman missal, and

to regard this stereotyped book, through practice, as a homogeneous whole. If we had nothing but the test of differences of style, it would be impossible to get beyond speculation as to the possibly diverse elements of which the missal may be composed. As experience shews, scientific discussions on such a basis have no end, simply because no external criterion can be brought to bear on the subject. They are commonly, therefore, best given over altogether. Fortunately, however, in the present case such a criterion is available. We are able to decompose the present Roman missal, refer it to its sources, and recognize out of what elements or documents it is made up. The question, therefore, is no longer matter of arbitrary speculation, but of investigation into matter of fact. On this point, even so late as five years ago, I could not have spoken with full confidence. Since then I have seen, I think, every manuscript of real importance for the history of the missal at the critical period, and know now what precisely are the limits, or the contents, of the two documents, or volumes, of which our present missal was made up, and know also in a general but, I think, sufficient way what was the gradual course of the fusion of these two documents. One of them may be taken as genuinely Roman, without foreign admixture; the other, though the substratum, indeed the bulk of it, is Roman, has been considerably modified by Gallican hands. In the course of the fusion several other non-Roman items have been introduced. This process was going on during the whole of the ninth century in France and Germany. As to the date at which the book thus brought together was received and adopted by the Roman Church, we are altogether in the dark; but the Roman missal of the present day is unimpeachable evidence that it is a composite work; whilst the evidence is equally clear that its compilation did not take place in Rome, and that Rome only adopted it ready made.

It has become possible, therefore, out of the whole complex or amalgam, to get at, and separate out, the genuine Roman elements; and it is evident that through these latter only is it possible to realize what is the special contribution made by the Roman genius to the Liturgy of the Western Church. This can best be seen by some particular example; and to give such an example must be the next stage of our enquiry.

As the most convenient one, we may take what we are all familiar with, viz. the text of the mass as it now stands in the Roman missal; and, disembarrassing it of foreign elements, put ourselves in a position to consider the pure Roman product. These foreign elements may be called to a large extent French, and, for the most part, made their appearance in the Roman mass only in the later middle ages.

1. The *Asperges*, the psalm *Iudica* with the following versicles, in fact everything said up to, and including, the prayers said by the priest when he ascends to the altar, are all non-Roman and of comparatively late introduction.

2. The *Kyrie eleison* was introduced at a much earlier period, viz. the second half of the fifth century. It was imported from the East; it was not a native Roman element of the mass.

3. The same may be said of the *Gloria in excelsis*; and of the *Credo*; the former may have been introduced into the Roman mass in the sixth, the second in the eleventh century.

4. The whole of the prayers accompanying the acts of the offertory and the censing of the altar, the psalm at the *lavabo*, and the *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, are all of late mediaeval introduction, and they again are borrowed from what may be conveniently called French use.

5. The early history of the *Agnus Dei* is obscure, nor is it quite clear whether it was actually in use in Rome before the latter part of the seventh century or not.[1]

6. The three prayers said before the communion, and all that follows the collect called the 'post-communion' (except the *Ite missa est*), are again late, and all borrowed.

The purely Roman elements of our mass remain as follows:

1. The Collect.
2. The Epistle.
3. The Blessing before the Gospel.
4. The Gospel.
5. The *Orate Fratres* and the collect, called the 'secret', and all that follows up to the *Pax Domini* (viz. the Preface, Canon, Lord's Prayer, and the short prayer immediately following).
6. The collect called the 'post-communion'.
7. The *Ite missa est.*

In addition to this, account is to be taken of four items of chant, viz. the Introit, Gradual, Offertory, and Communion. These, it is true, are not Roman in the sense that they originated in Rome and spread from thence elsewhere. They were adopted in Rome, speaking generally, as soon as they made their appearance and began fairly to spread.

Nothing, then, can possibly be more simple than the composition (mind, I am not now speaking of ceremonies) of the early Roman mass, say about the middle of the fifth century. The singing of a psalm, the 'introit', by the choir at the beginning, on the entry of the clergy; a prayer or collect said by the celebrant; followed by readings from

[1] [As to Pope Sergius and the *Agnus Dei*, see the paper *The Litany of Saints in the Stowe Missal*, No. VII below.]

the Bible, separated by a psalm sung by the choir which we call the 'gradual'. After the collection of the offerings of bread and wine from the people, during which the choir sing another psalm—our 'offertory'—the celebrant reads a second collect having reference to the offered gifts, which collect we call the 'secret'. Next comes, as an introduction to the great action of the sacrifice, what we call the 'preface', said by the celebrant, and followed by a solemn choral song of praise to God, the *Sanctus*. Then follows the great act of sacrifice itself embodying the consecration, viz. the prayer called the Canon. As a preparation for the communion of the priest and people, the celebrant says the Lord's Prayer, adding a few words which are, as it were, the echo of that holy prayer, our *Libera nos, quaesumus*. Then comes the communion of the people, during which a psalm is sung by the choir, which we call the 'communion'. Finally the celebrant says a third collect, our 'post-communion', and the assembly is dismissed.

It is to be observed that these collects are extremely short; three or four lines, as we have them in our missal to-day.

What can be more simple? It is the mass reduced to its least possible expression. There is not a single element that is not essential —unless, indeed, it were contended that the readings from the Bible, and the preface and *Sanctus*, together with the singing of psalms at the entry of the clergy, before the gospel, and during the acts of collecting the offerings and the communion, are superfluous.

Turning now from the parts or items of which the native Roman mass is composed to the ceremonial accompanying them, we shall find this same character of simplicity confirmed. The documents to which we have to trust for information on this matter do not in their present shape go back further than the close of the eighth century, and they not infrequently differ in points of detail; but they certainly embody customs observed some two or three centuries before. Their late date does not affect the utility of these ceremonials, or *Ordos* as they are called, for this reason: even supposing they were actually drawn up in the eighth century, of one thing we may be certain, viz. that they do not give us the simplification of a more elaborate ceremonial in use at an earlier date, but, so far as changes have been made, they would represent if anything the elaboration of something once even more simple. But I, for one, have little doubt that, with the deduction of a detail here or there (for which deduction a specific reason could be given), we possess in these ordos, substantially, the ceremonial of the Roman mass of the sixth, or even fifth, century.

To represent this ceremonial to the mind's eye is, perhaps, to-day no such easy matter, now that long habit has accustomed us to much that we view as a natural accompaniment of the service. For instance,

we do not realize at once how much of novel and imposing ceremonial is involved in the addition, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, of the single act of the elevation of the Host and Chalice, with its accompanying lights and torches, censings, bell-ringings, and genuflexions. Next, all ideas of censing the altar, the elements for the sacrifice, or persons, are alien to the native Roman rite, and have been introduced into it from elsewhere in the course of centuries. In trying to figure to ourselves the true and unadulterated Roman ceremonial of the mass,[1] we must conceive ritual pomp as confined to two moments: first, the entry of the celebrant into the church and up to the altar; secondly, in connexion with the singing of the gospel. We have only an account of a great feast day and of a papal, or, what was the same thing, an episcopal mass; but the general character and proportion of the ceremonial is not thereby seriously affected, as in those days the determinant was not so much the dignity of the celebrant as the dignity of the service.

The procession of the celebrant and his ministers to the altar on great feasts must have been highly imposing with its seven acolytes bearing torches, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, one of whom carried a fuming censer; all in the procession, from the Pope himself down to the acolytes, being vested in what the Romans called *planetae*, and we, chasubles.

The choir of singers was already stationed in the presbyterium ranged in two groups, one on either side of the sanctuary in front of the altar. On their beginning the introit the procession enters the church. Advancing up the presbytery the seven acolytes range themselves four on one side and three on the other, to allow the procession to pass up through their midst; further on the sub-deacons do the same. The celebrant arriving at the foot of the altar bends low, then, standing erect, prays to himself for a short space, gives the kiss of peace to his attendant ministers, and prays again a short space during the conclusion of the introit.[2] Meantime the deacons go up the steps of the altar two and two, and kiss the ends of the altar on either side, returning to the celebrant, who now ascends the altar steps, kisses the gospel book lying upon the altar, and afterwards the altar itself. Then he goes to his seat.

Saluting the people with *Pax vobis* (or, if the celebrant were a priest, probably *Dominus vobiscum*) and *Oremus*, he says the collect and then sits down to listen to the epistle, as do all the attendant ministers

[1] In the following brief sketch certain purely ritual (as distinct from ceremonial) acts, like the offering of the gifts by the celebrant, the fraction, the commixtion, &c., which are not of a character to strike the onlooker, are passed over in silence.

[2] The gradual addition of the chant of the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Agnus Dei*, and *Credo*, from the fifth to the eleventh century, did not affect the ceremonial of the mass.

except the sub-deacons, who stand on either side of the altar. A sub-deacon goes to an ambo or pulpit unaccompanied, and without any sort of ceremonial reads the epistle. The ensuing ceremonies connected with the reading of the gospel, with the attendant lights and censing of the book, are somewhat elaborate and indeed much the same as now, except that the gospel was sung (as it is in some places still sung) from a pulpit. At the close of the gospel, the book was kissed by all within the sanctuary.

It may be said that with this the ceremonial parts of the old Roman mass are over, just as the sacrifice is about to begin. The first act in it is what our rubrics call unfolding of the corporal. I fear I should shock my readers were I to use the expression of our common parlance, 'spreading the table-cloth'; and yet this is the term which exactly corresponds to what is prescribed in the earliest extant Roman rubrics. In those days a corporal was a cloth large enough to cover the altar. An acolyte stands holding the chalice with the corporal laid upon it; he hands the corporal to a deacon, who, with another deacon, mounts to the altar, one standing at either end; the deacon begins to unfold the corporal, throws one end of it to the other deacon, and so they spread it out over the altar; just what may be seen done any day in the laying of a table-cloth. I have been particular in noting and describing this act in plain terms for a reason. 'How homely!' some one may be tempted to exclaim. Now what is called 'homeliness', of any kind, is the very last quality I should be disposed to predicate of the true Roman rite. The true Roman cannot forget his dignity. The thing had to be done, and it was done in a plain and simple but the most practical manner. It is all only and simply practical. There are rites and times we know of that would have encompassed the act with symbolism and shrouded it in mystery. Mystery never flourished in the clear Roman atmosphere, and symbolism was no product of the Roman religious mind. Christian symbolism is not of pure Roman birth, nor a native product of the Roman spirit.

The celebrant now goes down to collect the offerings of bread and wine from the people, or, at least, from some, the most notable of them, whilst the psalm we call the 'offertory' is being sung. There are careful and somewhat lengthy directions as to the mode in which these offerings are to be collected. It is of importance, however, to observe that these directions are not ceremonial, but, just like the direction to unfold the corporal, simply practical, purely practical, to prevent blundering and to ensure, if possible, some measure of good order.

After receiving the offerings, the celebrant returns to his seat and

washes his hands, whilst the deacons prepare the bread and wine on the altar. When all is ready, the celebrant comes from his seat to the altar, stands in front of it, kisses it, and says the collect called the 'secret'. Meantime, the various ministers, priests, and deacons range themselves behind him, one and all with head deeply bowed, whilst the sub-deacons go behind the altar and stand erect, facing the celebrant, to answer him when he says *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* at the end of the secret, and the *Sursum corda*, and the *Gratias agamus*. The singing of the *Sanctus* now beginning, the sub-deacons bend low and the celebrant also. When the singing of the *Sanctus* is finished, the celebrant raises himself, and, alone in the assembly standing erect, whilst all others remain with head bowed, he begins the Canon in the midst of profound silence.[1]

There is nothing to break this silence until he raises his voice to say *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, when the sub-deacons stand erect. At the words *Per quem haec omnia*, the principal deacon lifts up the chalice from the altar, to enable the celebrant to touch the side of the chalice with the Sacred Host at the words *Per ipsum et cum ipso*, the doxology with which the Canon concludes.

There may be doubts as to the position of the kiss of peace in the early Roman mass owing to the transfer made by St Gregory of the *Pater noster* to its present position. But in view of the terms used by St Innocent I, it would seem more probable that the Pax was given at this point, immediately at the close of the Canon. The kiss of peace is given by the celebrant to the most dignified among the clergy, is passed on to the rest, and then to the people. Meanwhile the celebrant returns to his chair to say, as a preparation for the communion, the Lord's Prayer and a short prayer, at the least equivalent to the *Libera nos quaesumus* of our present missal.

The altar is now cleared by the ministers of the chalice and consecrated Hosts. The directions for the breaking of the Hosts, preparatory to the communion, are again minute and careful, as at the offertory; here too, however, there is nothing purely ceremonial. But the impression produced by the general communion of all the ministering clergy in the sanctuary must have been, in the highest degree, solemn and imposing. Next follows the communion of the people, during which the psalm, which we call the 'communion', was sung. This finished, the celebrant went to the altar and said the collect,

[1] [It seems to me doubtful if this practice of the silent recital of the Canon (for which see Appendix to *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, Cambridge *Texts and Studies* viii 1, pp. 121–126) can date, in Rome, earlier than the seventh century, and if it be not a Byzantine reform. But, in any case, we are at present in a position to do no more than offer opinions, or suggestions, on the subject.]

now called the 'post-communion'. A deacon sang *Ite missa est*; the people answered *Deo gratias*, and the procession of the clergy returned to the sacristy.

I know that many later writers have found defects and deficiencies in the simple order of the Roman mass, as given in the earliest extant books, have detected a *hiatus* here, and a gap there, which has been supplied by the analogy of other rites or later practice.[1] These I have disregarded, on the ground that the original sources, taken as they stand, give a perfectly reasonable and sufficient account without these extraneous and conjectural helps; they present, perhaps, not much more than the *essentials* of a mass, but still *all* the essentials.

Turning, however, from the mass in particular to the Roman rite at large as now practised, it will be found, if the matter be looked into, that the same rule holds good, viz. that the element which can be identified as Roman is simple, and that the elaboration is a foreign graft on that plain original stock; for instance, the rites of Palm Sunday, or the Reproaches of Good Friday, or the elaborate ceremonial now attending the dedication of a church, or ordinations, or the consecration of a bishop.

In fact, I think it would not be untrue to say that what is considered most picturesque, or attractive, or devout, or affective—in a word, what is most 'interesting', as the saying is, in the services of our religion, just those things indeed which in the popular mind are considered distinctive of 'Romanism', and which go to make up, in the main, what some people call the 'sensuousness of the Roman Catholic ritual', form precisely that element in it which is not originally Roman at all, but has been gradually borrowed, imported, adopted, in the course of ages. Of course it would take a very long time to make a full survey and give historical evidence in each particular case. But I think that the general position is unassailable, viz. that the genius of the native Roman rite is marked by simplicity, practicality, a great sobriety and self-control, gravity and dignity; but there it stops. And for a rite truly Roman this is just what we might expect. We must not separate in idea the Roman of pre-Christian days and the Roman under the Christian dispensation; at bottom in his instincts, in his powers, in his limitations, he is the same. It has been justly said that the Roman possessed the receptive but not the creative imagination; or, as Newman has it, in a blunt way, 'Rome, except in the case of some great Popes, has never shown

[1] I may say, in passing, that there seems a fairly good presumption that the prayer called *Super sindonem*, still to be found in the Ambrosian missal, may have formed an item of the early Roman mass; but I do not think this can be said of any other suggested additional item.

any great gift of origination.' As we view the character of the Roman as he has revealed himself in the course of his long history, we feel that it was not in *his* soul that arose the idea of sackcloth and ashes, and the priests, the Lord's ministers, weeping between the porch and the altar; or even the loud Hosannas to the Son of David, who came meek, sitting on an ass, the people casting their garments in the way. But it is precisely in this simplicity, this practicality, this gravity, this absence of poetry, of that quality which we describe by the word 'interesting', and of what our friends call 'sensuousness', that lies the value and the importance of the native Roman rite for the history of public worship in western Europe.

This paper may be fittingly closed by a rapid review of that history as illustrating the importance and also the limitations of the *rôle* played by the Roman genius therein.

It is commonly said that the main difference between the mass, or rather the mass books, of the East and of the West lies in this, that whilst the former supply an unvarying form to be said by the priest from year's end to year's end, the mass in the West varies from day to day according to the ecclesiastical season and the feast. It is obvious that this variety, which prevails not in the Roman only, but in all the various rites that have been in use in the West, could not have come into existence until the ecclesiastical year was in some measure formed or developed. This did not take place until the second half of the fourth century.

We thus obtain a *terminus a quo* for dating the contents, so far as they are variable, of all extant missals, Roman, Gothic, Gallican, Ambrosian. Notices of the composition of masses and mass books in the fifth century are not uncommon. Nothing, to my mind, can be more unsatisfactory than the attempts that have been made to fix the dates of prayers by means of allusions supposed to be contained in them to current events; and we must be content to be ignorant, though if people *will* want to date things, it may be safe to say that the larger bulk of the liturgical formulae to be found in the earliest Roman and Gallican mass books probably comes from the fifth or sixth century; some few may date from the fourth; though which these are can be no more than a matter of uncertain conjecture.

Starting from the earliest extant manuscript missals, which are of the seventh and eighth centuries, two propositions may be laid down that admit of no denial:

1. That there is no possibility of mistaking a Gallican or Gothic for a Roman book, and *vice versa*; and that, not for any recondite reason that may appeal only to the professed scholar, not for any ritual peculiarity on which the rubrician would be called in to decide, but

for a reason plain on the face of the books themselves—viz. a style, a run of thought, and a mode of expression, so clearly different as to declare the two things to be the product of the mind, spirit, and genius of two different peoples.

2. That the Roman character comes out nowhere more clearly, more purely, than in the missal which alone we certainly know to have been in actual use in Rome at the very close of the eighth century—the missal which is commonly called 'Gregorian', from St Gregory the Great. There are, therefore, perfectly good grounds for saying that, up to this date, the rite of native Roman growth had preserved itself in Rome with very little of foreign admixture. But even so, the Roman mass contained in this book bears, as I believe, marks of Constantinopolitan influence. The adoption of the *Kyrie* from the East has been already mentioned. Pope Gregory the Great, who before his elevation to the papacy had been the representative of the Pope and the Roman Church in the imperial city of Constantinople, was accused by some zealous persons of tampering with the Roman liturgy, in the intent to approximate to Greek practice. St Gregory ably excuses himself, but he does not say the charge is untrue and baseless; and there was, as I read the facts, warrant for the charge. The litanies which he introduced into Rome, and to which he gave such prominence, the sedulous deprecations for mercy, mercy, mercy, were, like that great element of the early litany, the *Kyrie*, an importation into Rome from abroad. The litany is no item of Roman manufacture. But Gregory—if one of those great Roman Pontiffs endowed, as Newman says, with the gift of origination—was also a *Roman*, heart and soul, through and through; and it is not from Gregory, or in a book bearing his name, that we can expect such alterations as might tend to obliterate or would obscure the essentially Roman characteristics of the mass book of his Church as a product of the Roman genius, in all its clearness, and simplicity, and precision, and order, and practical sense, but also in what may be called the severity of its lines, and its freedom from all that can be called sentiment and effusiveness, or imagination, or mystery.

Turning to France, its mass books, as we have them, are in no wise such pure product of the Gallic mind and sentiment. They are full of fragments or entire prayers copied outright from Roman books—not indeed the mass book then in use in Rome, but an earlier one which the Gregorian had displaced. This discarded Roman book, enriched with additions from Gallican sources according to individual fancy and discretion, was also, in widely spread regions, adopted bodily in the Frankish kingdom.

The state of things in France, so far as mass and missal are con-

cerned, at the accession of Charles the Great in 769, may be summed up in two words: liturgical anarchy.

If by descent and blood a Frank, Charles was in soul and spirit a Roman; an autocrat indeed, but a man for whom autocracy meant not the unbridled will of the ruler, but law and order and enlightened administration in the real interests and for the true welfare of the whole body politic. We have all heard of the monarch once designated as 'Mon frère le sacristain'. Charles the Great was tenfold more 'the sacristan' than Joseph the Second. He made wars; he made laws; he made himself Roman Emperor; he loved letters; but he enjoyed his ecclesiastical administration and Church business of all sorts, in every detail, ritual and other. Never was he more pleased with himself than when presiding in his own chapel and setting everybody to rights. To a mind like his the liturgical anarchy prevailing in his kingdom was intolerable; and, with his interests, the subject was sure, by and by, to engage his attention. When that time came, common sense dictated the measures most proper to put an end to the existing condition of affairs. The remedy was to be sought from without. The cardinal point of the policy of his house was close union with Rome; at Rome he had found in use a thoroughly sensible, well-ordered mass book—the Gregorian. This he adopted as the book which in future was to be brought into use throughout the length and breadth of his dominions. On this point there must be no question or parley. But he had also the ruler's instinct, and enough perhaps of the Frankish spirit to recognize that to many, perhaps, this pure Roman book must seem to be dry and jejune, or prove in practice a curb, too hard to be borne, on natures more florid, or more sensitive, or more rich. As a practical statesman he forthwith caused this Gregorian mass book to be accordingly enriched with a supplement of additions selected from the liturgical books already in use in France.

This was only a beginning of changes. During the ninnth cetury the study of sacred rites, and especially of the Roman liturgy, became in France quite a fashionable pursuit; not only Charles the Great, but his son also, the Emperor Lewis the Pious, and again Lewis's son, the Emperor Charles the Bald, shewed themselves greatly interested in this branch of sacred science. The ninth century evidenced, no less than later phases of the history of liturgy, how loud and strenuous advocacy on the part of individuals of strict Roman observance could be found a singularly convenient means for pressing on others, under cover of the august Roman name, private preferences; and it is no wonder if, at the close of the century, the Roman mass book, in the hands of its Frankish admirers, assumed a form and

embodied rites which Pope Hadrian, who sent it to Charles the Great, would not have recognized as his own.

Rome itself seems to have taken the least possible interest in all that was going on; and ended in accepting from the hands of the stranger, in place of the old *Gregorianum*, the mass book thus compiled in France. There is no evidence whatever to shew when this change took place in Rome; nor do I know of any indication even, except such as may be involved in this one fact, that so late as the last quarter of the ninth century, the Gregorian mass book, sent from Rome to Charles the Great, was to be found in use in northern Italy, pure and free from Charles's addition.

The history of the liturgy during the later middle ages is simply and merely a history of an attempt (and a successful attempt) to accommodate the native Roman books and rites to the more devout, or effusive, or imaginative genius of the nations which had one and all adopted them; and of the admission of these changes to a greater or less extent by Rome or the Roman Curia, giving them thereby for the benefit of posterity the authority of the Roman name. It was in the course of these ages that the rite was enriched with a dramatic element which it had hitherto so greatly lacked. It was then that, subjected to this influence, actions were so largely added, expressive of the words used in the service; or prayers were introduced (as, for instance, during the whole of the offertory in our present order of the mass) which should correspond to each detail of the actions performed. Practically at that time there was, strictly speaking, no Roman rite left to follow. The Pope was very commonly, from the beginning of the twelfth century, absent from Rome; the Papal Chapel might be anywhere; and the observance of the churches in Rome itself sank, whilst the offices performed in the majestic Gothic cathedrals, now rising on every side, were ever increasing in dignity and splendour. This was the epoch of the formation of a rite that may not inaptly be called Romano-French, almost the last relics of which have disappeared in our own day, unless, indeed, the compound called 'Lyons-Roman' can be regarded as a survival. This Romano-French rite was possessed of just those qualities of picturesque and interesting elaboration in which the native Roman rite was so notably deficient; it is this rite which has excited to so large an extent the admiration and the interest of those who have occupied themselves with the historical study of liturgy in the past two generations.

The final settlement of the papacy in Rome in the fifteenth century brought little change, so far as the liturgy is concerned. The diaries of the Papal ceremoniars which now begin, copies of which are to be found in most of the great public libraries of Europe (and among

the rest, in the British Museum), give the fullest and most elaborate details on Roman liturgy, as exhibited in the Papal Chapel and the great churches of Rome at the close of the fifteenth and in the first half of the sixteenth century, and explain how these were no longer, as at an earlier period, models for imitation by the rest of Western Christendom. An interesting correspondence between St Charles Borromeo and some Roman friends gives a sufficient idea of the state of the minor parish churches of Rome, and the services performed therein, about the year 1560.

Taking a survey of western Europe as a whole, it was in much the same condition of liturgical anarchy as that in which Charles the Great had found his own realm some eight centuries before. The Roman rite was the only one in use, except in the province of Milan;[1] but each church or diocese had modified it at discretion. There was, in face of recent movements, need once more of setting up a norm or type, and one somewhat more simple, to which the various local churches should conform. Then, as eight centuries before, in practice only one rite presented itself as possible for general adoption—viz. that of the local Church of Rome.

Fortunately, in accordance with a trait in the Roman character, the new settlement of the Roman books, made in accordance with the desire of the Council of Trent, was based on existing practice without any elaborate antiquarian investigation whether that practice was due to foreign influence, or how far it was of genuine Roman origin. As a fact, some ancient manuscripts then in the Vatican Library were examined preparatory to settling the text of the missal put forth by St Pius V; but, fortunately, I repeat, these were not of an earlier date than the eleventh or twelfth century, and were books which issued from the union of the Gregorian, or true Roman, missal with the compilation made in France by the direction of Charles the Great towards the close of the eighth century.

With the missal and breviary of St Pius V, the Pontifical of Gregory XIII, the Ritual of Paul V, and, finally, the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* of Urban VIII, the history of the Roman liturgy may be said to be closed; there have indeed been alterations and revisions since, but the changes made have been comparatively unimportant.

From the fact that the issue of these Roman service books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with their adoption by all the churches of the West, closes, and doubtless finally closes, that chapter of liturgical history,[2] it must not be inferred that the different racial

[1] I use these words in a popular, not (as I understand the matter) in a 'scientific' sense.

[2] [Since this was written we have had a root and branch reform of the Breviary

tendencies of mind and spirit, which exhibited themselves in the Roman or Gothic and Gallican missals of the sixth or seventh or eighth century, and are so clearly evidenced in the modifications to which the Roman rite was subjected in the later middle ages, were no longer active nor seeking to assert themselves in public worship in our churches; but that spirit has gone another way to work. In the middle ages that effusive, affective, and devotional spirit continually made itself felt in modifications in the liturgical books themselves, and in the mode of carrying out the strictly official or liturgical public services. This explains the great variety and diversity of the rituals, missals, and breviaries of later mediaeval times; and it explains also how the books of devotion of those days, contrary to what is common now, were drawn up on the lines of the official service books themselves; or, as some people have put it, 'there were no popular devotions in those days.' But this was only because the popular devotional spirit expressed itself with freedom and liberty in the strictly liturgical services of the various local churches.

By the action of St Pius V and his successors in stamping the Roman books put forth by them with a definitive character, and by the institution of a Congregation of Rites designed to keep observances on the lines laid down in those books, such manipulation of the public service books of the Church as was common in the middle ages in every country in Europe was destined to be finally put an end to. But the spirit then active has never ceased to be active still, and it still finds a field for its operations. Unable to act inside and on the liturgy itself, it acts with yet greater freedom without. One path shut up, it seeks its ends by another. And this is the explanation of the rapid growth, the wonderful variety, and great development in the last two or three centuries of what we call, to distinguish them from the fixed official services, 'devotions'; whilst these again are evidence that the two spirits, betraying themselves so clearly in the first mass books of which we have knowledge, exist in their duality still.

This is the explanation, too, of that contrast which so many writers have drawn between the tone of our official prayer books, the missal, the breviary, and the rest, and the books of devotion in general use amongst us. To mention a single name: Dr Pusey was very fond of pointing this out, now in one form, now in another; but his anti-Roman prejudices unfortunately prevented him from seeing the reason and discovering the cause. It may be urged by such persons, in another mood, that the Roman expression of the sense of the

Psalter. If anything, its affinities would seem to be Gallican of the late seventeenth and of the eighteenth centuries. It is a great advance.]

relation between man and his Maker, found in the Roman liturgy, is an inadequate or unsatisfactory expression of the aspirations of the soul. But it certainly has virtues of its own, virtues the more necessary and the more valuable inasmuch as the religious history of Europe at large has shewn them on more than one occasion not to have been recognized in these relations as virtues at all.

If I had to indicate in two or three words only the main characteristics which go to make up the genius of the Roman rite, I should say that those characteristics were essentially soberness and sense.

II

ON THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN ALTAR[1]

To enter on the discussion of an archaeological question equipped only with a measure of mere book knowledge and without practical acquaintance with monuments is venturesome. The case is mine at present. The attempt requires an apology. I make it at once; and so without more ado press forward to give a short account of the historical development of the Christian Altar.

The subject is rather a wide one; and it may not appear easy to make a safe and sure way through the seemingly endless variety of altar, and altar-piece, which the long series of the Christian centuries has produced. What I look for is a book that will give an intelligible history shewing how the form and arrangements of the Christian Altar were influenced and modified at various periods by changed circumstances, altered ideas. Moreover, in regard to this particular matter, as in others that concern the liturgy, it is impossible to insist too much that it is neither individual caprice in high places, nor (to begin with) ecclesiastical decree, that brought about changes, but the sense—sometimes the real good sense, sometimes the very indifferent good sense—of the Christian people. The reader who may have the patience to follow this paper to the end will judge for himself whether it gives a *prima facie* reasonable sketch of the history of the Christian Altar; an account which he can understand and remember. The guide of my own steps along the unchancy road that has to be traversed is the unassuming tractate of two plain Swabian priests mentioned in the note below; I believe the lines they lay down to be the true ones, their little book the best on the subject hitherto published. But the illustrations and references, whether specifically mentioned or the basis of general statements, are not pilfered but independently gathered for my own contentment; and I have dealt too with the subject generally after my own fashion.[2]

[1] From the *Downside Review*, July 1905.

[2] The tractate referred to above is Laib und Schwarz, *Studien über die Geschichte des christlichen Altars* 88 pp. and 17 pl., oblong 4to, Stuttgart, 1857. According to my recollection A. Schmid makes seven periods of the history of the altar: he might

Our history may be rationally divided into three periods: the first extending to the middle of the ninth century; the second henceforward to the close of the fourteenth; the third to the time of the Gothic revival. The church of the Catacombs, and our own day, might form periods in themselves; the former may be dismissed as wanting in practical interest; the second as, let us say, wanting in impersonality.

With the fourth century the Church stands out in the face of the world, free in a new and sovereign manner to fashion her outward adornment in accordance with her own spirit, or under external influences from which, as no mere abstraction but a very mixed body of living men and women, she has at no time been free—in the fourth century less than most other ages. As is manifest at the first glance, the particular, the distinguishing, feature of the altar then and in the centuries that follow, in fact during the first period—whether the material be stone or wood, whether the altar be solid or whether it be hollow—is the prominence and respect given to the holy *Table*, as the place of sacrifice. It was in form not oblong as now in the West, but usually a cube; and stood as a table in the utmost simplicity. The Lord's board was too holy (too 'awful' is another view) to bear anything else but the Mystic Oblation itself, and such objects, the cup, the paten, the linen cloth, as were necessary for the offering up of the sacrifice. If indeed the Book of the Gospels lay on the altar from the beginning of the mass until the gospel was read, it is to be remembered that the Gospel Book was regarded as representing our Lord Himself, just as the altar came to be conceived of as the throne of the Great King. The rich altar coverings may be taken, I conceive, as an integral part of the altar itself. Everything of the nature of ornamental accessory was around, above, but apart from, the altar. And of these ornaments or accessories that which would most strike the eye, perhaps, was largely determined by a consideration uppermost in the minds of many Christians of those days, an idea new in the now triumphant Church, viz. that the holy sacrifice was not merely a 'mystery of faith', 'the unspeakable mysteries' that must be withdrawn from the eye of the unbeliever, but a mystery so 'dread' that upon it not even the Christian himself might gaze. Herein we have in great measure the explanation of the ciborium, as it was then called, or baldaquin on four columns, which, as I may say with the old proverb, hit two (nay three) birds

as well and as reasonably have made seventeen. I had thought of adding references as notes at the end of the paper; but on going through it in proof it has seemed to me to read so much like a 'lecture', and is so long, that I have been content to leave it with the few footnotes as printed.

with one stone. First, strict use and requirement: the altar must be veiled; here was a convenient means for hanging up veils or curtains.[1] Secondly, it served for honour: the existence of a covering, umbraculum, dais, umbella, over, and marking, the seat or station of the ruler, magistrate, pontiff, existed in the general instinct of the peoples; it was surely fitting to render the same honour to the seat of Majesty of the King of kings. Lastly, it must be admitted that a mere square table, be it raised on many steps or on few, is not in itself a dignified object; the 'ciborium' therefore satisfied the eye and fell in with the sense of the fitness of things in the mind of the common Christian worshipper in the fourth century and onwards; moreover, it afforded (as was found little by little) all the opportunities for adorning the altar which the devout fancy might exercise without infringing on the idea of the inviolable sanctity of that holy board. Was it desired to have lights over and above the altar? they could be hung from the ciborium; flowers? the wreath could be twined round its columns; how could precious metals, gold, gems, more fully enrich the altar than by means of crowns hanging directly over it, suspended by chains from the roof of the ciborium within?[2] Was it desired to raise on high the banner of the Great King, the Cross, it could find no more fitting place than the apex of the ciborium. But it is unnecessary to proceed in further detail. From almost every point of view the altar of our first period (with its adjuncts) may, I think, be considered the ideal altar. I do not mean for imitation nowadays; quite the contrary; that would be a make-believe. But given the requirements and the ideas of those days (not of earlier times), it appears as a model of a fitting adaptation of means to ends.

Before passing on to the second period I must leave our guides and say a few words on my own account on matters not noticed by them, the treatment of which is necessary for understanding the natural development of our subject and the later restriction of its treatment to the Western Church. One and single as may be the Christian Divine worship in its essence, the liturgical forms and formulae of the age with which we are now dealing are the genuine products of the native character, the proper and often very different religious feeling, of the various races, peoples, 'churches,' making up the one Church. And already in this first period, on the very

[1] In a painting in the 'Vienna Genesis', attributed to the fourth century, is an altar ciborium with a veil only in front, i.e. towards the people (plate 7 in Wickhoff's reproduction).

[2] A painting in the 'Ashburnham Pentateuch' (7th cent.?) shews how this was done. The crowns of the Guarrazar Treasure, now partly in Paris, partly in Madrid, are extant examples.

threshold of it, in the fifth century, is to be found a distinction which clearly marks off two different ways of viewing, or even conceiving, the Christian sacrifice as an act of altar-worship; a difference which in fact has determined the whole later history of the altar in the East and in the West.[1] Mention has just been made of the veils, &c., used to hide from the people the sight of the altar during the sacrifice. Throughout the Russo-Greek Church (to speak of the Eastern 'Great Church' only) the iconostasis, as if a veritable wall, now effectively serves the same purpose; so effectually indeed that it shuts off the people from the sacrifice of the altar, it might be said, altogether. In making this remark I have neither wish nor intention to cast any reflection on this form of worship. I simply take a fact as a fact and presume that those who have adopted the form know what is best for themselves. If we go into the churches of Rome there are rails, *cancelli*, mostly low, and that is all; and the altar lies open to the eye of every wayfarer. Here again I but mention a fact as fact; and note the striking contrast as a fact too. But all this, on the one side and on the other, is not the product of mere 'taste'; the practical reasons and the rationale of these two practices, which indicate two radically differing conceptions of the one great act of Christian public worship, go down deep into Christian antiquity; the roots of the difference lie as far back as at least the end of the fourth century. Let us take up the oldest Greek and Latin liturgy books that are at once typical and substantially practical, 'St James' and 'St Basil' on the one hand, and the Leonine and Gelasian books on the other. If we run through them ever so rapidly, but with observant eye, a distinction forces itself on the attention which is of concern for us here: in the Greek books a dominant note is this, the concern of the officiating priest, personally and individually, for his own unworthiness to offer the sacrifice; it is awe, fear, dread that speak to us in these Greek orders. This note may be said to be entirely absent from the Roman formulae, which may be counted by hundreds; whilst in its stead this dominant note may be discerned: that the sacrifice is the sacrifice of combined priest and people, '*et plebis et praesulis*.' It would be out of place here even to indicate the growth in the fourth and fifth centuries of the living ideas of which the Russo-Greek iconostasis and the Roman altar rails are in the twentieth the material expression.[2] But I may

[1] I say nothing in this paper about Rood Screens. The late Dr J. M. Neale's distinction between the rood screen and the iconostasis sounds, and to some extent is, pedantic. But that distinction is so far well founded as to put the rood screen beyond the concern of the present brief sketch.

[2] [On this subject see Appendix to *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, Cambridge *Texts and Studies* viii 1, pp. 92–97.]

say in passing (remembering that I am a debtor for proofs of, or warrant for, all that has been and is here asserted) that these expressions of the Greek liturgies indicate not a primitive but a late stage of Christian sense, feeling, devotion. Whilst the eloquent Chrysostom in his continual insistence on 'fear and dread' of the 'awful', the 'terrible' sacrifice, the divine mysteries, had in view real abuses and grave irreverences attaching to the act of Holy Communion among the people of Antioch, it may be doubted whether his eloquence and his zeal do not carry him far away from the sense and feeling of the earlier Christian centuries, or whether he is not paving the way for, and is himself a witness to, a change in the appreciation of those mysteries by the Christian people themselves. Certainly St Basil knows none of these 'terrible' and 'awful' words; the idea is unknown in the Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions, which, interpolated though it is,[1] represents (there seems no reason to doubt) faithfully for the point that concerns us, the traditional sense of the truly apostolic Church of Antioch; it is not found in the prayer book of Serapion, which gives the religious type of official Egyptian piety as late as the middle of the fourth century. Subject to correction, the earliest witness I have found for that terror and awfulness of the Christian sacrifice which has issued in its entire withdrawal from the eyes of the people is in St Cyril of Jerusalem. But then I hasten to add that the Liturgy of 'St James', or the Hierosolymitan piety represented by St Cyril, is the last quarter in which I should look for a true and untroubled rendering of the tone and spirit of Christian piety of the three earliest Christian centuries, the first to which I should turn to learn the newer developments, the new sense, feeling, religious sentiment, induced by, or following on, the triumph of the Church.

It has been necessary to bring clearly into prominence in this place the difference in the type of public worship, so far as concerns the mass, that grew up and developed in the East and West; and its cause. The effects of the later incursions of Byzantinism in various regions of the West, bringing about modifications, as in much weightier matters, so too in such minor points as the use of veils, &c., must in such a sketch as this be left out of account, or only mentioned to be passed by.[2] With the institution of the iconostasis as a wall separating a church into two distinct parts, one for the clergy, the other for the laity, any development or modification of the altar was,

[1] I note by the way, to obviate possible objection, that Funk cannot find 'heresy' in the Liturgy (*Die apostolischen Konstitutionen*, pp. 357 sqq.; *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1896, pp. 346–347).

[2] I suppose *Lib. Pontif.*, ed. Duchesne i 363, ll. 7–10, may refer to veils hanging round the altar from the baldaquin; and is the earliest case for Rome (684–685).

for reasons that are obvious, practically arrested in the regions influenced from Constantinople. Conservatism is easily maintained in matters under exclusive ecclesiastical control; in the West, the altar lay open to the influence of popular piety, of lay sentiment, lay taste, or want of it, and innovations and innovators could thus have free play. In spite of rood screens and other temporary or graver impedimenta, the publicity of the mass, its popular character, the oneness of the sacrifice combined of priest and people in word and deed, and its material expression in the open church on what has been termed the 'all-seeing' principle, has maintained itself as typical for the West, to which the further evolution of the altar is now restricted and to which we may henceforth confine our attention.

Let us pass on to the altar of the second period. No one, I think, who has fairly reflected on what may be called the evolution of ecclesiastical ornament and design, to say nothing of weightier concerns, can fail to have been struck by the part taken therein by a certain (I think the prevalent) type of devout mind, the mark of whose action is commonly this: to emphasize or bring into prominence some accessory feature at the expense of the principal and main object, or indeed to proceed so far as to subordinate this latter to it. It was the same in the eighth century as in the eighteenth, and so I suppose it ever will be. This is just what happened in regard to the altar in our second and third periods. The first indication of the change appears in a homily or pastoral on the duties of the clergy, which has commonly passed under the name of Pope Leo IV, and forms the groundwork of the address of the presiding prelate to the assembly in the *Ordo ad Synodum* of the present Roman Pontifical. Whatever be the date of the first draft (and I am suspicious of attempts to father it on an earlier writer) it is, I take it, certain that the document is of Gallican origin; and that, as testimony for the point which concerns us, it cannot be referred to a date earlier than the close of the eighth century. Its direction as to the altar is as follows: 'Let nothing be placed on the altar but *capsae* with relics of the saints, or perchance the four holy Gospels of God, or a pyxis with the Body of our Lord as viaticum for the sick; other things to be stored in some clean place.' In this direction the item to be observed as important for the development of the altar is that which concerns the relics of the Saints, not (as in our day we should, or indeed most persons would, naturally have supposed) that concerning the Sacrament of the altar. For it must be allowed that during the whole middle ages, in spite of much Gallican innovation in the order and ceremonies of the mass, the Blessed Sacrament reserved was commonly treated with a kind of indifference which at present would

be considered to be of the nature of 'irreverence', I will not say indignity. But the question of 'reverence' or 'irreverence' in these matters is one much more difficult to handle than some who deal with it with confident touch at all recognize, little realizing how entirely subjective are their appreciations, and how much the ideas even of persons external to the Roman Communion are really determined by practices and usages that are purely post-Tridentine, or at most can be traced back to a type of devotionalism developed in Germany in the century, or almost the decades, immediately preceding the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation.

The change involved in the permission cited above to place relics on the altar table may seem slight, and, when taken in conjunction with the Gospel Book and the Body of our Lord, hardly worthy of notice: yet it was destined in the long run to modify the character, disposition, and even situation of the altar. The prescription must be brought into connexion with tendencies of the time which the lapse of very few years was to see greatly accentuated. Elsewhere in the *Downside Review*[1] I touched for a moment on the spoiling of Italian cities and churches to the profit of the new buildings erected by Charles the Great in his own home. But this example was followed in their own way by great churches and monasteries in Frankish and Germanic lands. The ancient foundations as well as the new ones favoured by the new dynasty enriched themselves in the first half of the ninth century with relics, entire bodies of saints, brought from across the Alps and especially from Rome. Thus Fulda by the care of Rhaban received the relics of St Alexander and many others from Rome; Eginhard obtained those of SS. Peter and Marcellinus for his foundation of Seligenstadt, also from Rome: so too Coblentz, Corvey, Prüm, Reichenau, and other establishments obtained like treasures; St Severus was covertly stolen from Ravenna that the cathedral of Mentz might be thereby the richer; in 851 Salzburg welcomed St Hermes, again from Rome; at an earlier date St Liborius was brought from Le Mans to Paderborn. But churches which possessed the bodies of their own local saints were fired with emulation, and resolved that these should hold their own in public esteem as against, or along with, the outlandish importations. 'Translations' and 'elevations' became the order of the day. The Norman invasions in the ninth century compelled many churches along the whole of western France to carry their relics further inland for safety. This movement, whereby churches which could not hitherto boast of bodies of saints became possessed of those

[1] Vol. xiii pp. 193–194; see the paper *An Antiquary of the Ninth Century*, No. XVIII below.

removed from their proper resting place, contributed to promote further this cultus. Moreover, these numerous translations must have tended to bring into vogue portable shrines, as distinguished from the old system of confessions and tombs or repositories of solid masonry underneath the altar. The new spirit of devotion required (we must be content with the facts that are there to speak for themselves and not seek reason in a case where *stat pro ratione voluntas*)—required, I say, that the relics of the saints instead of lying underneath, underground, should be raised up, put above, on, the altar. Here the congruity of the ancient practice with the words in the Apocalypse of St John, *Vidi subtus altare*, &c., was held of no account, for the dictates of newly developed tastes among the devout people required it should be otherwise.

How was the combination of altar and raised shrine to be carried out? It is to be remembered that at this time the practice of dividing the bodies of the saints into portions or particles was not yet in vogue; indeed it ran counter to the then prevalent feelings of reverence, at least in the West. Shrines were therefore large, as large as the altar, larger indeed than those simple cubes which ancient piety had found sufficient and becoming. Such shrines raised up required a good solid base. Speaking in a rough and general way this is what was done. The relic chest (shrine adorned with precious metals, &c.) was placed commonly at right angles with the altar, close to the back, and in the centre, of it; raised on a base of masonry, one end of the shrine rested on the altar itself, and formed a sort of rich ornamental centre-piece—where our present tabernacle is, and giving perhaps something of the same effect. Or else it rested on a low retable for the sake of giving to the whole height and dignity. On this arrangement the ciborium could be retained only with some difficulty; and accordingly under the new system the ciborium was made to cover not the altar but the shrine; as at Lorsch in the later years of the tenth century, where it is described as '*super requiem Martyris*'. And by and by it gradually falls into disuse. Indeed when we look at abbat Suger's great altar at St Denis (this is only a conjectural restoration on documentary evidence, it is true, but not for us the less instructive), or minor altars in the same church, or the old high altar of Notre Dame at Paris, or of Arras cathedral—all well known examples to be found in the usual books—it is clear that the ciborium in such cases would be only in the way. Of course it may be said that all this could only have effect in great and notable churches. This is true; but then as we all know, or can know, it is the great people who set the fashion in this world, and the imitation of our 'betters' has become as it were an instinct. So it was in the

case we are considering, as may appear in reviewing the practical effect of the new system.

Speaking in general terms the effect was this: that whereas the old altars had as it were neither back nor front but were free all round, and looked alike to the people and singers on the nave side and to the clergy celebrant or ministrant in the presbytery, the new combination of altar with shrine gave to the altar a back and a front; and so the way was paved for placing, in defiance both of precedent and of ancient reverence, the altar against the wall of the church as we find in our parish churches of the Gothic period, and indeed in principle in the greatest churches too; and so we come to hear by and by of frontals and dossals, and reredoses, and the like. Moreover, from obvious considerations of *bienséance* there arose a natural tendency to lengthen the altar and substitute for the cube, which might easily appear as a mere end of the base of the shrine, an oblong; and the fashion once started the oblong became more and more pronounced. And this of itself tended to hasten the disuse of the ciborium from considerations of good taste and convenience, or indeed of mere good sense, which need not be here developed. But the disuse of the old ciborium resting on four columns and with solid roof brought with it inevitably other changes. We have seen that it served on its summit to bear the cross, beneath suspended lights or pendent crowns, the latter indeed enriched with pendent crosses hanging right over, almost on, the altar; besides curtains and adornments that an ingenious piety might fancy. For all these, which could not be given up, a place must be found. The principle of the inviolability of the Lord's board once infringed, the practice of its infringement was destined to go far. No longer reserved exclusively for the sacrifice, why should not a cross, lights, be placed on the Holy Table itself? And so it was done, little by little, now here, now there; in some places only during the sacrifice, in others permanently. Thus at the abbey of Zwiefalten in Swabia the cross was kept '*iugiter*' and '*semper*' on the altar itself at a date earlier than 1135. At first, or in some places, only one candlestick was placed on one side of the altar, as a set-off, it would seem, to a cross placed on the other; by the thirteenth century the symmetrical arrangement of two candles was common, though there was still a certain chariness in regard to the novelty; in one case I remember to have observed in an inventory of this date (I think of a parish church in northern Italy) that brackets over the altar were used instead of candlesticks on it. By the fourteenth century, the close of our second period, whatever be the exception or the survival of archaism here or there, the practice of two candlesticks on the altar was general, or the law.

And this, for side altars, is the real or historical meaning of the rubric in the Roman missal, i. e. the meaning of those who wrote, approved, and promulgated it; though of course I should *ex animo* accept for practice the interpretation the modern rubrician has tended to give it. But this by the way.

Another cause contributed to a change in the form of the altar producing the long narrow structures common in the West. In the eleventh century, and yet more in the twelfth, churches were commonly rebuilt, and new monastic churches were founded, on a much grander scale than hitherto. As churches came to be built longer, smaller altars no longer pleased. I give a few examples. At Petershausen in the diocese of Constance up to about 1134 the high altar was quite small—'*parvulum*'; hollow, and made out of five square stones—'*sed tantum ex quinque quadris lapidibus compaginatum*'; this the abbat did away with and built another '*maius et sublimius*' according to the taste of his time. At the abbey of Lower Altaich in Bavaria up to 1253 there were six altars in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin; since they were '*nimis contigua et valde parva*'—'excessively crowded and so very small', '*et propter hoc essent multum despectui*'—'and as nowadays nothing obtains respect unless it advertises itself as big', abbat Herman cleared them out and put two in their place. The author of an interesting and curious tractate, regretfully recording the old customs that were dying out in Alsace in the thirteenth century, describes the altars found in that province in the early part of the century as commonly three feet high, broad, and long, the mensa projecting beyond the sides every way about four inches. Here is the old cube altar surviving still in the country parish churches, but the projection of the mensa shews, I apprehend, the influence even here of the newer fashions. Here or there even some great or wealthy corporation chose to keep to the old paths. So at St Martial's at Limoges a new ciborium was put up in 1220 and the '*subterraneum*' completed at large cost; this I gather to be a continuance of the old arrangement of the first period. And at Scheyern in Bavaria the ciborium of the high altar was finished in 1224. But though the ciborium disappears (Italy, at least central and southern Italy, is not in question here), the need very soon shews itself for some new way to secure a covering for the altar place, and for a continuance with some modifications of the curtains that hung therefrom. Into this connexion must be brought the prescription of several councils, especially of Lower Germany, in the thirteenth century, requiring that a white linen cloth be stretched up over the altar—'*sursum super altare*'—extending over its length and breadth; here only cases of extreme poverty are contemplated. Elsewhere the new style of

canopy might be either in wood or in richer stuffs. From a York register of capitular visitations *sede vacante*, I gather such a canopy or '*celatura*' was general in that diocese. But the mere linen cloth is a descendant in direct line from the ciborium and (besides keeping off dust from the Holy Table) was intended no less than it to serve as a mark of honour and reverence.

In course of time the shrines originally placed at the back of and touching the altar were, with the lengthening of the eastern arm of the church and the adoption of long choirs in the new-rising Gothic structures, detached and thrown eastward (but still placed lengthwise east and west as before), as in the case of so many of our cathedral and larger monastic churches, Ely, Canterbury, St Albans; though the old system must have been in some places long maintained. Thus it was not until about the year 1345 that Thomas de la Mare, then the prior of Tynemouth, removed the shrine of St Oswin, till now '*altari maiori connexum*'—'attached to the high altar', and put it 'in the place where it now stands, so that pilgrims could walk all round it and more easily and freely pay their devotions thereat'.

But such isolation of the altar consequent on isolation of the shrine dictated naturally the development of the solid reredos, for which pattern was long ago found in the hanging dossals or in the churches where the high altar had been already attached to the eastern wall. And this brings us to the altar of our third period, extending from the fourteenth century to the second or third decade of the nineteenth, the period of great reredos altars. The rudimentary retable which the great relic altars had introduced had by the close of the fourteenth century become so far enlarged that it afforded a welcome field for the exercise of the arts of the sculptor and painter. In these favourable circumstances the dimensions of the reredos went on continually increasing until in the last days of Gothic it attained a size fit to compare with the best efforts of later days. But the new retables, or reredoses, instead of resting on their own base, came now to rest, in fact not infrequently, and always to the eye, on the altar table itself, which thus came to look as if a serviceable base for a superincumbent mass of ornamentation. By and by it was found most convenient to throw back the great altar-pieces of the new type against the church wall, as well to obtain support for these mighty structures as to save trouble, expense, and ingenuity in making something passable out of the back of the reredos itself.

Be it noted, there is here no question of styles. In our third period the typical 'altars', Gothic, Renaissance, Rococo, shew this common character: their main feature seems to be an extension and accumulation of accessory ornament at the expense of the thing itself for the

sake of which the ornament exists. The towering altar-pieces of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which obstructed the choirs of many a grand Gothic church, to which was sacrificed so much of brilliant painted glass, so much of architectural elegance and beauty, are still only too often set down to the credit of 'the Renaissance' and its evil influence; but in fact those times only bettered the instruction they had received from the exaggerated models of declining Gothic. The later styles used the means and forms proper to their own genius, but they did no more than pursue the end the later Gothic had set before itself. And so it came about naturally that, by and by, to erect a 'fine altar' meant to put up an immense (some may think monstrous) and highly decorated altar-piece. In fact the high altar (i.e. reredos) of Winchester or of St Albans, so justly admired, and the miserable wooden painted thing put up in many a noble French church by aspiring poverty in the early days after the Revolution, really belong to the same family; the aim was to put up something strikingly rich and beautiful, no doubt, if possible; but at any, even the least cost, something strikingly big. It was the very inversion of the ideas of the earlier Christian days: that I conceive to be true; but it was also the way in which the men of the time conceived the rendering of honour to the holy altar, that is all. Nor indeed am I insensible to the merit in their own way of characteristic altar-pieces of even 'the worst period' (as our friend the Gothic Puritan will have it). I recall a particular case: in an out-of-the-way country village, a great church built by a wealthy community in the second half of the eighteenth century, grandly proportioned, lofty, light, airy, whitewashed; with this peculiarity, that the tower is at the east end and rises over the high altar. This 'altar' occupies the whole eastern wall, towering up to the vault some eighty or ninety feet, a pyramid of black and white marble, niches, urns, ornaments in profusion all complete. The effect is superb; so I thought when I first saw it as a youngster, so it has always seemed to me still when I have seen it since. But whether there were altar there or tabernacle, so far as *observation* goes I never noticed and cannot tell. So far as I can make out, in our first period the idea by which everything was determined was the very altar of God itself; in our last the determinant is the senses of the beholder and the impression to be made by the designer upon him.

This same tendency to strike, to occupy, the beholder with accessories is observable from the first, in matters of detail no less than in general design, in the altar characteristic of our third period. The altar is loaded with temporary as well as permanent ornaments. It came to serve as a sort of expositorium on great feast days for all

the church treasury and church plate, reliquaries and what not in the shape of arms and busts and many another form of beauty besides; objects that were now multiplied beyond measure, on the one hand through the commonness of small relics, fragments (a tendency greatly promoted by the importation of such relics from the East, and especially Constantinople, during the time of the Crusades), and on the other by the veritable mania for rich plate which prevailed in the second half of the fourteenth century. I will take two special examples of this mode of shewing reverence to the altar; one taken from the first, the other from the last days of our period, each characteristic of its own time. In the first half of the fifteenth century Lewis of Bavaria-Ingolstadt, oppressor of the church of Freising, '*ad cor rediens*'—'coming to a better mind'—gave to it a great silver image (of some saint may we suppose?) '*secundum se formatam*'—'in the likeness of himself', as a pledge that he would refrain in future from his past ill practices; which image (says the chronicler) I myself have often seen when *totum sanctuarium in altari stetit*—'the whole church-treasury of Freising stood on the high altar'—on festal days. This is an example of a type common enough in those times, which few churches are rich enough, except perhaps in Bohemia or Hungary, Portugal or Spain, to imitate to-day; a type that some might be disposed to call the *buffet* (or sideboard) style of altar. My warrantor for the second case, a careful and interested eyewitness, says this altar-piece was elaborate and rich in the extreme, and the quantity of ornament with which it was loaded was distributed without much discretion 'everywhere'. 'To say the truth (he continues), this altar is not happily conceived; it is so low and overburdened that it is no easy matter to descry the officiating priest. But it is certain that there is not an altar in the kingdom more richly decorated, and whereon there is a greater quantity of reliquaries and vases and candlesticks and branches and lamps and other such things, some of silver, some of silver-gilt, some even of gold. Indeed nothing is wanting to complete its magnificence; and besides it has ingenious and clever sacristans who are continually inventing new modes of adorning it.' We have reached the zenith; after this decline only is possible.

Of course during this period there were survivals of earlier practice; but our business is to have prominently before us what is typical of each period; it is the rising tide that is our chief concern, not the ebb. Angers cathedral, for instance, maintained the extreme severity of earlier ages; Lyons made it a point of honour to do its best in the same direction; Amiens (of the high altar of which, as it existed at the close of the seventeenth century, a description is given us by

a citizen and shopkeeper of the time who read Claude de Vert, and had pretty notions about the Liturgy, and the Office, and church things generally)—Amiens at that date may be taken more or less as a representative of the relic altar of the second period. Notices of ancient altars of French cathedrals and other large churches at the beginning of the eighteenth century abound; it is a pity the subject has not been dealt with in a monograph. Here it will be enough to mention the arrangement of the old high altar of Notre Dame at Paris, demolished to make way for the sumptuous embellishment of the choir carried out at the expense of Lewis XIV, as perhaps it gave the idea of the high chantry of Henry V in the apse of Westminster Abbey. At the extremity of the choir, on the site of the new altar of Lewis XIV and behind the old one, was the altar of the Trinity, commonly called also *des Ardens*, raised up so that it could be seen over the high altar from the stalls of the choir. Underneath it was a place called the *Conditoire*, kept locked, in the cupboard of which all the vestments, &c., for high mass were kept; in former times the Blessed Sacrament had also been reserved there. It would appear from a paper sent to the liturgist Le Brun that an arrangement somewhat similar existed in the cathedral of Troyes. His informant writing about 1714–1715 says: 'Our high altar has been moved; it has been raised three steps and placed further eastwards, close to, and on the same level with, an altar that is behind it at which were said masses for the dead and obits.[1] Before the change it was possible from the choir to see this altar, and the priest saying mass at it, above the high altar. Now it is quite out of sight and disused, the masses formerly said at it being now said at the high altar.' With the eighteenth century a change came, and the high altars on the old models in the French cathedrals are, concurrently with the adoption of the new breviaries, frequently replaced by an '*autel à la romaine*'; that is, as interpreted then, plain, of good or precious material, marble, with six great silver candlesticks upon it and a greater silver crucifix in the middle. Rural churches, if only for the reason that they are poor and have commonly small resources or none, were more conservative; and it is towards these that the archaeologist should direct his attention in every country to discover the relics of venerable antiquity and ancient discipline. But those whose main interest is development, or evolution, must turn their attention elsewhere.

So much for the past. With one observation on the period excluded from our historical survey, the present, and another on Rome, I cease. And for the first: it is in our present, modern days

[1] Does this throw any light on the name '*Autel des Ardens*' at Notre Dame?

that the reserved Sacrament has for the first time come to be recognized generally as the main determinant for the design of the high altar. Objection may be taken, perhaps, to such a statement; but I think a little reflection and knowledge will shew it to be just. The document cited above, when we passed from our first period to the second, shewed that, at about the turn of the eighth and ninth centuries, the possibility presented itself of a combination of the altar and the reserved Sacrament as a starting point for a new development, at least in France. As a fact the combination of altar and relic shrine was adopted. It might be thought at first blush that at least the altar of our third period received for determinant the combination passed over in the ninth century. But that this was not so will appear, I believe, from two considerations. One is based on the very character of that type of altar itself. The other attaches to the history of religious sentiment; between which and doctrine, and between the effects of either, I hasten to add, it is necessary carefully to discriminate. Just as ritual is the mere husk, so religious sentiment is of the very inner life, of Liturgy; but it is all too little heeded, indeed quite overlooked commonly, I fancy, in dealing with that subject historically. How many of us instinctively realize, I wonder, the modernness of the sense implied by the idea of our churches as 'the home of the Blessed Sacrament'? Personally of course I cannot undo myself of this sense, and indeed should feel lost, and as if bereft, in them without it; moreover, it is this sense which perhaps more than anything else devoutly impresses 'well-minded' persons who are not of our communion. But this has nothing to do with the historical question; which doubtless it would be profitable to understand also.

It is a fact that the general character of the typical altar-piece of our third period was fixed before, and long before, the tide of devotional feeling had turned in the direction just indicated. There is no question of countries presumedly more or less naturally 'Catholic' here; no question of this side of the Alps or Pyrenees and the other. For instance, the Blessed Sacrament was kept '*in quodam angulo*'—'in an out-of-the-way corner'—of the cathedral of Verona up to the second or third decade of the sixteenth century, when the great reforming bishop Ghiberti had it enclosed in a 'tabernacle' of marble and crystal, borne by four angels in brass, and the whole not placed on, but suspended over, the high altar, 'that he might excite the devout minds of priests and people to godly piety' towards the reserved Sacrament of the altar. How long this 'suspension' was maintained in the cathedral of Verona I do not know; but the arrangement Ghiberti adopted, when taken in connexion with his

professed object, is worthy of attention. For the altar-pieces characteristic of our third period bear on their face the evidence that they were not designed with the end Ghiberti had in view and that they are not well calculated to compass it. If in any of these structures the idea is betrayed of calling attention primarily to the conditorium of the Blessed Sacrament, the great edifice, often domical, surmounting the centre of the altar, was for show, not use; the real tabernacle was no more than an obscure little cupboard underneath their base—*antrum* is the term Sebastian Paoli, an excellent, learned, and observant Neapolitan priest, applies to it in the middle of the eighteenth century. Bishop Ghiberti's instinct, I think, was true, his sense of the adaptation of means to ends just, when he adopted the method of the 'suspension' over his high altar: it was at once the easiest and the most effective way of making the Blessed Sacrament reserved the central object of a church of at least large dimensions. But his case is only an 'early anticipation'. This, too, was the strong point (if my memory does not play me false) of Lewis XIV's work on the altar of Notre Dame. That this is so, and how, any visitor can verify for himself at the cathedral of Amiens even to-day. The little golden cup in the centre of the great 'gloire' put up in the eighteenth century draws to it all eyes that will let themselves be simply and naturally guided by what they see before them; to the eyes of the believer it dominates that vast choir and the Presence it hides is by him felt. Here in our last period (to such as will lay aside those disturbing antipathies arising from changes in taste or preferences of style) is an instance of a fitting adaptation of means to ends. It combined the taste of the time for big altar-pieces with an uncompromising, overruling assertion of the Sacrament as the very principle of life of the church building itself.

The slow process of development which was to issue in our present sense in regard to the combination of the conditorium for the reserved Sacrament and the altar is, I think, roughly and generally speaking, somewhat as follows, and the statement holds good, I believe, in its general outlines for almost every part of the Western Church. In the middle ages the idea connected with the '*Sainte Réserve*' (even after the popularization of the Corpus Christi procession and the spread of the use of the monstrance) was not worship but Viaticum;[1]

[1] [A friend in writing to me has pointed out that this statement is to be allowed only with some reserves. I give his words here: 'May I just mention to you that your explanation of the Blessed Sacrament being thought of more with regard to the Viaticum than as an object of worship is certainly correct, but admits of some limitations. I am thinking here of a passage in Sibert's Carmelite *Ordinale* of the early years of the fourteenth century: "Sacramentum Eukaristiae . . . ad usum infirmorum *et chori devotionem* honorifice reservetur." But then in a religious house the Viaticum is only administered to the members of the

nor was it connected either with the idea of ordinary communion. Even the devout then communicated but four or five times a year and at certain great feasts. The parish priest knew the number of his intending communicants on each occasion and consecrated the required number of hosts accordingly. During the whole middle ages the usual place of reservation was some recess, or as it were cupboard, often closed with iron bars, sometimes fairly high up, in the wall on the Gospel, and more rarely on the Epistle, side of the altar. Sometimes (as bishop Devie says was the case in the district of Bresse, north of Lyons) the '*petite armoire grillée*', as he calls it, was '*au fond du chœur*'. All this is speaking generally: and I would add in passing that any idea, if it exists, that the 'suspension' was the universal discipline, even throughout France, needs, I think, revision. Besides other objections that may be taken to this method of what may be called the '*loculus in muro*', there is an all too common one —damp. This was probably an effectual consideration in the later invention of 'sacrament-houses' prevalent in the Low Countries and Germany on into the Slavic lands in communion with Rome: but this was obviously an expedient that could be adopted only by wealthy churches, not in country parishes, where the difficulty had to be met in another way. With the gradual increase of frequent communion at uncertain times that spread in the later years of the sixteenth century and grew yet more marked in the seventeenth, other and obvious inconveniences of the old arrangement were increasingly felt; and the tabernacle on the altar was the obvious way out of them; from which transfer has in an insensible manner grown up that modern and now prevailing sense that I have mentioned above. It did not come about at once; but the change did introduce a new idea (or revived a 'primitive' one) in regard to the '*Sainte Réserve*' itself; the once exclusive idea of viaticum gradually fell into the background, and the idea of reservation of the Sacrament at the altar now grew to be dominantly connected with the idea of communion, but now in the church building itself. So much was this the case, and so naturally did all this come about, that in one case that I have noticed (the parish church of Neisse, the finest and best served parish church in Silesia, with no less than forty-five altars) the large host for the weekly procession of the Blessed Sacrament on Thursdays and the hosts for the sick were reserved in the Sacra-

community, who are not always dying, so that the expression may be peculiar to a regular church.' There can be no doubt that the expositions to be mentioned in the paper *Pastor Dreygerwolt's Note-Book*, No. XXV below, were definitely intended to promote worship of the Blessed Sacrament; and doubtless with a little trouble much might be found in documents of the fifteenth century to illustrate the progress of this devotion in Germany, and something perhaps in Italy.]

ment-house apart from the altar, whilst the hosts '*pro communicantibus*' were reserved in the tabernacle which was on the high altar. But (speaking, of course, generally and with due reserve made for any exceptional regions in these or in earlier days) frequent communion has been at no time, in the periods with which we are mainly concerned, the common rule among country-folk, *rusticani*, *pagani*, or what we may please to call them; and so in country churches the inconveniences of the old arrangement have not been so acutely felt as in the towns, and the reservation of the Sacrament, even in the old-style mediaeval *loculi*, has survived in some quarters till a late period, almost or even quite to the general crash at the end of the eighteenth century.

Due consideration of all the 'moments' of the case and of the body of facts available can, I think, issue in no other conclusion than the one indicated above: that it is only in recent times—those excluded from discussion in this paper—that the idea of giving unmistakable prominence to the actual and real conditorium of the Blessed Sacrament in relation to the altar has come, in a generally recognized way, to be the problem that has to be solved by architect and designer in regard to the high altar of a church.

To deal with 'Rome' is always to enter on dangerous ground; if only in that we all and always seem to be wanting to point a moral, of one kind or another, when our discourse is occupied with that theme. There are many reasons besides; but this is apparently a constant one. I remember many years ago the late dean Stanley wrote a short series of articles for *Good Words*, mainly designed for the use of our northern neighbours, on Rome, modern Rome, as a living witness to the simplicity of early Christianity. They were written with his usual persuasive ingenuity and charm; it all read so easily. There was the Pope, for instance, in his simple white habit: the dean had much that was effective to say on this. But it was a disconcerting thought if one happened to remember that the first time a colour is mentioned as specifically the Pope's own for his dress, it was red; and red it continued for centuries. But then, as an excellent clergyman (deceased), who was almost as good as a journalist, has said: 'The man of facts is a bore; he has such a way of tripping one up.' I feel the want at this moment of a tractate on the history of the Christian altar in Rome from the beginning till now, written by a 'man of facts'; for I am in fear that without it, even in the few words that follow, I may just be humbly following dean Stanley's example; and the worst of it is, I feel there is a 'moral' dogging my steps too, whether I will or not.

First of all, to recognize the Roman high altar of the present day

for what it really is, we must eliminate the Roman churches of the religious orders; they represent, in this point at all events, not Rome but themselves. Turning to the real Roman churches of Rome I find that the French chapters who rebuilt their high altars in the eighteenth century, and designated their new altars described above as '*à la romaine*', knew well what they were doing and saying. There was, however, one feature usually lacking in these French copies,[1] the ciborium or baldaquin. And as I look at the high altar of the genuine Roman type I seem to recognize there, in a degree and manner found nowhere else, a singular survival of the ideas and forms of our first period. 'But the six candlesticks and crucifix?' some one may say. If we really want to form a just opinion as to comparative or relative fidelity to, or conservation of, an original type or tradition, the only sensible, reasonable, indeed possible, term of comparison for the 'Roman' altar of to-day is not the Christian altar simply as it was thirteen or fourteen hundred years ago, but prevalent modern forms. In spite of the six candlesticks and crucifix I think only one answer is possible.

Before ending I will ask, what of that prescription in the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* as to the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, not at the high altar of cathedrals, but at a side altar? It is not prescription by mere arbitrary fiat, but a prescription that has been derived from Roman practice. Somehow it recalls to me an item of 'discipline' now passed and gone—the '*loculus in muro*'. Is there some actual and real connexion between this and that? Or is this *rapprochement* merely wayward and irrational fancy on my part?

[1] But not in the 'Roman' altars put up by the Maurists, who seem to have set the fashion (e.g. Bec, before the close of the seventeenth century; St-Germain-des-Prés, a very interesting example, in 1704), as Val-de-Grâce set the fashion to the Maurists.

III

THE EARLIEST ROMAN MASS BOOK[1]

WHERE the sacred liturgy is concerned, Catholics are for the most part content to take in an even, not to say indifferent, spirit the good that comes to them, without enquiring too particularly how it came. They are content in a general way with the fact that they are in the current and stream of an uninterrupted tradition, the source of which is to be found in the apostolic age itself. Still, it should be even for them a subject of interest to ascertain in some measure the steps by which the mass book in use to-day came to be what it is; and to trace the gradual accretions that have gathered round the primitive kernel. Although there is no reason to despair of the substantial accomplishment of this task some day, the process must be slow and painful, for few subjects of investigation are more obscure than the origins of the Christian liturgy, and the steps whereby various types of divine service were developed in different churches; few subjects afford such wide scope for free conjecture or arbitrary assertion. The rule is general that no contemporary record was made, public or private, marking the chief steps or phases of the evolution. At most, traditional names—St Basil or St Chrysostom, St Gelasius or St Gregory—have become attached to special mass books or liturgies; even more vaguely still, an apostolic attribution—for instance, St James, St Mark—serves to point out the church in which the liturgy so named was in use. The case of the Roman rite differs from the rest only in this, that the ancient extant materials are more abundant, and that in the case of this rite, beyond any other, serious and more or less critical attempts have been made to recover a lost history. Moreover,

[1] From the *Dublin Review*, October 1894. [This paper was originally penned as a review of the Rev. H. A. Wilson's new edition of *The Gelasian Sacramentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894) and of an article by Dom Suitbert Bäumer in the Munich *Historisches Jahrbuch* (vol. xiv, 1893, pp. 241–301) entitled '*Ueber das sogenannte Sacramentarium Gelasianum*'. It is proper now to state that that article from beginning to end is the result of full and complete collaboration of Dom Bäumer and myself. Those who have had knowledge of us both will not be at a loss, I think, to understand or characterize what was the sort of contribution each brought to the common task. It seems to me unnecessary to explain in any way here the reasons determining me to efface myself; but it is right to say that certain matters which were designedly but just opened in the German article were by arrangement reserved to be dealt with by me in this English one.]

though no Church shewed itself more solicitous in what, for want of a better term, we may call patristic times, to guard its own rite from foreign admixture, the earliest extant books and detailed accounts of the rite are due to the curiosity or the zeal with which aliens were led to enquire into its specific features, or to propagate its forms and texts in their own land.

Three early mass books of the Roman Church, or, as they were called, Sacramentaries (books of the sacraments, of the divine mysteries), are extant, now usually called the Leonine, Gelasian, and Gregorian. Whatever discussion may arise as to the exact propriety of the names which thus pass current, they have at least the merit and advantage of clearly indicating three successive stages of liturgical development in the Roman Church. It must not be supposed that these mass books present, on opening, just the same appearance as a missal of the present day. They comprise only what was then said by the celebrant himself: collects, secrets, post-communions, prefaces, the canon. The epistles and gospels, and all the sung portions of the mass, were to be found in separate books, and formed no part of the missal itself. On the other hand the Ritual and the Pontifical had then no existence; and the contents of these books—the rites of ordination, consecration of a church, the sacraments of baptism and confirmation, which then formed a great feature of the special rites of Holy Week and Pentecost, the unction of the sick, &c.—were in those centuries comprised in the 'Book of the Sacraments', or missal.

The earliest of these Roman sacramentaries, the so-called Leonine, has no claim to be a formal mass book. It is indeed ranged according to months, but it shews hardly so much outline of order in its contents as even this would imply. The collection is ample, two, three, a dozen, or even more masses being given for the same feast; but it can evidently pretend to be no more than a body of materials brought together by a private hand.

The second, what has been called the Gelasian Sacramentary, presents quite another character. It is an ordered collection in the form of three books. Speaking from the bulk of the contents of each book, the first contains the missal and other offices connected with the ecclesiastical year; the second, masses for saints' days; the third book presents (together with miscellaneous prayers, benedictions, &c.) a large body of votive masses and a certain number for Sundays and weekdays. As yet a special mass had not been formally assigned to each Sunday after Epiphany and Pentecost; such Sunday masses were therefore a collection from which the celebrant could, during those seasons, select at discretion. The title expressly describes the volume as the *Book of the Sacraments of the Roman Church.*

In the last, the Gregorian Sacramentary, in the earliest and purest form in which it occurs,[1] the whole is comprised in a single book; the saints' days are no longer treated as outside the ecclesiastical year, but are ranged as an integral part of it; the collection of masses for Sundays and weekdays and the votive masses have disappeared. In the Gelasian there are, as a rule, two collects for each mass (though sometimes three, and sometimes, especially for saints' days, only one); in the Gregorian a single collect is the rule. The special prefaces and variants of the canon, very numerous in the Gelasian, are, with one or two exceptions, those of our present missal. Many traces of an early age, visible in the Gelasian book, and much verbal elaboration, have been swept away. The powerful hand of a reformer has passed over the Roman rite, reducing it to a simplicity which seems baldness in comparison with the earlier superabundant wealth of forms shewn in the Leonine and Gelasian books.

It was in this shape that Pope Hadrian I, some time between the years 784 and 791, sent to Charles the Great the Sacramentary 'arranged long ago by our holy predecessor the God-inspired (*deifluo*) Gregory', as the Pope says in the letter announcing its dispatch. But this book was not destined long to remain in the state in which it came from Rome; an addition was soon made to it, trebling its bulk and making it considerably larger indeed than the *Gelasianum*. The compiler of this Carolingian Supplement was careful to insert between the original book and his own compilation a preface giving an account of his work and of his reasons for undertaking it. This preface, as was natural in the case of a mass book designed for practical use and not for the satisfaction of literary or antiquarian curiosity, soon fell out of the manuscripts; the two portions continued separate and unmixed for a time, longer here, shorter there, according to the character or ideas of the individual copyist, or of those who directed him. By and by, as was inevitable, practical requirements felt by all prevailed over a literary or pious scruple, and the various items of the Supplement were inserted at the most convenient places in the original book. Though in this or that isolated later manuscript traces of the primitive distinction may still be found, the true *Gregorianum* and the Supplement were, by the close of the tenth century, so fused into one whole that it was impossible to distinguish any longer the component parts of what now passed as the Gregorian Sacramentary.

[1] [It is to be remembered that what follows was written at a time when the purest form of the 'Gregorian Sacramentary' was known to us only as it stands in print in Muratori's text, ending with col. 138, the rest being assumed to be part of the Carolingian (or 'Alcuin's') Supplement. See below, Paper No. IV, p. 63 note 1 and p. 75 note 1.]

And it is the book thus fused which, practically speaking, forms the Roman missal of the present day.

Unfortunately, few liturgists of later times have been careful to observe the distinction between the original book and the additions, and nearly all writers have used the term 'Gregorian Sacramentary' to designate, not the book sent to Charles from Rome, but the whole compilation as afterwards enlarged. Now, however, that M. Duchesne has introduced the convenient term *sacramentaire d'Hadrien* for the book sent by that Pope to Charles, it is not likely that the term 'Gregorian Sacramentary' will in future be employed so improperly as has been hitherto the case. But a further point is also gained, for it is now possible to enter into the discussion of a much more difficult question, the justice and applicability of the titles 'Gelasian' and 'Gregorian' given to the sacramentaries which pass under these names, both as regards the specific question whether they were personally compiled by, or by order of, Gelasius and Gregory, and also the more general question whether the missals so called are substantially Roman missals of a date that may be reasonably assigned to the beginning of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh respectively.

And first, to take the sacramentary passing under the name of Gregory. The question was raised early in the eighteenth century, but with inadequate knowledge of the evidence, whether the *Gregorianum* is not to be attributed rather to Pope Gregory II (715–731), or Gregory III (731–741), than to Gregory the Great. Although it is true, as the last editor of the *Gelasianum* points out,[1] that neither St Bede nor the *Liber pontificalis* mentions the work, yet this is only a half light, since Bede's disciple, Archbishop Egbert of York (732–766), not merely says that St Gregory sent his mass book to England by St Augustine, but that he himself had also inspected this same work of St Gregory in Rome; moreover, at least half a century earlier, Aldhelm, in referring the canon of the mass to St Gregory (whose own, as a composition, it certainly was not), gives us clearly enough to understand that the missal he was familiar with came to him as St Gregory's.[2] Whether the Gregorian mass book thus known to Egbert and Aldhelm was that which bore this title in Rome about 790, and was sent by Hadrian to Charles the Great, need not here be considered. It is for the present purpose enough to ascertain, on the authority of evidence unknown to the first writer who started the doubt, that the Gregory to whom the missal was attributed must be Gregory the Great.

By a general acquiescence of the learned, rather than by consent

[1] p. lx, note.

[2] [As to this question see Supplementary Note A to No. V below.]

after any specific and recent critical investigation, the *Gelasianum* is commonly allowed to pass either as an actual production of Pope Gelasius I (492–496), or at least as dating from about his time. The recent work of abbé Duchesne, entitled *Origines du culte chrétien*, has, however, definitely raised the question whether the sacramentary passing under the name 'Gelasian', though incontestably in substance a Roman missal, and the earliest official mass book of the Roman Church, has yet any right to be considered as the sixth-century mass book of that Church. The manuscript itself (which, following Mr Wilson, it will be convenient to call, from its present resting place, the Vatican manuscript [1]), by consent of competent palaeographers, was written in the seventh century or at the beginning of the eighth, seemingly for the abbey of St-Denis. Examining the manuscript as it stands, Duchesne finds that it does not contain the masses for Thursdays in Lent instituted by Pope Gregory II (715–731); but it has the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, which was doubtless, he thinks, introduced after the recovery of the true Cross by Heraclius in 628. 'There is, therefore, an uncertainty of about a century (628–731) as to the date of the Roman original of our sacramentary.' He concludes generally that 'it is drawn from official books that were in use at Rome about the end of the seventh century', and that it 'was imported into France some considerable time before Pope Hadrian (772), and some considerable time after St Gregory' (604). On the other hand, the author points out how Roman features have been obliterated from this book: 'all Roman topographical indications have disappeared; not one of the Roman basilicas is mentioned.[2] All prayers relating to certain offices proper to Roman observance—the mass of St Anastasia on Christmas Day, the Greater Litany (April 25), the processions of the Easter vespers, the collectae, or assemblies at certain feasts—have been suppressed. It presents the Roman ecclesiastical year, Roman formulae, but adapted to the use of countries at a distance from Rome.' This is not all; it is also marked by numerous Gallican additions and

[1] [This Vatican MS, Regin. 316, is to-day unique, but the witness of the Gallic '*Gelasianum* of the eighth century' is, in its contents and in the details of its text, enough to shew that the form in which the Roman *Gelasianum* is found in MS Regin. 316 must have been acceptable or even popular in influential quarters in France during the first half of the eighth century. Dom Wilmart has, however, recently edited from the Reims MS No. 8 (C. 142) of the eleventh century two leaves of the eighth century which by some curious chance were used and bound up as fly-leaves in the eleventh. The handwriting is of the type now commonly called Corbie Script. These two leaves (first printed by M. Loriquet in 1904) give a list of contents of another copy of the *Gelasianum* as found in MS. Regin. 316, in which, however, an attempt was made to co-ordinate the ordination forms so curiously scattered in the Vatican manuscript. See Dom Wilmart's article *L'Index liturgique de Saint-Thierry* in *Revue Bénédictine*, Oct. 1913, pp. 437–450.]

[2] For the force of this remark it is enough to refer to the missal now in general use, and the Roman stations therein regularly noted.

modifications; and such additions are not by way of mere appended supplement, but are woven into the very texture of the book.

The sum, therefore, is this: that the book called the *Gelasianum* represents the (or a) mass book in use in Rome towards the close of the seventh century. This conclusion is based on the assumption that certain feasts or days now found in the Vatican manuscript must have stood in the Roman original from which that manuscript was derived. The question whether it stands removed by one or more stages from the Roman original, 'model or framework rather', and whether it may not be at the least a copy of a copy with many an intermediate alteration derived not merely from Gallican but also from later Roman sources, does not suggest itself in the author's pages; although the absence of certain Roman features, and the interweaving of Gallicanisms in the Roman groundwork, are not calculated *prima facie* to recommend the assumption of a direct Roman original.

Of course if there be good reason, drawn from other considerations (of positive testimony there is none), for supposing that a missal of the type represented by the *Gelasianum* was in actual use in Rome at the end of the seventh century, there is less cause to seek for any other explanation of the presence of these feasts of late introduction than the simple one of a direct copy. But for the fact of such use I see no other argument than a positive affirmation. Unquestionably such an affirmation on the part of a scholar of M. Duchesne's eminence and proved capacity is sufficient ground for meeting it, not indeed with the mere silence of acquiescence, but with a full consideration and examination of the case, conducted with a prepossession in its favour; and sufficient reason for not rejecting it until difficulties occur of sufficient force to raise a well founded doubt whether the author himself has realized all that this assertion on this single point involves of contradiction to the current history of the time.

And first of all, if the *Gelasianum* be a sacramentary in use in Rome at the close of the seventh century, what are we to think of the *Gregorianum*? M. Duchesne, in another connexion, answers the question thus: 'It is essentially a book for the stations', in other words, 'for use only on festival days or days of solemn assembly'; 'it is the Pope's book, it contains the prayers which the Pope has to pronounce at the ceremonies over which he ordinarily presides.' The proof for this is that it gives masses only for feasts, or seasons like Lent and Advent; no masses for ordinary Sundays, no votive masses; nothing for weddings or funerals, or the veiling of virgins, or reconciliation of penitents. Accustomed as we are, and so long have been, to many of these luxuries, this may appear conclusive; but, strange as it may sound to some ears, there is a question to the point which demands

an answer: Why must all these things be found in a Roman missal of, say, the time of St Gregory the Great? Why, for instance, should St Gregory deem special masses for these 'private solemnities', for rain or fair weather, or Sundays after Pentecost, more necessary than the Greeks do at this day or have done at any time during the last fifteen hundred years?

Gathering up the indications thrown out by M. Duchesne, we are given to understand that there were in use in Rome at the close of the seventh century two missals, differing widely in their contents, in the character and degree of their variables, in the number of collects at mass, and in the prayers not only of each mass, but also for the sacraments: a smaller missal for the Pope, a much larger book for the rest of the clergy. And here questions arise which demand notice, if not solution, before the novel theory thus broached can be well admitted; questions, however, not in any way touched on by the author. And they are the more urgent inasmuch as they do not proceed from a mere comparison of book and book, or the confronting of text and text, written under circumstances of which we know hardly anything by persons of whom we can know still less; but are concerned with the public policy of a great prince like Charlemagne, whose individual attention was largely devoted to what may be called the Department of Public Worship and Instruction, and who, in carrying out a measure in which he was by inclination deeply interested, viz. the introduction of the Roman mass book throughout his realm, may be presumed to have acted in accordance with the dictates of sound reason, and in a manner calculated to secure the objects he had in view. Moreover, it is to be noted that Charlemagne, no less than his advisers, was perfectly well acquainted from personal observation with the actual liturgy and observance in Rome. We are naturally led, therefore, to enquire what at this time (the second half of the eighth century) can have been the position of the *Gelasianum*, said to have been the mass book of the clergy at the close of the seventh century. If it was still in Charles's day the clergy's mass book, how came Charles, in the intent to secure uniformity and conformity with Roman practice, to adopt for the use of the clergy throughout his dominions a book not in common use in Rome itself, but proper only for the Pope, adding, moreover, a new supplement unknown in Rome? If, on the other hand, the *Gelasianum* had now fallen into disuse in Rome, and was superseded by the imposition for general use of the imperfect papal mass book, supplemented by additional offices, Sunday and votive masses, &c., required for ordinary use by the clergy in the parish churches, the action taken is still more inexplicable. We are reduced to conclude that Hadrian failed to send to Charles the supple-

ment to the Gregorian mass book in use in Rome by the clergy, and Charles in his turn (though constantly sending trusty envoys to the Pope, whose interest it was to comply with his behest, and especially with a demand so little burdensome) failed to ask for that supplement. Or, indeed, is it that the novel theory of the use at the same time in Rome of two different missals has no historical basis, and is no more than a deduction from liturgical texts capable of another explanation, and a deduction also running counter to, and making merely unintelligible, the actions and measures of Charlemagne?

It must be some considerations of this kind which, in penning his article on the *Gelasianum*, prompted Dom Suitbert Bäumer, a monk of Beuron, to write as follows:

> Duchesne's way of treating the subject is new and interesting, but also (in some measure) not to the point; this freshness is attractive, and the respect felt for the talent and learning of the author makes most welcome the light which the reader cannot but hope will be thereby thrown on the subject. When, however, an attempt is made to bring the suggestions and remarks, scattered here and there, into harmony with the fundamental conditions of the problem that has to be discussed, the reader soon begins to feel that, although Duchesne's text reads easily, yet on examination it is difficult to bring into consistency with ascertained facts the new theory which is rather sketched or shadowed out than developed, much less established. Hence the necessity of finding some other way out of the difficulty at one's own risk and peril.

In the following pages Dom Bäumer's article is drawn on without scruple as a serious attempt to grapple with the difficulties involved in the history of the *Gelasianum*, without knowledge of which it is impossible to form an opinion as to the value of the contribution made to the subject by the Rev. H. A. Wilson's edition recently issued from the Clarendon Press. And, what is of much more general interest, in the history of this *Gelasianum* lies the history of the missal in actual daily use in our churches.

It is to be observed that Duchesne restricts his enquiry to very narrow limits, hardly going beyond the four corners of the book the age of which is to be investigated. But such partial method is not likely to lead to solid and satisfactory results. It is necessary to take a view of the whole of the facts bearing on the subject, and to see what is known, or can be reasonably deduced, from authentic documents as to the history and fortunes of this book—a side of the question which, it may be said, has been hitherto almost entirely neglected.

Dom Bäumer gives first an exposition of the facts that can be positively known, proceeding to what must be conjecture and combination

only after the conditions of the problem to be solved are distinctly ascertained.

We start with the certain fact of the existence of a sacramentary which to writers of the first half of the ninth century in France was commonly known under the name of the 'Gelasian'. Whether they were right or wrong in so designating the sacramentary, one point at any rate is certain from the very name they gave it, viz. their belief that it was of Roman origin and dated from a time anterior to the ordering of the missal then in use in Rome, attributed to St Gregory the Great. And here it is well at the commencement to bear in mind a suggestion of common sense which, in the work of minute critical examination or handling of mere texts, seems only too readily and too commonly forgotten, namely, that if the sacramentary called 'Gelasian' had any considerable circulation in the country in which it is so frequently spoken of, that is, the Frankish Empire (in Rome it is not mentioned until a later date), it is in the last degree improbable that the oldest manuscripts now existing were the most ancient then to be found; or to put the case more definitely, it is only reasonable to suppose that, at a time when it was still a living rite, those who first spoke of the *Gelasianum* had in hand manuscripts (perhaps many) older (perhaps much older) than any which have survived not merely the disuse of the rite, but the neglect and innumerable accidents of more than a thousand years.

Was, however, this so-called Gelasian mass book largely used and widely spread in Gaul? This is a question which Dom Bäumer has been the first to discuss in all its bearings; and on the answer to it the whole history of present liturgical practice hinges. On the theories current on the subject, which assume the practical universality of the Gallican rite in Charles's kingdom in the middle of the eighth century, it has long been a puzzle to read, in an inventory of the church stuff and library of the Abbey of St-Riquier, near Abbeville, dated 831,[1] that the monastery was provided for church use with nineteen 'Gelasian missals', whilst there were, besides, only three 'Gregorian' and one 'Gregorian and Gelasian missal recently arranged by Albinus' (that is, Alcuin). And this is the more singular since the abbat, by whose care the monastery was practically refounded, enriched with ornaments, and furnished with a large collection of books, was Angilbert,[2] son-in-law, friend, counsellor, and minister of Charles, and intimately mixed up in the measures, secular and religious, of that great and autocratic

[1] The list of books is, doubtless, like that of church stuff, in the main a repetition of one taken in the first years of the century. Unfortunately, Angilbert's own list of that date, whilst detailed as to church stuff, only gives the number of the books.

[2] [See No. XIV below.]

ruler. In a now lost library catalogue of Cologne, of the year 833, there was mention of a Gelasian missal; two others are found more than a century later in the library of Lorsch, near Worms. But it is not merely in the libraries of monasteries or cathedrals that there is evidence of its use; it is also found in obscure country villages. The inventories of half a dozen such churches in the diocese of Reims, taken about the year 850, still exist. Of these six churches, three have only a 'Gregorian' missal; two possess both a 'Gregorian' and a 'Gelasian' book;[1] in the sixth the Gelasian book alone was in use. It is to be remembered that of the documents most proper to reveal to us the actual state of things in this matter, that is inventories, not a score now exist dating from the ninth century, out of hundreds, or more probably many thousands, actually taken; whilst the somewhat less rare library catalogues are generally sparing in distinguishing the kinds of missals they more often mention than particularly describe. It is worthy of notice also that in the extant lists, whether of churches or libraries, there is not a single mention of a book to be plausibly identified with a 'Gallican' missal. Account must also be taken of manuscripts, which (as will be seen later) must certainly belong to the class of missals called in the inventories 'Gelasian'. The oldest, the Vatican MS, first published by Tommasi, and now re-edited by Mr Wilson, was of Paris; another seems to come from the 'north of France';[2] another apparently from the eastern districts of the present Switzerland. Of manuscripts less well known, but without doubt falling into this pre-Gregorian class,[3] one occurs at Gellone, or St-Guillem-du-Désert, near Aniane, north-west of Montpellier, others at Angoulême, and probably at Reichenau, on the lake of Constance.[4] There is therefore documentary evidence of the existence, previous to the ninth century, and in an earlier or later form, of the book designated 'Gelasian' along the whole northern and eastern portions of

[1] There can be no doubt that the 'missale cum evangeliis et lectionibus' at Vieil-St-Remy was a Gregorian book.

[2] The Martyrology in the same volume, on which this conclusion is based, seems to point to the district of the present Belgian provinces of Hainaut and Namur; and with this the Irish indications also well accord.

[3] [It is to be remembered again that at the time this was written our ignorance of the MSS of Gellone and Angoulême, &c.—and indeed of what has since been called the '*Gelasianum* of the eighth century'— was all but complete. The Appendix (pp. 317–371) of Mr. Wilson's edition of the Gelasian Sacramentary gave an accurate list of the contents of two of the three MSS used by Gerbert, but printed by him in such a way as to make it impossible to say what precisely they did contain, or what was the order of their contents. Mr. Wilson's Appendix was the basis and starting point from which it was now possible to investigate this class of Sacramentaries.]

[4] Mone's manuscripts of 'shortened Gregorian' books evidently belong to the Gelasian class (*Lateinische und griechische Messen* pp. 122 sqq.). In Addit. MS 29276 is a Gelasian scrap of the eighth century; another, Add. MS 37518.

Charlemagne's Frankish kingdom; and also traces, though much fewer and less marked, in those south-western districts comprising the kingdom of Aquitaine.

An item in the inventory of St-Riquier now calls for attention, the 'Gregorian and Gelasian missal recently arranged by Alcuin'. Alcuin had not merely been, as abbat of St-Josse-sur-Mer, a neighbour (somewhat of an absentee neighbour doubtless) of the monastery of St-Riquier, but his letters also shew that he was a friend and intimate of the house, and that he had been engaged for the monks in revising, in accordance with the more correct taste of the time, the barbarous style of the old Life of their founder, St Richarius; so that we can be under no temptation to think that when the monks of St-Riquier attributed to Alcuin (an old and close friend also of their own abbat Angilbert) the compilation of a missal in their own possession, they were speaking on mere report, or otherwise than by real and personal knowledge of the facts.[1] What, then, is this Gelasiano-Gregorian compilation for which Alcuin is responsible? Here it is well to adopt Dom Bäumer's words:

> The Gregorian sacramentary has not come down to us without change in just the form in which it was sent by Hadrian to Charles. All known manuscripts shew an edition of the *Gregorianum* largely augmented from other sources. All 'Gregorian' books, whether they bear Gregory's name on the title, or whether they are merely designated as 'Roman', amidst infinite variety in minor details, shew practically the same body of texts and order of prayers. In a word, one and only one edition of Pope Hadrian's *Gregorianum* now exists—an edition enriched with additional matter and adapted to usages widely spread in the Frankish kingdom; and in this form only was the *Gregorianum* naturalized among the Frankish clergy and people.

It has already been pointed out that this enlarged Gregorian sacramentary exists in manuscripts which for the present purpose may be divided into three classes: (1) those in which the additional matter is kept distinct and separate from the original matter by a Preface (*Hucusque praecedens*, &c.), and frequently a detailed list of the additions; (2) manuscripts in which, though the original matter and the additions are still kept separate, yet the Preface and list of chapters, which in the former class draw so clear and unmistakable a line of division, have disappeared; (3) the largest and ever-increasing class, in which the sacramentary sent by Pope Hadrian is fused with the additions so as to form an indivisible whole, which it is no longer possible to resolve into its constituent elements.

[1] It is not at all improbable that the book list comes from the very hand of Angilbert, a special affection for whom Alcuin's letters so abundantly testify.

The Preface, therefore, in which the compiler of the Supplement gives an account of his work and of the reasons for it, is a document which *prima facie* has the strongest claims to an attentive hearing; the more so inasmuch as it is a case of the rarest occurrence to find an actual account by the author himself of a liturgical compilation. A Quignon, a Robinet, has let us into his confidence; Cranmer has explained the leading ideas which led him to substitute the Book of Common Prayer for the Missal. But these are, after all, matters of quite sectional interest compared with the constitution of this Carolingian mass book, which, a comparatively short time after its appearance, became, and has to this day continued, the great official prayer book of the whole Western Church. The fate of the Preface, and its neglect by the learned, has been singular. In all the early manuscripts it is anonymous; but when first printed, in 1571, the editor, Pamelius, on the authority of a single manuscript of a date so late as the eleventh century, attached to it the name of a personage who died nearly a century after the introduction of the *Gregorianum* into France.[1] Dom Ménard was the first, some seventy years later, to examine it with attention; and he could find no better course than to reject it as 'absurd', because it ran counter to certain not unnatural prejudices as to what a Roman mass book of the eighth century ought to be. Ernst Ranke was the first to restore the credit of the Preface by taking it seriously, and was rewarded for his pains by many a valuable hint. Duchesne has somewhat too hastily thrown over the Preface entirely to the care of a future historian of the *Gregorianum*. To Dr Probst it is difficulty and darkness.[2] It is singular that centuries have been allowed to pass, and that still a full examination of this document should have been omitted. But, as in the case of many another episode of liturgical history, there is here a tendency only too marked among persons engaged in these enquiries to take up a position in some corner of ritual research, to the neglect of the wise warning of one who spoke with the knowledge that comes from experience: 'We must penetrate into history if, in the subject of liturgy, we are to arrive at clearness, fixity, certainty in our conclusions.'

Let us, then, see what the compiler, to whom we owe our present missal, and much else in the Pontifical and Ritual, has to say for himself. It is this: 'The foregoing sacramentary (*sacramentorum libellus*) up to this point is known to have been put forth (*constat esse editus*) by the Blessed Pope Gregory, except those items which the reader will

[1] The book of Pamelius still remains the only one which shews the Preface in its proper place in the sacramentary; and even his print gives names not warranted by the manuscripts. It seems unnecessary to burden the discussion any further with the names of Rodradus and Grimoldus, which may be considered as disposed of.

[2] [See further as to this Preface No. XV below.]

find marked at the beginning with a dagger (*virgula*), the Nativity and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, but chiefly in Lent'; also the mass of St Gregory. Moreover, by the carelessness of scribes, the text had become corrupt, so that the book (*libellus*) was no longer in the state in which it had left St Gregory's hands (*ut ab authore suo est editus*). This defect, he says, he has made good, and corrected; and he appeals with considerable confidence to his work as proof that he had restored the original and true reading (*quem cum prudens lector studiose perlegerit verum nos dicere ilico comprobabit*). First of all, then, it is clear that the writer had submitted the sacramentary sent from Rome to a critical examination; that (although this was unnecessary for practical purposes) his scholarly instincts, combined perhaps with a veneration for the great St Gregory, induced him, without moving them from their proper place in the book, to distinguish by a mark later additions from the work of Gregory himself; moreover, he restored the text to what he felt assured was its original purity. The writer does not here state in so many words that he used earlier manuscripts to correct the text in his hands; but in view of the terms he uses, of the delicate circumstances attending the correction of a liturgical book proceeding from such an 'author', of his care to mark later insertions (and those who are best acquainted with the uncertainty attending the date of the introduction of new feasts into particular churches will best estimate the difficulty of that task), it is not unreasonable to suppose that the revision was conducted on the lines of collation with older manuscripts, and that the reviser had means within his reach for such collation. These processes were perfectly well known at the time; and the value of older or good manuscripts was perfectly well appreciated.

After describing his work on the Gregorian sacramentary, the writer proceeds to give an account of the Supplement added by himself:

But since there are other materials which Holy Church necessarily (*necessario*) uses, and which the aforesaid Father [Gregory], seeing that they had been already put forth by others, left aside (*praetermisit*), we have thought it worth while to gather them like spring flowers of the meadows, and collect them together, and place them in this book apart, but corrected and amended and headed with their titles, so that the reader may find in this work all things which we have thought necessary for our times, although we had found a great many also embodied in other sacramentaries (*sacramentorum libellis*). But for the purpose of separation we have placed this little preface in the middle, so that it may form the close of one book [Gregory's] and the beginning of the other [his own]; to the intent that, one book being before the preface and the other after it (*hinc inde ordinabiliter eisdem positis libellis*), every one may know what was put forth by Blessed Gregory and what by

other Fathers. . . . Let the reader be assured that we have inserted nothing but what has been written with great accuracy and care by men of excellent learning and the highest repute (*nisi ea quae a probatissimis et eruditissimis magna diligentia exarata sunt viris*).

After stating that he had given a collection of special mass prefaces at the end of the book, he continues: 'We also add the benedictions to be said by the bishop over the people; also, what is not to be found in the aforesaid book of Blessed Gregory, ordination forms for minor orders.'

The materials, therefore, for this supplement, *ex multis multa,* as he says, were gathered by the writer from other missals, but he took the pains to give as correct a text as possible. A certain embarrassment of tone is observable as soon as he comes to speak of this his own work; as, indeed, it was a strong measure to add for official liturgical use an appendix of prayers, selected on individual judgement, to a sacramentary believed to be the actual work of one at that time so greatly venerated as Gregory the Great, and an Appendix, too, of about twice the length of Gregory's whole book. The suggestion, that St Gregory omitted the offices given in the appendix 'because he saw that they had been already put forth by others', will not bear examination. And, indeed, the writer passes on quickly from St Gregory's intentions to others with which he must have been much better acquainted, his own. '*We*' saw that these additions were 'necessary *for our times*,' he says; he also says, it is true, that 'holy Church *necessarily* uses them', but goes on to explain, as we shall see, that by this latter 'necessity' he only means, 'if you are bent on using these forms you may, but there is no necessity in the sense of need, for St Gregory's *libellus* is a sufficient missal without my additions.'

This is how he develops his own intentions in compiling the supplement:

And as we thought it was not at all decent or possible to pay no regard to the wishes of those who look to find these so excellent and varied holy observances (*et quoniam excludendos tantarum quaesitores diversarumque institutionum sanctarum nequaquam dignum vel possibile esse censuimus*), we would at any rate satisfy the most worthy desires of all these persons by the present abundant collection. If it please any one to accept what, without any desire of imposing ourselves on others (*sine fastu arrogantiae*), we have collected with pious affection and the greatest care, we beg him not to be of mind ungrateful for our toil, but with us to render thanks to the Giver of all good things. But if he consider our collection a superfluity and not necessary for himself, let him use the work of the aforesaid Father alone, which in not a tittle may he reject without peril to himself; and let him also tolerate those who demand [our supplement] and wish piously to use it. For, not for the

thankless and the scornful, but for the zealous and the devout have we brought together this collection in which he to whom these prayers are dear and familiar (*cui animo sedent*) may find wherewith he may worthily and with a mind unruffled[1] pay to our Lord his due vows, and perform the service of divine worship. . . . Moreover, we entreat those to whom they are acceptable, to receive with charity the collection of prefaces added at the end of the volume, and sing them; but we beg they be neither adopted nor sung by those who, understanding, do not like them, or who, willing to receive, do not understand them.[2]

The writer ends by asking copyists of his volume to pray for him who had taken so much care for the benefit of many, and—a last request—'pray copy correctly, or else my diligent emendation will have been in vain'.

What is the value of this document, what is its real meaning, and what is its authorship? The author, though he has been careful to suppress his name, and to give no direct indication of his rank and position, and has only shewn that he was at all events a scholar, must have been a person of the highest consideration. For this the facts themselves speak. In this recension, and in this recension only, was the Gregorian sacramentary adopted, in accordance with the will of Charles the Great, throughout his empire. This recension spread immediately; and at some date, which may perhaps never be ascertainable, though probably during the course of the ninth century, it was adopted by the Roman Church, thus explaining the existence of so many Gallican features in the present Roman rite. Humble as is the tone, and simple as are the words of the compiler, there can be nothing less than supreme power in the background. No work of private venture, dependent for adoption on the mere appreciation or taste of individuals, could, in those days of parchment and written books, have obtained within a few decades so universal and so exclusive a recognition. It was an official undertaking, and it is hardly too much to call the Preface *Hucusque* a State Paper of the time.

To understand the full force and value of the document it is necessary to scan its words closely, and note the meaning that underlies its smooth and apologetic phrases. (1) It appears that the use of the *Gregorianum* was not to be optional; whatever else was used, or not used, the book sent by Hadrian to Charles must be. On this point

[1] *Placabiliter.* It may be said 'in a way pleasing to God' would be more exact; but, even so, the idea would, after all, be no other than that given in the text. Persons who recall the circumstances issuing in the establishment of the Romano-Lyonese use will be well able to enter into the sense of *placabiliter* here.

[2] Compare 'Quamvis enim melius sit bene facere quam nosse, prius tamen est nosse quam facere': so Charles, in his circular letter *De litteris colendis*, issued between 780 and 800 (*M. G. Capit.* i 79).

a note is struck quite out of accord with the tone of the rest of the document; here for a moment the veil is lifted, and the force behind is seen—'reject it at your peril'. This was to be the book of the future at any rate. (2) However the writer, in freeing himself from consideration of the *Gregorianum* and passing on to his own work, may have found it convenient to speak of the offices in his Supplement being 'necessarily' used in the Church, the sequel makes it perfectly clear that the use of the Supplement was to be considered optional, and according to the discretion of the individual; and the *libellus* of the Blessed Pope Gregory is contemplated as a mass book complete in itself, and containing all that was needful. (3) The writer leaves us in no doubt as to the reasons for his compilation and its object. Habit and tradition had rooted in the minds and hearts of the clergy these masses and solemn observances which he had gathered so amply from other sacramentaries; the compiler knew this as a fact, *animo sedent*, and the extraordinary success which has attended his work is the best proof that his words are true, and that the 'seekers' after these 'so excellent and varied holy observances' were a powerful majority.

And who was the compiler? It is evident from the circumstances of the case that it can be no one else than a man in direct relation with governing circles, in other words in the confidence of Charlemagne himself. Moreover, only to a scholar of the first rank would he entrust a task vastly more important than the compilation of the book of Homilies which he assigned to Paul Warnefrid, a man only second in eminence to Alcuin. Only two or three men can suggest themselves as fit instruments for such a task, which was hardly less important than the revision of the Biblical text itself. And no name occurs more readily or more reasonably to the mind than that of Alcuin. If earlier and better manuscripts were required, who so likely to be acquainted with these as the former head of the school at York—whence, a few years later, he drew manuscripts to aid him in his revision of the Bible; who well knew, too, the richly stored and, as yet, intact English libraries largely gathered from Rome and Italy in the course of the seventh century? Moreover, a spirit makes itself felt in the preface characteristic of the Alcuin who reveals himself in his correspondence, betraying an almost nervous anxiety to be beforehand with friction, to lessen risk of conflict. When it is found, moreover, on contemporary testimony above suspicion, that Alcuin did in fact carry out such a work as the combination of the Gregorian and Gelasian, the newer and older, Roman sacramentaries, little doubt can remain as to the answer to the question, Who is the author of the Preface *Hucusque*, and who is the compiler of the Supplement attached to the *Gregorianum* sent by

Pope Hadrian I to Charles the Great?[1] Just as, later, Alcuin was chosen by Charles to carry out a correction of the Bible which was meant to issue in the disuse of the ancient versions and in a certain uniformity of the copies of the sacred text in future, so too the same scholar was chosen by Charles for the task of preparing a corrected text of the mass book in use in Rome, to be imposed for the purpose of securing a greater liturgical uniformity and conformity with actual Roman practice throughout his dominions; and was entrusted with the further task of facilitating the adoption of the new mass book by the addition of a supplement, giving a selection of older materials, largely Roman, which had fallen into disuse in Rome, but had maintained themselves in the realm of the Franks, modified indeed and fused with Gallican elements. The words of M. Samuel Berger in describing Alcuin's work on the Bible may be fitly adapted to the present case. A Visigoth such as Theodulph of Orleans, independent in mind and character, and son of a land which had for centuries been separated from the rest of Gaul, must remain a stranger in the empire of Charlemagne. The discipline and perseverance (it may be added, the practical sense) of an Anglo-Saxon such as Alcuin could better serve the powerful will and clear thought of such a prince as Charles the Great. In liturgy, after Alcuin, all is changed; a levelling hand has passed over the particularism that before prevailed; liturgical texts assume a more uniform tenor, their colour is less varied and local. The older liturgies have almost everywhere been put out of use, and the copies of the missal become uniform: under reserve, of course, of very numerous variations of detail and continual minor alterations. But at least this result was achieved: since Alcuin, the only missal in use is the Gelasiano-Gregorian compilation. The older liturgies, the pure Roman, the Gallican, and at length the Mozarabic disappear, to give place to a common and universally accepted rite based, as its main factor, on Roman observance. And that is what Charlemagne had willed should be. In a word, it is the Englishman Alcuin who has been the instrument to settle the structure and tenor henceforth of the liturgy of the Western Church.

[1] As to Alcuin's personal opinion on the desirability of new liturgical compilations, as such, his letter to Archbishop Eanbald of York is explicit enough. Eanbald's desire for a newly arranged missal may not improbably have been prompted by what was taking place under the direction of Charlemagne. 'Have you not', he says, 'an abundance of *libelli sacratorii* arranged in the Roman fashion? You have also enough larger sacramentaries of the older use. What need is there to draw up new when the old suffice?' (Haddan and Stubbs iii p. 508.) But Alcuin, with all his qualities, had, like Erasmus, a strong sense of the value of powerful and paying patronage. It was not an Alcuin who would directly thwart the will of Charles the Great in a matter such as this. The passage is also interesting as shewing the existence at York of both Gelasian and Gregorian books at this time.

The interest of the discussion is, however, deeper than such as may concern a mere personal question; nor for Catholics, indeed, is it the disinterment of the mere fossils of a buried past. In this London of the present day we are still 'Gelasian', 'Gregorian', 'Gallican', though it may be unawares. In the churches of the secular (and most of the regular) clergy we may still hear the lessons 'according to Gelasius'; in the churches of some among the religious orders (the Dominicans, for instance), 'according to Gregory'; and in both cases a blessing of the paschal candle, which neither in word nor in deed is any part of the genuine Roman rite at all, but an importation of the most popular Gallican form. These existent anomalies lead us back to what is the turning point in the development of Western liturgy. The considerations which have been dwelt on enable us at last to realize the import of those frequent notices of the existence of the 'Gelasian' missal which meet us through the whole region from the shores of the northern sea along the German frontier up to the borders of north-eastern Italy, and to form some adequate idea of the prevalence in the Frankish kingdom of this earlier type of Roman missal. Only one interpretation can be put on plain and patent facts. On the one hand stands Charles's desire for uniformity, by means of a greater conformity with the practice of the Apostolic See, in observance, in song, in rites, as part of a policy long and steadily pursued. On the other hand we have (what is in itself a derogation from the desired ideal) the compilation of an addition to the Roman missal sent to him, an addition made on the express ground that those who are to use this missal will look for and demand the masses, offices, functions contained in the Supplement and largely drawn from the *Gelasianum*. The conclusion is inevitable that this earlier Roman mass book was, at the close of the eighth century, the dominant rite throughout these regions which formed the backbone of the Carolingian monarchy and the main seat of power of the ruling house, and that the Gallican rite had in these quarters by slow degrees given place to it; though that rite very probably still remained, in a great measure, the use of those south-western districts of France which were a dependent rather than a ruling fraction of the kingdom.

But can the book thus entitled, whether rightly or wrongly, 'Gelasian' be identified with any extant manuscript? The so-called Leonine sacramentary, though Roman, is a mere collection of materials; and, confronted with Alcuin's supplement, shews that it cannot be the book sought for. Besides the Gregorian, there is only one other book which claims to be the Book of the Sacraments, or missal of the Roman Church, the earliest manuscript of which, and the only one known of that recension, is now re-edited by the Rev. H. A. Wilson. Comparing

the text of this book and the Supplement, it is evident that Alcuin derived a large proportion of his material from a book belonging to this class, and that here we have in substance one of the 'Gelasian' missals mentioned in the ninth century, which, previous to that date, had become denizen in Gaul.

In the light of the facts thus ascertained, we may revert to the remarks of M. Duchesne on this manuscript, and his statement that it was copied from a Roman original some time between the years 628 and 731. It seems to be overlooked in some quarters that, after all, Duchesne only touches on this question of the particular *Gelasianum* so far as his immediate purpose requires, and that, in the vagueness so common in the treatment of liturgical questions, it is very necessary to recall to enquirers such simple facts as data to work back from; and it is not the fault of that writer, whose whole book would seem to teach quite another lesson, if a starting point is by some readers taken for the conclusion of the whole matter. But what is now in question is a point which Duchesne does not discuss, viz. when did the Gelasian book first find its way into Gaul? And here it would seem that the mere obvious facts of the case postulate that this must have taken place at some date considerably earlier than the age of the oldest existing manuscript, namely the close of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century. The space of some seventy, eighty, or hundred years is far too limited to allow of so wide a spread in the Frankish kingdom of a new and non-native mass book. The period 650–750 was largely, too, one of civil disturbance and foreign invasion, with a weakened central authority, or with rulers, civil and ecclesiastical alike, interesting themselves not overmuch in ecclesiastical life or the progress of religion. In this case the book imported from abroad was imposed neither by statesman and prelate nor by monarch. No record is left of the gradual steps by which the *Gelasianum* obtained so wide a popularity on this side of the Alps; we are confronted with the completed fact, which has to be explained by such general considerations as a knowledge of the times and the then common mode of procedure shew to be just. Whether the initiative came from above or below, from bishop or individual priest or abbat, zealous for novelty, or prepossessed by education or taste for the fashions of Rome, we know not. A large freedom then existed in such matters. It may be that the book thus brought from Rome was more methodized, more complete than any that at the time was in use in Gaul; the extant Gallican books make this not unlikely; and thus, quite apart from its origin, it may have had in itself, in the eyes of those who adopted it, a strong practical recommendation. It must have thus spread from church to church, diocese to diocese, left to make its own way by steps that cannot now be

determined, in its progress incorporating elements derived from rites already existing in these regions, and in its turn contributing elements to the mass books already there in use. And this consideration again furnishes striking evidence how widely the Roman books must have been spread in the Frankish kingdom already in the seventh century, and shews in what manner they were appreciated.[1] Four extant missals of that or the immediately succeeding age have hitherto passed as representing the liturgy of the Gallican rite.[2] Just as Gallican elements are found fused with the original Roman book in the earliest manuscript of the *Gelasianum*, so in these 'Gallican' missals, on the Gallican foundation there have been worked in Roman prayers, Roman offices, in a way which shews that in those centuries it is no longer correct to speak in the strict sense of the Gallican rite in these Gallic lands, but at most of a Romanized Gallican, so deeply are the only extant books penetrated with Romanism. We may take them one by one according to the summary account of the case as given by Duchesne. First, in the so-called *Missale Gothicum*, or sacramentary of Autun, the purest of the four, 'all the formulae are arranged according to the order of the Gallican mass; but many of them (as regards the text), especially in the masses in honour of the saints, are Roman formulae.' Secondly, in the *Missale Gallicanum vetus*, 'there is, as in the Autun sacramentary, a large proportion of Roman elements.' Thirdly, in the so-called *Missale Francorum*, which in the thirteenth century was preserved in the Abbey of St Denis, the Roman element is so strong, and the Gallican so subordinate, that M. Duchesne has removed it from the series of Gallican books in order to class it with the Roman. As regards the fourth manuscript, the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum*, or missal of Bobbio, the masses contained in it shew Gallican formulae up to the preface. Henceforward they appear to have been said according to 'the Roman form given at the beginning of the book'.[3]

[1] The question of any influence of the *Gregorianum* in France in the seventh century and first half of the eighth is a subject which deserves a special and minute investigation.

[2] I say nothing of the pure Gallican masses first edited by F. J. Mone, which belong to an earlier period. The Reichenau MS 253 at Karlsruhe is a palimpsest; the leaves of a Gallican *libellus missalis* have been used for copying the commentary of Jerome on St Matthew. This copy was made partly before the end of the seventh century, partly in the eighth. Delisle (*Anciens Sacramentaires* No. viii) has taken the age of the Jerome manuscript for the age of the mass book; Duchesne (*Origines* ed. 4 p. 154) simply quotes Delisle. Mone considers the mass book to have been written in any case not later than the middle of the sixth century (*Lateinische und gr. Messen* pp. 10, 151-152). [The question of the date of the two handwritings has now been cleared up in Dom Wilmart's article in *Revue Bénéd.*, Oct. 1911, pp. 377 sqq.; he assigns the missal fragments to A.D. 650, or a little earlier.]

[3] There can be now no doubt that the missal is of Irish compilation, not improbably at Bobbio itself. Duchesne was not aware of the intimate connexion between it and the original portion of the Stowe Missal.

On review we find, therefore: (1) actual evidence of the *Gelasianum* in use in a wide stretch of the Frankish kingdom; (2) its use to a large extent in the compilation of the supplement to the *Gregorianum*; (3) the statement of the compiler that this was done because the book thus used was so popular; (4) evidence of its influence in all extant missals of the Gallican rite of the seventh and eighth centuries. To whichever side of the problem we turn, we are met with the same evidence, clear and unmistakable, of this widely spread Romanizing tendency in the liturgy of Gallican churches in the seventh and eighth centuries, and already not in slight and modest beginnings, but in an advanced stage of development. Until the day shall come when, by discovery of new or unexpected sources of information, we are assured of a sudden outbreak of enthusiasm for Roman rites and practices in the Frankish kingdom some time during the course of the seventh century—a revolution of which there is no trace in the historical monuments of that age—we must have recourse to an explanation consonant both with the dictates of good sense and with what is known as to the methods of the time, and postulate a period long enough to allow of the gradual extension and popularization of the new rite, bringing its introduction into connexion with the efforts of so many Gallican Councils of the sixth century to effect at once a greater liturgical uniformity at home, and, in some respects, an approximation to the practices existing in Rome. A full and deliberate survey of all the circumstances of the case leads to the conclusion of F. J. Mone (who was almost the first to insist on the necessity of carrying on liturgical investigations with a continual reference to the history of the time), that the introduction of the *Gelasianum* into Gaul must be thrown back into the sixth century. And indeed this is a conclusion in no wise contradicted by the internal evidence of the earliest extant manuscript of that missal, which evidently embodies a discipline, order, and rite well corresponding with that age.[1]

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[1] There exists, so far as I know, the description of only one missal of the sixth century, a missal compiled by Maximian, archbishop of Ravenna (546-556/7); the account is given, too, by a thorough-paced antiquary who had himself examined it. It was evidently in two books—one *per anni circulum*, the second for masses of saints—and omitted the votive masses which comprise the bulk of the third book in the *Gelasianum*, the cotidian masses (in which those for Sundays may be included) being placed in the first book. Maximian (says Agnellus, the biographer of the archbishops of Ravenna, writing about 840) 'edidit namque missales per totum circulum anni et sanctorum omnium. Cotidianis namque et quadragesimalibus temporibus, vel quicquid ad ecclesiae ritum pertinet, omnia ibi sine dubio invenietis'. He says these *missales* formed a goodly volume—'grande volumen' (*Mon. Germ. SS. Rer. Langobard.* p. 332). The writer's Latin is his own, and is untouched by the Carolingian revival, and he is magniloquent; but his meaning is clear enough; and whilst it is impossible to bring this description into agreement with either the Leonine or Gregorian books, it accords easily enough with the Gelasian type.

[In the original article there followed some remarks on the new edition of the Gelasian Sacramentary which, as now of no interest, are here omitted.]

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To any one who follows with attention recent literature on the subject of early liturgy, it is evident that M. Duchesne's book on the 'Origins of Christian Worship' has set ideas on the subject all in disarray. There is in our days a desire, perhaps excessive, to be up to date and be critical, scientific; but then this book makes it so difficult to know what view to take on so many points of important detail. And indeed there is much excuse for the puzzled attitude of mind of the specialists, which exists in fact, however decorously it may be concealed from the eye of the profane. Duchesne goes along his own road, in irregular and unsystematic fashion; he points with the finger now in this direction, now in that, and there are interesting conjunctures when the indications seem to be almost contradictory. Sometimes he simply disregards the bypaths he himself points out; sometimes he enters upon them, but only to stop short provokingly just at the point where his guidance is most needed. There runs through his rapid survey something of a good-humoured contempt for his audience which is not a little disconcerting; and he probably knew them well. The *Origines* is a book which, though professing by its form to be a work of popularization, can only be used as it should be by those best able to form an opinion for themselves; and it will be most highly valued, be found most useful, and be most frequently consulted, by those least at the author's mercy.

A reaction from an exaggerated traditionalism, as exemplified in the methods of the first volume of Dom Guéranger's *Institutions liturgiques*, was inevitable; and it was natural that it should manifest itself most clearly in France. The reaction which has, in fact, ensued shews, like such movements generally, a tendency on its side to exaggeration, though doubtless even by exaggeration it has greatly helped to bring into clear relief the problems that have to be dealt with, and to disengage in many respects bare truth of fact. The question of the origins of the Roman mass book is only one item of a subject which, if satisfactory and fairly sure results are to be arrived at, must be studied not merely with exactness in isolated points of detail, but as a whole in all its bearings.

The charming book on the 'History of the Roman Breviary', by M. Pierre Batiffol, probably marks a term of reaction, although for a time it is to be expected that the many persons who would desire to appear on the level of scientific progress at little cost to themselves will readily appropriate, without further enquiry, the newest theories.

There are not wanting signs, however, that a sober review of the whole evidence must issue, as regards the earliest Roman mass books, in a recognition that the traditional names 'Gelasian' and 'Gregorian' represent, as applied to the books hitherto passing under those names, a practical truth, the neglect of which must turn the history of the liturgy in the West into a mere enigma; and that the *Gelasianum* is substantially the Roman mass book of the sixth century.

The foregoing article was in type when the unexpected intelligence arrived of the death of Dom Bäumer. He had already finished his work on the history of the Breviary, which is passing through the press, and he was about to address himself to his further task of the early history of the Roman, or rather Western, Liturgy. The materials gathered during a long course of years were in hand, the plan was sketched, and the work had been so far meditated on and thought out, that a few months would have sufficed for its completion.[1] By his death sacred learning suffers a heavy loss; there is no one ready to take his place. To his brethren in religion, to his friends, the loss is more grievous still of one who was so truly simple of heart and single of eye; so upright, so penetrated with the loving fear of God.

[1] [So I wrote in the summer of 1894, not anticipating the surprise in store for me in the following year on the recovery first of Charles's *Gregorianum* in the genuine form as described in the *Hucusque*, and, secondly, of the Gallic '*Gelasianum* of the eighth century'; with the consequent necessity of a thorough reconsideration of the whole complex of questions affecting the history of the Roman Sacramentaries from the sixth century to the tenth. Neither Dom Bäumer nor I realized in 1894, and he never lived to know, how ignorant we actually were of the mass books themselves, or how essentially necessary, as a preliminary to the history of the Roman mass itself, was the laborious work of a history of those books, which could only be written after a mastery of them in all their details.]

IV

ON SOME EARLY MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *GREGORIANUM*[1]

THE notes on which the following paper is based were taken during the first half of the year 1895, a considerable portion of which was devoted to a minute examination of the mass books of an earlier date than the tenth century in the Vatican Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and at Cambrai. The object was personal: viz. if possible to satisfy my mind in regard to a certain number of questions on the answers to which must depend the history of public worship and sacred rites in western Europe from the sixth century to the tenth. As, for instance, these: (1) Is it possible to recognize with certainty the *Gregorianum* in the actual state in which it was sent by Pope Hadrian to Charles, and to define with exactness its contents? (2) If so, what MSS present that text in its most authentic tradition and purest form? (3) What is to be thought of such books as e. g. the *Gregorianum* of Ménard; can they be said to represent in any degree better the mass book, and practice, of Rome about the year 800 than did, say, the missals of Auxerre or Beauvais, Sens or Paris in 1760? (4) The exact nature and text of *Greg* thus determined, in what sort of relation does it stand to *Gelas*; and, in particular, were these two books ever in use at the same time in Rome, or did the one displace the other, as, say, the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI displaced the First? (5) In what degree can the use of *Greg* be traced in the extant MSS of both types of *Gelas*, viz. the earlier type represented by the Vatican MS, or the later Gallic type which I have called 'the eighth-century recension' (= '*Gelas* saec. viii'); or traced even in 'Gallican' and 'Mozarabic' books? (6) Finally, by what steps, in exact detail, did the book consisting of the *Gregorianum* and the Carolingian Supplement come to take the form presented by the type of missal common in the eleventh and twelfth centuries?

The interest attaching to these investigations is not merely liturgical. Much more than this is in question, and much that to many persons may appear more interesting. They involve the elucidation of one of

[1] From the *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1903.

the most instructive and least known chapters of Merovingian history which will, perhaps better than any other single line of enquiry, exhibit the gradual process of preparation for the Carolingian revival with its Roman aspirations of every kind, and preference for Roman models; and will shew that this was no sudden outburst, but the result of a movement that with slow but sure steps had been maturing for nearly two centuries. But the proof of all this for the assurance and the purposes of the historian can be given only after much detailed technical work on the part of the liturgist. The aim of the present note is to make some slight contribution to this object by an attempt to answer the first question raised above, and also the second so far as the MSS investigated by me, in combination with the description of others by Delisle and Ebner, will allow.[1]

The MSS that I have examined for the purpose fall into two classes:

I. Those which contain the *Gregorianum*[2] only, without the Carolingian Supplement: viz. the Cambrai MS 164 (old numbering, 159), written for the Church of Cambrai in the episcopate of bishop Hildoard, (790–816) (see Delisle, note 2 of the last page of *Mémoire sur d'anciens Sacramentaires*); and the Paris B. N. lat. 2292 (Delisle, *op. cit.* No. xxiii), presented by bishop John of Arezzo to the abbey of Nonantola,

[1] [I think it well in this reprint to state here at once that even a cursory examination of the MSS of Charles's *Gregorianum* would have conclusively shewn that the 'Sacramentaire d'Hadrien' embodied in it contained not only masses and the sacramental rites of Holy Week and Pentecost (in Muratori's edition up to col. 138; see above p. 41 n. 1), but also the subsidiary offices and prayers required for the pastoral ministry of an ordinary priest (col. 241–272). Had this simple consultation of the MSS, whether in Paris or in Rome, been resorted to, the theory that the *Gregorianum* is the Pope's book, propagated as it has been in four French and three English editions of the *Origines du culte chrétien*, and in the late Bishop of Salisbury's *Ministry of Grace*, would, it is only rational to suppose, never have been heard of. The absence of Sunday masses in the 'Sacramentaire d'Hadrien' would have remained an 'outstanding difficulty'; and an 'outstanding difficulty' it is still. But the terms of its solution must be such as are compatible with the three following statements of matter of fact:

(*a*) the sets of masses for the Sundays after Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost existed (as we now know from the Monte Cassino palimpsest) in the *Gregorianum* in use in Rome at the close of the seventh century;

(*b*) such sets of masses were absent from the *Gregorianum* sent by Pope Hadrian I to Charles in the late years of the eighth century;

(*c*) the sets of masses for the Sundays after Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost embodied by Alcuin in his Supplement were textually the same as those mentioned in (*a*).

In other words, the question really raised by the facts is, in simple form, this: we know on unimpeachable evidence that Pope Hadrian I executed a reform of the Roman books for the Divine Office; did he also reform the Missal?]

[2] In using the terms *Gregorianum* and *Gelasianum* I do not wish to beg questions. While believing that both do represent substantially what is the truth, I would gladly use any conventional designations that might be agreed on. See the last two pages of the article '*Ueber das sogenannte Sacramentarium Gelasianum*' in the *Hist. Jahrbuch* xiv: 'In dieser Untersuchung,' &c. (p. 300); which, indeed, are only a German translation of an English original.

near Modena, about the seventh decade of the ninth century. These two MSS will be designated *Ca* and *Non* respectively.

II. Those which contain *Greg* and the Carolingian Supplement. These MSS contain also, on fly-leaves or at the beginning and end of the various MSS, much additional matter, generally by other and later hands. Such additions are of primary importance for the history and development of the missal from the ninth to the eleventh century, for they lay bare the economy of later mediaeval liturgy, in Missal, Ritual, Pontifical. The MSS to be reviewed are:

1. Vat. Regin. 337 (*Reg*).[1]

2. Vat. Ottobon. 313, from Paris, Delisle No. xxxv (*Ott*).

3. Paris B. N. lat. 12050, the missal of the priest Rodradus, Delisle No. xxii (*Rodr*).

4. Paris B. N. lat. 2812, from Arles, Delisle No. xxxvi (*Arel*).

5. Paris B. N. lat. 9429, from Beauvais, Delisle No. lii (*Belv*).

All these MSS are assigned to the ninth century except *Belv*, which is stated to be of the tenth.[2]

As *Ca* is practically unknown, and *Rodr* presents features of special

[1] [This is the MS from which the print in Muratori's *Liturgia Romana Vetus* was made. Mention of it will be sought for in vain in Delisle's *Mémoire sur d'anciens Sacramentaires*. The last person, to my knowledge, who records that he used it was Vezzosi, the editor of Tommasi, in the middle of the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth it was given up for lost by the custodians of the Vatican Library themselves. Ebner (p. 241) tells us how, on the occasion of two literary visits to Rome, his repeated efforts and insistence resulted only in assurances from Mgr Carini, the prefect, and Father Bollig, a librarian (and, by the way, a liturgist), that it could not be found. How I 'found' it is described in the 'Liturgical Note' in the *Book of Cerne* p. 238. Ten minutes' examination sufficed to tell me that the 'Pope Hadrian' mentioned at the *Exultet* was Pope Hadrian II (867–872), successor of Nicholas I (858–867), whose name had been erased, not Hadrian I; and that the MS therefore is not, as had been often stated, of the late eighth century and of Charles's own day, but of the ninth, and, as I should venture to think, of about the middle of that century.]

[2] The following MSS described or mentioned by Delisle, and Ebner *Iter Italicum*, not examined by me, may (and some certainly do) contain *Greg* as found in the MSS mentioned in the text: 1. Autun, Seminary Library, MS 19 *bis*, Delisle No. xvi. 2. Reims, Town Libr., MS 320–272 (213 [E 320], I believe, of the present catalogue), Delisle No. xxi. 3. Le Mans, Town Libr., MS 77, Delisle No. xxxi. 4. Florence, Laurentian Libr., MS Aedil. 121, Delisle No. xlix; Ebner, pp. 29–30, 385. 5. Verona, Chapter Libr., MS 91, Delisle No. xxvi; Ebner, pp. 290–291. 6. Verona, Chapter Libr., MS 86, Delisle No. xxv; Ebner, pp. 286–288. 7. Mainz, Seminary Libr.; Bäumer, p. 255. 8. Cologne, Cathedral Libr., MS 137, Delisle No. xxxix; Ebner, p. 383. 9. Donaueschingen, MS 191, Delisle No. xli. In company with Dom Bäumer I saw this MS some eleven or twelve years ago, but cannot remember its arrangement; I doubt if it can be of so early a date (*c.* 830) as he is disposed to assign to it. There is a possibility that 10. Monza, MS in the Treasury, Ebner, p. 105; 11. Chapter Libr. $\frac{\text{C. 19}}{100}$, Ebner, p. 107; and 12. one of the Essen MSS at Düsseldorf (Delisle No. xl; see Bäumer in *Hist. Jahrb.* 1893, p. 258), may belong to this class; as would also 13. the Senlis Sacramentary, Paris Bibl. de Ste-Geneviève, MS latin BB. 20, Delisle No. xxxii, but for the displacement of the ordinations (evidently a Gallicanized set) which are placed between Mur. ii col. 240 and the prefaces.

interest, some observations on these two books are necessary before proceeding further. *Ca* is at once distinguished from every Carolingian Sacramentary that I have seen, or found described (except the later Cambrai MS 162–163, old numbering 158, also saec. ix), by the shape of the volume, tall and narrow, nearly three times as high as broad (295 × 103 millim.). The original MS consists of ff. 35ᵇ–203 ; ff. 2–35ᵃ and 204–245 comprise supplementary matter added by various hands in the ninth century. Though of mean appearance compared with its congeners, this MS was intended, so far as the ideas of the Cambrai School [1] could go in that direction, as a 'Prachtexemplar'. In the centre of ff. 35ᵇ, 36 and 37 over a space 220 × 72 millim. surrounded by red lines, the vellum is purple ; f. 35ᵇ offers the title in gold and white characters, disposed in fourteen lines as follows, the words or parts of words printed in italics being in gold : '*In nomi*|ne dn̄i hic sa|cramentorv̄ [2] | de circulo | *anni* | *exposito* | a sc̄o Gregorio | Papa

[1] The days were long since past when (as Traube says, *Perrona Scottorum* in *Sitzungsber. d. kgl. bayer. Akad., phil.-hist. Classe*, 1900, p. 493) Péronne, St-Riquier, Corbie, those three monasteries on the Somme, were literary centres animated by a common Irish spirit. When the Cambrai MS 164 was being written, Corbie under Adalard, and St-Riquier through Angilbert, looked to Rome, not to Ireland, for their culture, and the representation of Irish influences in those quarters had passed to Cambrai. Thus the most ancient extant MS of the 'Hibernensis', still at Cambrai, was written there during the episcopate of Hildoard's predecessor Alberic († 790?) ; a MS now at Petrograd (Q. ii 5), for the most part also excerpts from the Canons, contains a set of twenty verses (printed *M. G. Poet. Latin.* i 411–412) which the Irishman Dungal addresses to Hildoard, in which he describes himself as 'exiguum et famulum . . . tuum'. It is not improbable that the letter from Dungal (first printed by Jaffé from a Harl. MS, and since by Dümmler in *M. G. Epp.* iv 578) to a bishop not named, from whom he received an allowance, was addressed to Hildoard. Another Petrograd MS (F. i 7, saec. viii) contains an 'Egloga' from St Gregory's *Moralia* of Lathcen filius Baith (? the Irish prince, *s.* vii), see *Neues Archiv* v 246. Did this also come from Cambrai? I may be considered as giving way unduly to imagination if, remembering the literary jealousies, friendships, and coteries in the days of Charles and Lewis, I suggest that, whilst the Carolingian Supplement is naturally found at St-Riquier, its absence is as natural at Cambrai (the solitary 'Scottic' MS at St-Riquier early in the ninth century, Traube, p. 529, was probably a relic of the old *fonds*). The comparatively poor and mean form and style of the two sacramentaries at Cambrai suggested at once when I saw them the usual character of the more ordinary Irish codices. The initials, neat, and of good effect from their mere lines, may doubtless tell their tale to the expert ; although I noticed in MS 164 but one initial of the common Irish type with dots, fol. 175ᵇ.

[2] It is impossible here to discuss the question what was the precise text of the title of the book sent from Rome, which, as found in MSS, has, it seems to me, little, if any, real value for the elucidation of the history of the *Gregorianum*. But, if this title be discussed at all, the evidence of *Ca* on this point is not to be lightly dismissed. The '*liber* sacramentorum' of most MSS is not improbably a correction suggested by the niceness of the later Carolingian scholars, who would scout a 'Hic' or 'Incipit Sacramentorum'. The noun on which this genitive depends is commonly suppressed in the earliest liturgical documents : 'ordine quo in Sacramentorum continetur', Ordo Rom. i § 32, cf. § 39 ; 'sicut in Sacramentorum commemoratur', Angoulême Sacramentary B. N. lat. 816 (hereafter called *Ang*) f. 47ᵃ, cf. Muratori ii 401 ; St-Amand Ordo in Duchesne *Origines*, 2ᵉ éd. p. 459, 3ᵉ p. 476. The 'Incipit Sacramentorium' of *Non* (see Delisle No. xxiii) is probably only a scribe's correction of the MS before him (the 'i' is inserted, small, in the

Roma|no editū | *ex authen|tico libro* | Bibliothecae | cubiculi s|criptum.' The rest of f. 35[b] and ff. 36, 37 are occupied with the Canon (to 'miserere nobis' inclusive, Mur. ii 6). On f. 203[a] at the end of the 'Oratio ad ordinandum pontificem' (Mur. ii 271–272)[1] after five lines blank is the following colophon (already printed by Delisle) on alternate lines, in red, by the usual rubricist of the MS, traced in a character that grows larger and more emphatic as he proceeds: 'Hildoardus | praesul. anno | xxii. sui onus | episcopatum | hunc libellum | sacramentorum | fieri promul|gauit'. The date commonly assigned as that of Hildoard's accession to the see of Cambrai is 790; if this be correct the MS would date from 811 or 812; it cannot be later than 817, when Halitgar was already bishop. Hildoard's last known act was to obtain from Lewis the Pious a confirmation of the possessions of his church dated April 15, 816; his death is commonly assigned to July 4 of that year. In any case the MS of *Greg* which he caused to be written[2] is the earliest copy yet known. It seems hardly open to doubt that this 'libellus sacramentorum' is the only Frankish example still in existence (the case of *Non* is different as will be explained later) of the missal used by those persons (and the writer of the *Hucusque* preface tells us there were such) who thought the Carolingian Supplement 'superfluous' and 'not necessary', did not need it and did not have it, but were content to 'use only' the 'opusculum' of the 'blessed Pope Gregory'. The interesting question arises whether Hildoard's MS derives directly or indirectly from the identical *Gregorianum* sent into France by Hadrian before it received its Frankish supplement. I have been able to find nothing whatever in the MS proper to supply an answer one way or the other, or to take it (for textual and critical purposes) out of the category of MSS which derive from a date subsequent to the addition of the Supplement, and I believe we must be content not to know.[3] So far as its text is concerned, it abounds in

lower member of the 'R'); 'Sacramentorium' is a form I do not remember to have seen in ninth-century documents. Cf. 'Explicit Sacramentorum a S. Greg. papa Rom. aeditum' in the Modena Sacramentary (Ebner, p. 96); this evidently goes back on the *Hucusque* preface only, and has no independent value as testimony. Note also how the colophon of *Ca*, like the *Hucusque*, calls *Greg* a 'libellus' not a 'liber'.

[1] The prayer *Praesta* (= *Gelas* iii 93, first collect) appears in Mur. ii 272 through a mistake; it is written in *Reg* by a later hand to fill up the last five lines of the page. It does not appear in any other MS I have seen; but *Arel*, as well as *Ca*, leaves a space of five blank lines here. *Praesta* seems to be found after the 'Orat. ad ord. pont.' in the Modena MS (Ebner, p. 96). It is no part of *Greg*.

[2] The pompous 'fieri promulgavit' doubtless has no further meaning; cf. the 'Albericus . . . fieri rogavit' of the colophon of the Cambrai MS of the 'Hibernensis'.

[3] It may be of interest to state that, though divided into two volumes, the Cambrai MSS 162, 163 form a single Sacramentary; vol. i contains the matter of *Greg* in Mur. ii 1–138 with a body of masses of common of saints at the end; vol. ii presents a fusion of the rest of *Greg* and of the Supplement in an order I have not noticed elsewhere. The general character of this Sacramentary is perhaps sufficiently

solecisms and grammatical errors ;[1] of these, however, the 'anno xxii sui onus episcopatum' is one somewhat too extravagant to be taken as a fair specimen. Instances of the scribe's carelessness, too, are not uncommon.[2] Still, when all deductions are made, this MS, as I hope may appear later, will be found of primary value as a witness to the genuine text of *Greg* as it was sent into France by Hadrian.

Rodr is in some respects the most interesting and instructive of the early Gregorian Sacramentaries. It is not the production of an official scribe; nor is it written for some solemn church; nor does it represent the needs (or fancied needs) of a young Levite, brought up from childhood in the routine of a cathedral school, when about to receive the order of priesthood and use the missal for the first time himself. Rodradus was a man of mature years, seemingly of easy means; whether a layman or a cleric long in orders who hesitated to take upon himself priestly responsibility, is not certain; but certain it is that he was a man whose scruples could be overcome only through the exercise of extreme pressure on the part of his bishop: 'victus Hilmeradi antistitis (of Amiens) iussionibus, et vinctus episcopalis autoritatis excommunicationibus,' as he himself says. In Rodradus's missal *Greg* (ff. 19^{b}–102^{a}), and the Supplement with its Preface (ff. 102^{a}–201^{a}), are kept separate and intact; there follows (ff. 201^{b}–248^{b}) a body of additional matter which shews how prayers and formularies endeared to the Frankish clergy by long habit ('cui animo sedent') came back in the ninth century with ever increasing volume into public use, and what a devout person like Rodradus who accepted the burden of the sacred ministry only with fear and trembling—'trepidus suscepi' are his words—thought in the year 853 'necessary' (so far as his mass book was concerned) for its performance.[3]

indicated by the fact that it has twelve lessons on Holy Saturday (cf. the eighth-century recension of *Gelas* in Wilson *Gelasian Sacramentary* pp. 334–335). These volumes present doubtless the next stage of the development of *Greg* in the Church of Cambrai.

[1] Commonly 'orationē' for 'oratio'; 'incipiunt orationes cotidianas'; 'uigilia adsumptio S Mar.'; but these things are much more common in MSS of Charles's days and of the earlier decades of the ninth century than appears from our smooth prints. The study of the Sacramentaries from this point of view would probably repay the philologist. For the 'ad complendum' of the other MSS of *Greg*, *Ca* regularly uses the form 'ad completam'; but once, f. 70^{a}, 'ad cŏplĕ̄'.

[2] For instance: 'et oblationem' for 'et oratio'; omission of 'Iohannis Thome Iacobi' from the Canon; of 'Per Christum Dom. nostrum' before 'Per quem haec omnia' at close of Canon; of 'nostris' after 'debitoribus' in the Lord's Prayer; of 'spiritum sapientiae et intellectus' in the prayer 'ad infantes consignandos' (Mur. ii 65); 'post vela*nd*um altare' (for 'vela*t*um').

[3] Ff. 201^{b}–248^{b} comprise roughly: ordinations, ff. 201–204; votive masses (Trinity, Wisdom, &c.), ff. 205–207; masses for vigil and day of the new feast of All Saints, a common of evangelists, ff. 208–209; masses for various occasions like those at the end of Book iii of *Gelas*, ff. 210–216; masses for dead, ff. 217–219; proper masses of saints, largely from *Gelas*, ff. 220–228; common of saints,

In comparing the MSS to be reviewed, it will be convenient to consider first the portion of *Greg* in Muratori ii 7–138, 241–272; and only afterwards the forms of ordination and their position in the MSS. *Reg* as being printed in Mur. affords the simplest and easiest means of comparison. *Gelas* also is cited in I–VI from Muratori.

I. In *Ott* the prayers are the same, and in the same order, as in *Reg*, except that:

(*a*) it adds to the masses of the first three Sundays in Lent[1] and of Passion Sunday a 'super populum' *Da nobis quaesumus Dne perseverantem* (Mur. ii 47, note *o*); this is the 'super populum' of the following Tuesday in *Reg* and also in *Ott* itself. In like manner, to the third Sunday of Lent is added (ii 39, note *u*) a 'super populum' which in both MSS is that of the Thursday following;

(*b*) it adds on Palm Sunday a 'Benedictio in Palmis' *Deus cuius Filius pro salute* (ii 51, note *z*); I cannot trace this further back;

(*c*) it adds a 'super populum' *Purifica q. Dne* to the mass of Palm Sunday (ii 52, note *b*); this is the 'ad populum' at this day in *Gelas* (i 546), and in '*Gelas* saec. viii' (Wilson, p. 332, *Ang* f. 32ª);

(*d*) it adds to the 'orationes pro peste' (better, according to the MSS, 'or. de mortalitate') a prayer entitled 'super oblata' *Subveniat nobis* (ii 269, note *k*); this is the 'secret' of the mass 'tempore quod absit mortalitatis' in *Gelas* (i 712), and in the three '*Gelas* saec. viii' MSS *R* (Wilson, p. 255, and Gerbert, p. 305, there referred to); *Ang* f. 165ª; and Paris B. N. lat. 2296, f. 42ª.

II. In *Ca* the prayers are the same, and in the same order, as in *Reg*, except that on the Epiphany the seventh 'alia oratio' *Illumina* and the 'super oblata' *Ecclesiae tuae* (ii 18, 16) exchange places in *Ca*.

Moreover, *Ca* does not contain the prayer *Salutaris tui* of the mass of the Monday of the first week of Lent (ii 31).

III. In *Rodr* the prayers are the same, and in the same order, as in *Reg*, except that:

(*a*) Fifth week of Lent, Saturday, for 'super obl.' *Cunctis nos* (ii 51),

ff. 228-233; masses, again, for special occasions and of a personal cast, ff. 234-242; a collection of 'apologiae sacerdotis', ff. 243-245; finally, a long 'Ordo ad visitandum et inungendum infirmum', ff. 246-248. At fol. 222ª is a mass of Invention of Holy Cross, with a long preface, which affords a good example of the way in which the barbarism of Merovingian liturgical composition was corrected in Rodradus's more cultured days; the original text of this preface is to be found in the Angoulême Sacr. Paris B. N. lat. 816 f. 69ª (Rodradus, or the corrector whom he copied, has changed 'cuius ligni mysteriis saluari credimus *omnes*' of the *Ang* text into 'c. l. mysterio saluari *nos* credimus').

[1] [In the paper as originally printed I mentioned the addition of a 'super populum' on Passion Sunday only. Mr. H. A. Wilson has kindly called my attention to the fact that a 'super populum' is added on the first three Sundays of Lent also.]

Rodr f. 47ª has *Praesta q. o. D. ut ieiun.*; this latter in *Gelas* (i 531) is the 'secret' of Wednesday, but of Saturday in '*Gelas* saec. viii' *R* and *S* in Wilson, p. 332; *Ang* f. 31ᵇ; *Godelgaudus*, in U. Chevalier *Bibliothèque liturgique* vii p. 323.

(*b*) Assumption, for 'sup. obl.' *Subveniat* (ii 114) *Rodr* f. 75ᵇ has *Intercessio q. Dne b. Mariae*; and *Subveniat* follows as 'alia'. *Intercessio* (which in *Gelas* is the 'secret' of masses of St Fabian and of St Rufus, i 638, 664), adapted, is made the 'secret' of Assumption in '*Gelas* saec. viii' (*R* and *S* in Wilson, p. 353; *Ang* f. 87ª; *Godelg* p. 340; B. N. lat. 2296, f. 22ᵇ breaks off imperfect in the mass of the Assumption, but begins with the collect *Concede* as *R*, *S*, *Ang*, and *Godelg*; *Concede* is the Ambrosian 'super sindonem' for Assumption).

(*c*) SS. Cornelius and Cypr., for 'super obl.' *Adesto* (ii 119) *Rodr* f. 77ᵇ has *Plebis tuae Domine munera*, *Adesto* being made an 'alia' collect. This is the arrangement in *Ang* f. 92ᵇ, and apparently in *S*.

(*d*) The mass of Exalt. of H. Cross found in *Reg*, *Ott*, &c., has caused trouble in more than one MS. It is enough to read the first line of the 'super obl.' *Iesu Christi Dni n. corpore saginati* to see that the prayer is an 'ad complendum'. The present Roman missal has overcome the difficulty by reading in accordance with good sense but counter to all ancient authority 'saginandi'. *Rodr* has adopted more radical measures, but also done better, by making *I. C. D. n. c. s.* a first 'ad compl.' and that in *Reg*, &c., a second. For 'super obl.' *Rodr* has adopted the 'secr.' *Devotas* of the mass of Exalt. of H. Cr. in *Gelas* (i 667) and '*Gelas* saec. viii' (*R*, *S*, in Wilson, p. 356, *Ang* f. 92ª).[1]

(*e*) At f. 101ᵇ *Rodr* inserts between the 'oratio ad ordinand. pont.' (ii 271–272) and the *Hucusque* preface to the Supplement, with the rubric 'v non. mai. Inuentio s. crucis', the mass for that feast in *Gelas* i 645–646, which is also simply adopted in '*Gelas* saec. viii'.[2]

(*f*) Finally, in the 'Orationes pro peccatis' the prayer *Praesta* at the head of col. 250 of Mur. ii is placed in *Rodr* after *Exaudi*, the third prayer of that col.

The case seems clear: not merely is *Reg* in all these items supported by *Ca*, *Ott*, &c., but the changes in *Rodr* evidently shew themselves to be so many instances of the discarded *Gelas* (and, as appears from (*a*) above, the eighth-century recension, not the earlier form) asserting itself even in a text which professes formally to be a copy of *Greg*.

[1] The '*Gelas* saec. viii' (Wilson, p. 356) probably gives a clue to the solution of the difficulties; but this is a matter that cannot be dealt with now.

[2] In *Rodr* this same mass for the feast of the Inv. of H. Cr. (the absence of which from *Greg* seems to have been keenly felt in the Gallic lands) is repeated later with a special preface (see *supra*, p. 67, n. 3).

IV. In *Belv*[1] the prayers are the same, and in the same order, as in *Reg*, except that:

(*a*) it omits the special preface *Qui ut de hoste* (ii 9) for the mass 'ad sanctam Anastasiam' on Christmas Day;

(*b*) it omits the fifth and sixth 'aliae orationes' of that feast, *O. s. D. qui hunc diem*, and *D. qui hum. subst.* (ii 11).

V. *Arel.*—I did not examine this MS prayer by prayer, but only noted the order of contents according to the rubrics; this order is that of *Reg.*

VI. *Non*[2] shews the following differences from *Reg*:—

(*a*) for the mass 'in Oct. Dom.' and 'or. in alia dominica' (ii 15–16) are substituted 'Dominica prima post natale Domini', 'Dom. 2ª p.n. D.' (cf. Supplement in Mur. ii 158–159); and after the Epiphany, separately intercalated among the feasts of Saints, are Dom. 1 to 6 'post Theophan.' (ibid. 159–161). The subject of the Sunday masses of *Non* will be again adverted to when the North Italian group of *Greg* MSS is considered later.

(*b*) The masses of St Agatha and St Valentine are omitted.

(*c*) Between Nativ. B. V. and SS. Prot. et Hyacinth. (ii 118) a mass 'S. Gorgonii mart.' is inserted (so too in '*Gelas* saec. viii' MS *S*, Wilson p. 355, and *Ang* ff. 91–92; Gorgonius is a *Gelas* feast, i 667).

(*d*) The order of the masses of Sept. 14, SS. Cornel. and Cypr. and Exalt. S. Cr. in *Greg*, is inverted in *Non*, and precedence is given to Exalt. S. Cr. as in '*Gelas* saec. viii' MS *S*, Wilson p. 356, and *Ang* f. 92ᵇ. In MS *R* the mass of SS. Corn. and Cypr. is suppressed, and Exalt. S. Cr. is alone honoured on this day, Wilson p. 199.

(*e*) On Sept. 16 the mass of St Euphemia is given under the combined title 'Nat. S. Euphem. virg. Lucie et Geminiani', and the mass of SS. L. and G. in *Greg* is omitted in *Non*. I know of no other instance of this arrangement.

(*f*) The September Ember-days and the 'die dom. vacat.' mass (ii 122–124) are omitted (see below, p. 74, note 2).

(*g*) Before SS. Cosmas and Damian (ii 124) are added masses of the vigil and feast of St Matthew, and of St Maurice and Companions; after St Mark Pope (ii 126), a mass of St Denis; between St Callistus and St Caesarius (ii 126), masses of St Luke, and of the vigil and feast of SS. Simon and Jude, and of vigil and feast of All Saints.—Of these, the masses of All Saints date from the ninth century or the last years of the eighth; that of St Denis may (just possibly) be of some interest

[1] Two leaves are missing between ff. 77 and 78 (from *tribue benignus*, Mur. ii 246, to *populi tui ne plus*, 250).

[2] A leaf is missing between ff. 34 and 35 (from 'ad compl.' of 'fer. vi', Mur. ii 38 to 40, line 7, *ab imminentibus*).

in reference to the origin of the MS ;[1] the text of those of SS. Matthew, Simon and Jude, and Luke, is the same as in MSS *R*, *S*, and *Ang* of '*Gelas* saec. viii'. I know of a mass of St Maurice only in *Ang* f. 94[a], but the prayers are different (St Maurice is also in the *Missale Gothicum*, in the Ambrosian, and in the Padua MS, Ebner, p. 127).

(*h*) Several masses throughout the volume have special prefaces.

(*i*) Finally, the 'oratio ad ordinand. pont.' (Mur. ii 271–272) is incorporated among the forms of ordination.

Thus, though the prayers and order of *Greg* as found in *Ca*, *Reg*, *Ott*, *Rodr*, *Belv* (and *Arel* as limited above) are still preserved in *Non*, this MS shows a further stage in the process of incorporating Gallican-Gelasian matter into *Greg*.

In regard to the forms of ordination of *Greg* and the place assigned to them, the following is the evidence of the MSS examined.

In *Ca*, *Reg*, *Ott*, *Rodr*, they are those given in Mur. ii 357–361, and they are placed between the Canon (ii 1–6) and the masses (ii 7 sqq.).

This was also the order in *Belv* when that MS first left the hands of the copyist ; but changes were immediately made which obscure though they do not obliterate the original features. The MS in its present mutilated state begins with the words 'ab eterna damnatione' of the Canon (ii 3), which is continued almost to the end of f. 2, where after *Agnus Dei*, &c. (as Mur. ii 6), in the same line is the rubric 'Benedictio episcoporum', and there follow on the rest of this page and on ff. 4 and 8 the forms of ordination, Mur. ii 357–361, in their proper sequence, and with their text intact. On ff. 3, 5, 6, and 7 are inserted by, as I think, the same scribe and rubricist, forms for minor orders as follows: ff. 3 and 5 = Mur. ii 405 (*Ostiarius cum ordinatur* to end of c. 408), and then 'Capitulum S. Gregorii' *Sicut qui invitatus* to *ac manutergium* (Ménard p. 234 ; Migne *P. L.* 78. 219–220) ; f. 6[a–b] 'Ad subdiac. ordinand.' *Exhibeatur in conspectu* to *consequatur* (Ménard, pp. 234–235 ; Migne col. 220) ; there immediately follows, in the last two lines of f. 6[b], the title '*In nomine Domini. Incipit*', &c., continued on f. 7[a], as in Mur. ii 1, to *dignum et iustum est*. These inserted non-*Greg* ordinations go back of course to the Gallican set in *Gelas* bk. i no. 95, cf. 96. It would appear, therefore, that the scribe first copied *Greg* as he found it before him in the order now found in *Ca*, *Reg*, &c.

Arel. The original MS now begins f. 9[a] with the words 'ab omni perturbatione securi' of the Canon (Mur. ii 6) and the masses follow.

[1] A space of two lines left for the rubricist was never filled in ; and the first line of the collect is in red.

If the original MS when perfect contained the ordinations they must have been placed before the Canon. The forms for minor orders, practically the same as those in *Belv*, are found ff. 5^a–8 in a hand hardly later (it would seem) than that of the original scribe.

Non begins with the Canon, which is followed by the forms of ordination, all in the original hand, and thus disposed: the 'Bened. episc.' and 'Or. ad ordinand. presb.' as Mur. ii 357–360, but the 'Or. ad ord. pont.' which is the last item in the other MSS (ii 271–272) is in *Non* inserted before the 'super obl.' ii 358, with, however, omission of that part of the explanatory rubric 'Or. ad . . . initium est' which would have made the insertion intelligible. After these, and under the title 'Incipit ordo de sacris ordinibus benedicendis' (cf. Mur. ii 405), come forms for orders up to subdeacon inclusive similar to those in *Belv* and *Arel*. Then, with the title 'ad ordinandum diaconem', the remaining *Greg* form (Mur. ii 360–361). *Non* in this particular of the ordinations again shews an advance on the other MSS.

The testimony of the MSS enumerated p. 64 n. 2 *supra*, on the points hitherto considered, so far as it can be ascertained from the descriptions of Delisle and Ebner, appears to be as follows:

(*a*) In regard to the place of the *Greg* forms of ordination, they are placed between the Canon and the body of masses in Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7; the masses immediately follow the Canon in 2, 10, 11 (and 13); 5 is imperfect; as to 8, 9, 12 information is wanting.[1]

(*b*) As regards the remainder of *Greg* (Mur. ii 7–138 and 241–272) the descriptions in Delisle of 1, 2, 3 (and, except the ordinations, of 13 also) raise a strong presumption that they offer the same book as *Reg*. No. 4 shews, according to Ebner (pp. 29, 30), the same 'arrangement and contents' as *Reg*, except that 'numerous prefaces have been embodied in the text'. If I rightly understand Ebner (p. 290), No. 5, imperfect, affords the same text as *Reg* in Mur. ii 116-138+241–272, except that the masses of Exalt. S. Crucis and St Nicomedes (Mur. ii 119–120) are wanting (or is it only that a leaf is missing?). His description of No. 6 is of course defective, yet, taking all the circumstances into consideration, it seems little doubtful that this MS is, like No. 5, a copy of *Greg* of the type of MS *Reg*. No. 7 shews 'exactly the same disposition of its contents' as *Reg* (Ebner, p. 388). As to Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 further information is required before any definite statement can be made.

The question arises whether the book thus limited is complete, or

[1] In MS Bodl. Auct. D. i 20 (Delisle No. xxxviii), though the MS seems not to agree with *Reg*, the ordinations (bishop, priest, deacon, only) come between the Canon and the masses.

whether any other items not now found in *Reg* were contained in the original MS of the *Gregorianum* that was sent from Rome to Charles by the hands of 'John the monk and abbat'. If the witness of the MSS is to be taken as decisive in such a question, the only items, so far as I can see, on behalf of which a claim can be raised that calls for any consideration, are contained in a group of *Greg* MSS which I may call the North Italian group.

The question raised by this group of MSS is: Did *Greg* as sent by Hadrian comprise, besides the matter of *Reg*, a body of Sunday masses (after Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost) corresponding to Nos. vii–xlii in Muratori's print of the Carolingian Supplement (coll. 158–176)? Their absence from *Rodr* seemed to Ménard to be so 'incredible' and 'absurd' a feature as to be a main consideration in leading him to choose for his print his 'Codex S. Eligii' (B. N. lat. 12051, Delisle No. li), with the result of involving the whole subject of the early Roman Liturgy in confusion and darkness, and making it for subsequent enquirers a region 'ubi sempiternus horror inhabitat'. The mere fact that the compiler of the Carolingian Supplement thought proper to include in it the body of Sunday masses Nos. vii–xlii raises of itself a strong presumption that such masses were not contained in the *Gregorianum* as sent into France. But there is still room for the supposition that this was only an omission; and it might be urged that the MSS of the 'North Italian group', so far as their contents are yet known, countenance this supposition. The Verona MSS 91 and 86 may be taken as typical: immediately after the end of *Greg* comes a section headed 'Incipiunt orationes ad missam diebus dominicorum' containing[1] masses for Sundays after Epiphany (4?), (? oct. of) Easter (4?, 5), (? oct. of) Pentecost (5?), oct. of Apostles Peter and Paul (5), Laurence (5), Michaelmas (8).[2]

The Gospel capitulars of the eighth and ninth centuries shew a twofold arrangement distinguished by the mode of counting Sundays after Pentecost: one class reckons simply Sundays 1–24 (or 25, 26) after

[1] I am obliged here to combine the information in Ebner, pp. 287, 290.

[2] Cf. Monza MS $\frac{\text{F. 1}}{101}$ saec. ix/x: post oct. Pasch. 1–4; post Pentec. 1–6; post nat. Apost. 1–6; post Laur. 1–5 (?); post Angeli, 1–8 (Ebner, p. 108).—Padua Bibl. capit. MS D. 47; post Epiph. 1–4; post oct. Pasch. 1–4; post Pentec. ebd. 2–5; post nat. Apost. 1; post oct. Apost. 1–5; post nat. Laur. 1–4; post S. Angeli, 1–9 (ibid. pp. 123–127). In this last MS the Sundays are intercalated among the feasts of Saints as in *Greg* and '*Gelas* saec. viii'. It appears to be the most interesting of all the MSS catalogued by Ebner; though (speaking with the reserve imposed on one who has not seen the MS) I cannot but think that Ebner's assignment of it to the class of the 'gregorianisirtes Gelasianum' (= '*Gelas* saec. viii') is due to a misunderstanding. It seems to be *Greg*. But he is probably right (p. 380) in viewing it as a member (the earliest and, I would add, a most revolutionary member) of the 'North Italian group'. The Roman topographical notes are hardly a sign of the purity of the text.

Pentecost ; the other, Sundays after Pentecost, Peter and Paul, Laurence, Michaelmas (' post S. Angeli ' ; some capitulars reckon ' post Cypriani ' instead of ' post Angeli '). Of the two modes the latter bears on the face of it evidence of Roman origin or connexion, even if there were not actual evidence that the origin of the other is not Roman but Frankish. Not merely is this ' other ' the system adopted in the eighth-century recension of *Gelas* (MSS *R*, *S*, *Ang*, Paris MS lat. 2296), but Amalar, a curious and inquiring person, leaves us no doubt on the subject. In compiling his antiphonar for the Office, he found in some MSS a body of what he calls ' antiphons taken from the cotidian gospels '. No one who carefully examines and follows Amalar's treatise will, I think, fail to come to the conclusion that Tommasi (*Opp.* iv 297 sqq. and his note A) rightly identifies these with the antiphons for Sundays 1–24 after Pentecost in his St-Gall MS (' Hartker ', just published in facsimile). ' As to these antiphons,' writes Amalar, ' I asked the masters (= cantors) of the Roman Church whether they sang them. " Certainly not ", they replied. But our masters (in France) avouch that they received them from the first masters who taught the Roman chant within the Frankish dominions. God alone knows who are the deceivers here, who the deceived ; and whether the Romans never sang them, or have simply let them fall out of use through their own negligence and indifference ; in any case we sing them, not only on account of their wording (for their words are truly salutary), but also on account of the high repute of our cantors, who, in the art and practice of Church song, proudly point to their own pre-eminence.' [1]

The Modena MS Bibl. capit. ii 7, ' saec. ix–x ', shews (Ebner, pp. 94–96) a *Gregorianum* considerably more interpolated than *Non*, and considerably altered. At the end is a body of Sunday masses ; those after Pentecost are numbered 1–24, thus betraying the influence of the Carolingian Supplement. But in the four MSS mentioned above, these Sundays bear a distinctly Roman label. If the text of these masses proved, on examination, to be different from that of the corresponding masses in the Supplement, a case would be made out for considering them really part of *Greg* as used in Rome in Hadrian's time, and therefore for regarding *Reg* and its congeners as, so far, incomplete. Until the necessary information is forthcoming the question must be left open.[2]

[1] ' Qui gloriantur magisterio se uti cantilenae exercitationis ', Amalar. *de ord. Antiph.* cap. 68. If the Roman deacon John badly lost his temper over this matter of Church song (Bäumer *Gesch. d. Breviers* pp. 233–235), there was much to excuse him.

[2] We are now in a position to understand the economy of *Non*, which it may be well to explain here. The original MS ends f. 101[a]. A later scribe (saec. xi, I think), without the loss of a line, continues the MS with the title ' Incipiunt misse in diebus dominicis a pentecosten usque ad aduentum Domini ' ; then follows (in

But whatever the answer on the point of detail thus reserved, it is, I think, already clear that, taking into account the whole body of 'Gregorian' MSS of the ninth and tenth centuries, one class of them, and one only, preserves the *Gregorianum*, the actual book, sent by Hadrian to Charles, viz. that represented in print by *Reg*—when, of course, that print is restored to the order of the manuscript itself, viz. Mur. ii coll. 1–6; 357–361; 7–138 and 241–272.[1] I would add, moreover, that from this book alone[2] can the rites and formularies, and the authentic text of the prayers, in use in the Roman Church at the close of the eighth century be ascertained; and all other texts such as those printed by Pamelius, Rocca, Ménard, or presented in the whole body of known MSS of the ninth and tenth centuries, can claim to represent the use of the Roman Church only in so far as they coincide with the MSS of the class represented in print by *Reg*.[3] At the same

more than one hand seemingly) the series Dom. 1–24, incorporating the masses of the September Ember-days omitted by the original scribe of the MS (see p. 70 *supra*). The masses for Sundays after Easter do not appear in the MS. The omission of the *Greg* masses of the September Ember-days makes it probable that, varying the practice observed for the Sundays after Christmas and Epiphany, which are intercalated among the Saints' days, the person for whom the book was written reserved the Sundays after Easter and Pentecost (including the September Ember masses) for a special series at the end of *Greg* as now found in the Verona MSS 91 and 86. Whether this series was ever actually written, and the MS has since been mutilated, must remain uncertain. Delisle, from the handwriting, considers the MS to be of French origin; if this be so it would acquire, from the liturgical point of view, an additional interest, inasmuch as it so far departs from both the true and the corrupt types of *Greg* then current in France, that it must have been written under particular instructions to suit the practice of the region for which it was intended.

[1] [It is to be remembered that in all probability the *Liturgia Romana Vetus* largely partook of the nature of a printer's speculation; and that in any case Muratori never saw the MSS *Reg* and *Ott* used for the edition, but only copies ('utriusque Codicis apographum' is Muratori's term for them) sent by his friend Giuseppe Bianchini the Oratorian; who, as I should, for myself, say without hesitation, sent *Greg* to Muratori in the form of a prepared edition as we find it (but of course in a correct order) in the printed volume. Nor does it even appear that Murator corrected the proof-sheets of *Greg* with these copies. If it does not of itself appear obvious to a modern student that Muratori (of whom it has been said without undue exaggeration that he was for Italy a Congregation of St-Maur in himself) could not have been responsible for the absurd pagination of the volume, I would here suggest two additional considerations which may help to that conclusion: (1) that in his introductory Dissertation (col. 80) he expressly states that he intends to print the Preface *Hucusque* immediately before the Blessing of the Paschal Candle ('ante Benedictionem Cerei'), that is, in its proper place before the first item of the Supplement, where the writer of the Preface states explicitly that it should come, and where no editor in his right mind could help placing it; (2) that Vezzosi, who, as he says, often examined *Reg*, and corrects Muratori's number ('non 335 sed 337'), and who presumes to indulge in injurious remarks and insinuations against Muratori, says not one word as to the mistake in the print which has misled those who have used 'Muratori' from that day to this. Is it not a reasonable inference, in view of the known circumstances connected with the edition, that Vezzosi was cognizant of further facts (now no longer known) which made it impossible for him to tax Muratori with this first and greatest defect of the volume?]

[2] Of course the Ordo Romanus must be the main source for merely rubrical directions.

[3] The words in the text are purposely made, both for inclusion and exclusion, as

time it is to be observed that one valuable and useful instrument of criticism still exists, which, in points of detail, enables us to get behind all the extant MSS of *Greg.* This is the 'eighth-century recension' of *Gelas*, the important rôle of which in the evolution of Western liturgy has not as yet been duly appreciated. This work, more than anything else, not merely facilitated Charles's measures in regard to the mass book, but rendered them inevitable.

definite as I can make them. I know that they go beyond what is warranted by anything adduced in this paper, and I recognize what the statement made implies for the history and chronology of a number of sacred rites. But I believe they express the conclusion to which, as precise information increases, liturgists will come; and it is at any rate important that such a thesis should be brought, if necessary, to the test of a detailed and formal discussion on the basis of the fullest knowledge of the evidence, if, that is to say, the study of Western liturgy of the seventh to the tenth century is to emerge from its present stage of impressionism. And I am the more insistent on this point when I read (to adduce but one instance) what a writer so careful as Friedrich D. Wiegand, whose vision is so clear, and who sees so much, says of the *Gregorianum* (*Die Stellung des apostolischen Symbols*, &c., i 291–293, 296–297); in saying this I quite bear in mind what is said (p. 73 *supra*) as to the Sunday masses, Nos. vii–xlii, of the Supplement.

V

ON THE EARLY TEXTS OF THE ROMAN CANON[1]

It is proposed in this paper to examine the various readings of the early texts of the Roman Canon as contained in the mass books from the seventh to the ninth century, with a view to ascertain how they may fall into classes or families; and to indicate briefly some of the questions which the results of the comparison raise.

The Canon is unfortunately wanting in the *Leonianum*.

The texts to be considered are those in the following books:

1. The Bobbio Missal, Paris B. N. lat. 13246, Delisle *Mémoire* No. vi (cited as *Bo*).

2. The Stowe Missal, now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy (*St*).[2]

3. The Missale Francorum, MS Vat. Regin. 257, Delisle No. iv (*Fr*).

4. The *Gelasianum*, MS Vat. Regin. 316, Delisle No. ii (*GV*).

5. Rheinau MS 30 at Zurich, Wilson's R, Delisle No. ix (*R*).

6. St Gall MS 348, Wilson's S, Delisle No. x (*S*).

7. The Angoulême Sacramentary, Paris B. N. lat. 816, Delisle No. xv (*Ang*).

8. The Gellone Sacramentary, Paris B. N. lat. 12048, Delisle No. vii (*Gell*).

9. Paris B. N. lat. 2296, a MS which, though of late date and widely departing from its congeners, must be classed with the MSS of the eighth-century revision of *Gelas*; Delisle No. xliv (2296).

10. Cambrai MS 164, see *supra*, pp. 63, 64 (*Ca*).

11. MS Vat. Regin. 337 (*Reg*).

12. MS Vat. Ottobon. 313, Delisle No. xxxv (*Ott*).

[13. To these must now be added the Monte Cassino palimpsest. This is Cod. Casin. 271, *al.* 348. It is hereafter designated *Cass.*

As this manuscript is either unknown or ignored, and as it is of the very first importance for all questions connected with the *Gregorianum*, I deal with it in detail at once here.

Mention was first made of it in the year 1834 by K. Blume, the

[1] From *The Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1903.

[2] Unfortunately in his account of the Fulda MS (see *Book of Cerne* pp. 235–236) Witzel gives only those portions of the Canon that were strange to him.

lifelong friend of G. H. Pertz, in his *Iter Italicum* vol. iv. It was doubtless through Blume that Bunsen became acquainted with the MS; he obtained extracts from it, and in 1854 printed them in his *Analecta Ante-Nicaena* iii 298–300 (cf. his remarks at p. 60). But all this seems wholly to have escaped the persons most concerned, until mention was made of this palimpsest in the original print of this article (*Journal of Theol. Studies*, July 1903: see p. 79 below). How my friend Dom André Wilmart independently learned of its existence, is explained by him in the note 4, p. 293, of his article now to be mentioned.

Dom Wilmart, in company with M. l'Abbé Eugène Tisserant of the Vatican Library, spent the Eastertide of 1909 in subjecting the palimpsest to a careful scrutiny, the results of which he published in an article in the *Revue Bénedictine* for July 1909 (xxvi p. 281 sqq.) entitled *Un Missel Grégorien Ancien*.

Cass is a manuscript of the *Gregorianum* of about the year 700, and it comes from the neighbourhood of Rome, indeed was not improbably written in Rome itself.]

Nos. 7, 9, 10, 11, 12 have been examined by me. Thanks to the extreme kindness of M. Omont, Conservateur of the Department of MSS at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and of M. de la Roncière, Conservateur adjoint, a friend was able to take for me at once photographs of 1 and 8. The readings of 4, 5, 6 are taken from Wilson's edition of the *Gelasianum* iii 16 and appended notes. For 2 I follow the edition of Dr MacCarthy (*Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Literature and Antiquities* xxvii 208–219, 220), which among other advantages has that of distinguishing by difference of type the original text from that of the interpolator Moelcaich; Dr MacCarthy has also recovered a not inconsiderable portion of the erased original at a critical point (p. 210, footnote on f. 24^a).[1] For 3 I use Tommasi's own edition (1680), but Mgr G. Mercati has kindly re-examined the MS for some minutiae as to which I desired further security. Besides this, all the editions of the various missals—Mabillon, Vezzosi, Warren, &c.—have been always under my eye. I refrain from entering on questions as to the dates of the various MSS; the object of this paper is to enquire what the texts themselves have to say as to their own history; for dates of MSS Delisle can be referred to. The current spelling is used, except on one or two occasions, and variants merely orthographical are as a rule disregarded. But here discrimination is necessary; incorrect forms sometimes supply precisely the most valuable indications of the inter-

[1] H. B. Soc. xxxi (1906) is a facsimile reproduction of the Stowe Missal.—By some mischance the words 'pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suae' have fallen out of the reconstruction in *Zeitschrift f. katholische Theologie* (1892) p. 481 l. 10.

relations of the MSS. But both for clearness and for eventual sureness in conclusions division of labour is best observed, and the part of the palaeographer or the philologist is best reserved for the expert; who, however, on his side must not be unmindful of the liturgical conditions of the problem. In saying this I have particularly in view *Bo*.[1] So far as the MSS of *Greg* are concerned I have thought it better not to complicate a case perhaps already sufficiently involved by adducing readings from any other MSS than *Ca*, *Reg*, *Ott*; the first of these recommends itself by its date, whilst *Reg* and *Ott* represent (so far as I have seen, and speaking generally) the extreme of conservatism and the extreme of innovation in their respective renderings of the *Greg* Canon. The Ambrosian Canon is not brought into the comparison, as this would only entail unnecessary and unprofitable elaboration. It affords, however, a small number of particularly interesting readings, and these will be adduced in their place;[2] but that Canon as a whole can be usefully dealt with, I venture to think, only as part of a formal and systematic analysis of the Ambrosian mass book.

The only other texts that need be mentioned here are MS O 83 of the Prague Chapter Library, and MS B viii of the Vallicellana which seems for the present at least inaccessible (Ebner *Quellen u. Unters.* p. 205 n. 1). But as the latter according to Tommasi (ed. Vezzosi v, p. xxxv, 2nd pagination) was 'undecimo ut serius, decimo ut citius saec. scriptum', it is not likely to be of use for the present purpose. The former, according to Ebner (pp. 379–380, 366–368 note 1), is a MS of the eighth-century recension of *Gelas*. When the evidence of the MSS of this class is reviewed, it will, I think, plainly appear that the absence of the collation of a single MS of the group is not likely to affect in any appreciable degree the results obtained. There remains the Monte Cassino palimpsest, the only hope left, apparently, of a text of the Canon of an earlier type than any which has appeared in print. Of its character I know nothing;[3] but it will in any case be useful to take stock of what can be known on the subject before that MS is edited.

On a collation of the [thirteen] texts available (*a*) it is found that a certain number of readings are unique; several of these are mere and obvious blunders of the scribe; a few are of interest in themselves; not one, I think, is likely to prove of any real value for the history of the Canon. (*b*) When these unique readings are removed, and that

[1] But I may observe that *Bo* substitutes 'o' for 'u' more commonly than usual: e.g. writing not merely 'incolomitatis', 'inmacolatam', but 'conctae', 'in conspecto', 'sereno vulto', 'seo' (= seu). See MacCarthy *On the Stowe Missal* p. 242.

[2] For the Biasca MS Ceriani's print is used; for the Bergamo MS that of Solesmes. Both MSS appear to be saec. ix/x.

[3] [These words, it is to be remembered, were written in 1903.]

late work, the '*Gelas* saec. viii', is left out of account, the readings of the other MSS on being tabulated fall into two classes or families, the one represented by *Bo, St, Fr*, the other by *GV, Cass, Ca, Reg, Ott.* (*c*) It then appears that the readings of the group of '*Gelas* saec. viii' MSS (viz. Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9) follow on the whole (as might be expected) the second of these two classes, but many readings of the other class are found sometimes in one, sometimes in more than one MS of the group.

The kernel of the present inquiry manifestly lies in the readings contemplated under (*b*); those under (*a*) and (*c*) being of altogether secondary consideration. I propose therefore to throw into a Table the readings contemplated under (*b*); to relegate to the foot of the page those under (*c*) in so far as they differ from *GV*; and to collect the unique readings in a note at the end of the paper. After a few remarks on the results of the collation as shown by the Table, it will be necessary to consider particularly the small number of variants between *Reg* and *Ott* with a view to determine which gives the purer tradition. One of these variants is of sufficient importance to call for special treatment. From Muratori's print (col. 4) it would appear as if the Memento of the Dead were contained in both MSS. This is not the case. After 'repleamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum', *Reg*, omitting entirely the Memento, passes directly on to 'Nobis quoque peccatoribus'. Moreover *Ca* agrees in this point with *Reg*. As is well known *GV* presents the same feature. All the texts of the Memento of the Dead will therefore be excluded from the following Table. A consideration of the question attaching to this Memento will form the closing section of this paper.

[There are six readings (Nos. 3, 6, 7, 21,[1] 30, 33) in which *GV* differs from the consentient testimony of *Ca*, *Reg*, and *Ott*. The surviving fragment of the Monte Cassino text of the Canon covers the first four of these readings; and in all four cases it agrees with *Ca*, *Reg*, and *Ott* as against *GV*. Now the Monte Cassino palimpsest is a MS of about the same date as *GV*, namely of about the year 700. Moreover, whilst *GV* gives a French text (coming it would seem from Paris or the neighbourhood), the Monte Cassino palimpsest comes from the neighbourhood of Rome, and was not improbably written in Rome itself. Seeing that this Italian (=Roman) text of *c.* 700 is in agreement with the text sent from Rome to Charles the Great nearly a hundred years later, there can no longer be any doubt that the readings of *GV*, where they differ from the consentient testimony of the Monte Cassino palimpsest, *Ca*, *Reg*, and *Ott*, are what may be called French corruptions. I have therefore no longer any hesitation in constructing from these five MSS (*GV, Ca,*

[1] As to this reading of *Ca*, see p. 85 note 3 below.

Reg, *Ott*, and *Cass*), and printing *in extenso*, what I believe to be the actual text of the Roman Canon in use in the seventh century: nay, the text of St Gregory's own Canon; for in my opinion the reasonable —the only reasonable—conclusion from the evidence now available is that the Sacramentary, generally, which is called 'Gregorian', comes from Pope Gregory the Great, and is his revision of the Roman Mass Book.

As regards the five columns of the following Table:—

1. Its main constituent is col. 4 which gives the text of the Gregorian Canon on the basis of *GV*, *Cass*, *Ca*, *Reg*, *Ott*. At the foot of the page are given two sets of variants: first, the 'Readings of "*Gelas* saec. viii" MSS in so far as differing from *GV*'; secondly, the variants of the five Gregorian MSS among themselves.

2. The left-hand page of the Table gives in three columns the variants of *Bo*, *St*, *Fr* from the normal text of the Gregorian Canon as found in column 4. Since the items of the text printed on the left-hand page are numbered 1–38, these numbers are also introduced into the continuous text of col. 4 at the corresponding points, so that the Table on the left-hand page can be easily compared with that of the Gregorian Canon.

3. In col. 5 are given the readings of such parts of the Canon of the present Roman Missal as differ from the text of the Gregorian Canon (col. 4).

4. As I have aimed at giving in this paper all the variants of the eight MSS dealt with, the reader is in a position to reconstruct for himself, at the cost of a little trouble, the full text of any one of them; namely by substituting in the running text of the Gregorian Canon the variants of any individual MS as given in (*a*) the Table; (*b*) the list of 'Unique Readings', note 2 p. 103 below; and (*c*) note 3 p. 90.[1]]

[1] For the various texts of the Memento of the Dead see p. 97 n. 3.—I have taken no notice in the Table itself of the names added to the recitals in the 'Communicantes' in the different MSS (Hilary, Martin, Benedict, &c.) and in the 'Nobis quoque peccatoribus'. As these texts are inedited I notice that *Gell* in the 'Communicantes' adds after 'Damiani' 'helarii, marthini, agustini, gregorii, geronimi, benedicti', and that *Ang* adds after 'Anastasia' (in the 'Nobis quoque') 'genouefa, scolastica'. The Canon of 2296 breaks off imperfect with the word 'Barnaba'; in the 'Communicantes' of this MS the additional names after 'Damiani' are, I think, Hilary (orig. hand), Augustine, Jerome only, but here I cannot speak with certainty.

I think it well to repeat that I intend also to exclude from the Table variants that are no more than orthographical curiosities and barbarisms due to the scribe of any single MS and peculiar to that MS. Thus at the beginning of the Canon *Bo* reads 'acceptum *a*beas'; again, *Bo* reads 'tot*um* orbe*m* terrarum', but I take no notice of this in the Table, as it is a mere barbarism and of no critical value.

Bo	*St*	*Fr*
1. acceptum habeas [1]	accepta [1] habeas	acceptu(m ?) [2] habeas
2. pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica	pro tua sancta ecclesia catholica	= *St*
3. una cum devotissimo famulo tuo ill.[3] papa nostro sedis apostolicae et antistite nostro et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicae fidei cultoribus	u. c. beatissimo f. t. N. p. n. episcopo s. a. [e. o. o. a. ⟍ apostolicae f.] [4] c. [et abbate nostro N. episcopo] [4]	u. c. o. o. a. apostolicae f. c.
4. tibi reddunt	= *Bo*	= *Bo*
5. Communicantes [two variables inserted] [5] sed et memoriam	C. [seven variables] ⟨sed⟩ [5] e. m.	C. s. e. m.
6. inprimis gloriosae semper virginis	= *Bo*	= *Bo*
7. Petri Pauli . . . Cliti	Petri et Pauli . . . Ancliti	= *Bo* Ancleti
8. Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae quam tibi offerimus in honorem nominis [6] tui Deus, quaesumus Domine	H. i. o. s. n. s. e. c. f. t. q. t. o. i. honorem Domini nostri J. C. et in commemorationem beatorum martyrum tuorum in hac ecclesia quam famulus tuus ad honorem nominis [6] gloriae tuae edificavit, q. D.	H. i. o. s. n. s. e. c. f. t. q. t. o. i. honore Domini beati martyris tui illi et pro peccatis atque offensionibus nostris ut omnium delictorum nostrorum remissionem consequi mereamur,[6] q. D.

[1] 'acceptum abeas' *Bo*. Is it certain that the original script of *St* recovered by Dr MacCarthy, p. 210 footnote to fol. 24[a], had 'accepta'? Cf. No. 25 where the original scribe of *St* reads twice 'acceptu' (cf. notes 2 and 23 as to *Fr*.).

[2] '"acceptu" clarissime sed "ha" (ad calcem lineae) videtur scriptum in rasura: porro littera abrasa quantum video "m" est.' So Mgr G. Mercati.

[3] A space of three letters in which 'ill' is written by another hand. This is not recorded in note 3 p. 90 below.

[4] The words in brackets are restorations taken from the text of the interpolator Moelcaich.

[5] See MacCarthy, p. 211 line 8 and note b on fol. 24[b]; the variable for Christmas is that of *Gelas* i 4 not that of *Greg* col. 8.

[6] [Cf. from an Irish liturgical fragment of Reichenau assigned to the ninth century: '. . . nos quoque hodiernam diem in honorem tui sancti nominis et in commemoratione beatissimorum martirum con ceteris sanctis annua festivitate percolimus alteribus tue pietates adsistimus', &c. (*J. T. S.* v p. 64). This passage just precedes 'the recital of institution': it is, in combination with the passages in the Table, an interesting example of the gradual and progressive way in which the Irish corrupted ancient liturgical texts to suit their own type of piety.] The *Fr* text 'pro peccatis . . . mereamur' is utilized for the 'Hanc igitur' of the 'Missa pro peccatis' in the Carolingian Supplement to *Greg*, Muratori ii 200. It is evident that the three formulae of the 'Hanc igitur' in *Bo*, *St*, *Fr* are closely related; indeed the text of

Gregorian Canon

Te igitur, clementissime Pater, per Iesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum, supplices rogamus [a]et petimus uti 1. accepta habeas et benedicas haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata ; in primis quae tibi offerimus 2. pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, 3. una cum [b]beatissimo[1] famulo tuo papa nostro [c]illo.[2]

Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum[d], et omnium [e]circumadstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est, et nota devotio,[3] [f]qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suae, 4. [g]tibi reddunt vota sua aeterno Deo vivo et vero.

5. Communicantes et memoriam venerantes 6. in primis gloriosae semper[4] virginis Mariae, genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Iesu Christi, sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum 7. [h]Petri, Pauli,[5] Andreae, Iacobi, Ioannis, Thomae, Iacobi, Philippi, Bartholomaei, Matthaei, Simonis et Thaddaei, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Xysti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Ioannis et Pauli, Cosmae et Damiani,[6] et omnium sanctorum tuorum ; quorum meritis precibusque concedas ut in omnibus protectionis tuae muniamur auxilio. [i]Per Christum Dominum nostrum[j].

8. Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quaesumus, Domine, 9. ut

Roman Missal

[a] 'ac'

[b] *om.* 'beatissimo'

[c] 'N. et antistite nostro N., et omnibus orthodoxis, atque catholicae et apostolicae fidei cultoribus'

[d] *add.* 'N. et N.'

[e] 'circumstantium'

[f] *praem.* 'pro quibus tibi offerimus, vel'

[g] 'tibique'

[h] 'Petri et Pauli'

[i] 'Per eumdem'

[j] 'Amen'

Readings of 'Gelas *saec. viii*' *MSS in so far as differing from* GV. (For the corrector of *S* see Wilson's notes to *Gelas*, iii 16):—

On No. 3: (*a*) 'beatissimo' and 'nostro' interlined by another hand *Ang*; (*b*) 'episcopo' omitted *R*, *S*, *Gell*; 'et antistite illo' (with 'nostro' interlined by another hand) *Ang*; (*c*) *R*, *S*, *Ang*, 2296, omit 'et omnibus . . . cultoribus'; *Gell* and corrector of *S* as [*St*] ('et . . . cultoribus').

On No. 6: 'semper' *S*, *Gell*; 'que' erased in *Ang*, 2296.

On No. 7: 'Petri Pauli' *R*, *S*, *Ang*, *Gell*, 2296.

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[1] So *Cass*, *Ca*, *Reg*; *GV* and *Ott* omit 'beatissimo'.

[2] *GV* adds 'et antistite nostro illo episcopo'. 'Et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholici fide cultoribus. Memento, Deus, rege nostro cum omni populo' is interlined in Tironian notes (Wilson p. 238 n. 11). *Ott* adds 'et antistite n. illo, et o. o. a. c. e. a. f. c.', as in Rom. Missal above. See p. 95 below.

[3] *Ott* adds 'pro quibus tibi offerimus, vel', as Rom. Missal above. See p. 95 below.

[4] So *Cass*, *Ca*, *Reg*, *Ott*; *GV* has 'semperque'.

[5] So *Cass*, *Ca*, *Reg*, *Ott*; *GV* has 'Petri et Pauli' (and see No. 7, *St*).

[6] *GV* adds 'Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii, Hilarii, Martini, Augustini, Gregorii, Hieronymi, Benedicti'. [*Bo* after 'Damiani' has 'Helarii, Martini, Ambrosi, Augustini, Gregorii, Hieronimi, Benedicti'. *Fr* has 'Helarii, Martini' only.]

Bo	*St*	*Fr*
9. ut placatus accipias ['ac' elided; 'sus' added in marg. by another hand][7]	[7] u. p. suscipias [8]	= *St*
10. ab aeterna damnatione nos eripe (?=eripi)	a. a. d. n. eripias	= *St*
11. Quam oblationem te [9] Deus	= *Bo*	Q. o. tu D.
12. facere digneris quae nobis corpus et sanguis fiat [10]	f. dignare que (=quae) n. c. e. s. f.[10]	f. dignare quae n. c. e. s. f.
13. dilectissimi Filii tui Domini autem [11] Dei nostri	d. F. t. Domini[11] nostri	= *Bo*
14. accepit panem	accipit [12] p.	= *St*
15. elevatis [13] oculis ['suis' interlined by another hand]	e. o. suis	= *St*
16. in caelos [14]	ad caelum et [14]	ad caelum
17. gratias agens bene dixit	tibi g. egit b.	= *St*
18. accepit et hunc praeclarum calicem	accipit [15] e. h. p. c.	= *St*
19. ex eo omnes	e. hoc [16] o.	= *St*
20. calix sancti sanguinis mei [17]	= *Bo*	calix sanguinis mei
21. in remissione	in remissionem	= *St*

Fr becomes intelligible only when brought into juxtaposition with *St*. The form 'Hanc igitur . . . quam offerimus *in honorem*', &c., does not occur in *Leon* or *Greg*; and but once in *Gelas*, viz. iii 95, one of the collection of masses for the dead of *Gelas*, as to the late and non-Roman origin of which see *Book of Cerne* pp. 269–272; and iii 95 happens to be one of the masses that incorporate part of a prayer of a mass for the dead in the Toledo missal at the close of the eighth century cited by Elipandus, not now found in *Moz.*, but adapted into a preface in *St* (MacCarthy, p. 232, Warren, p. 248). [This Toledan text is now printed from eleventh-century MSS by Dom Férotin in the *Liber Ordinum* (Paris, 1904) col. 422; it occurs in the 'Post pridie' of the Missa Generalis Defunctorum.] I may be allowed to repeat here with some further extension and precision what I have said elsewhere (*Book of Cerne* p. 260): the more closely the texts of *Leon* and *Gelas* are examined, the more thoroughly they are investigated, the more imperatively does the question impose itself whether the Irish were not concerned in the manipulations to which these Roman books were subjected in Gaul and in Northern Italy in the seventh century. In this connexion the 'collectio ad panis fractionem', unique in Gallican books, in *M. Goth.* No. xxxvi, is not to be overlooked; see Forbes's note k, p. 99; it is really an 'early anticipation' of *Ott* (see p. 95 (*c*)).

[7] 'ut placatus suscipias' Biasca and Bergamo MSS of *Ambros.*

[8] For the continuation of the text of *St*, see *infra* p. 103 note 2, No. 10.

[9] 'u' interlined over 'e' by another hand.

[10] 'facere digneris. Quae nobis corpus et sanguis fiat' Biasca and Bergamo MSS of *Ambros*; MacCarthy, p. 213, prints *St* 'facere: dignareque nobis', treating 'que' as 'and' (see his footnote); in view of the texts this appears clearly a misapprehension. See p. 90 note 3.

[11] See p. 90 note 3. Both the Biasca and Bergamo MSS of *Ambros* have 'autem'. In *St* there is here an erasure.

[12] Doubtless a mere orthographical variant, but in view of the affinities of *St* and *Fr* it seems to be one worth recording (cf. No. 18).

[13] Mabillon prints '[&] elevatis'; 'et' is not in the MS nor in *St*, *Fr*, &c.

[14] 'Ad caelos' Biasca and Bergamo MSS of *Ambros.* See p. 90 note 3.

[15] Cf. No. 14.

[16] i.e. the Vulgate reading of Matt. xxvi 27; but cf. Sabatier *in loc.* ('hoc' is the reading of the fragment of the Canon in the *de Sacramentis*, as to which see p. 93 *infra.*)

[17] See p. 90 note 3; and on 'sancti sanguinis' p. 91 note 1.

Gregorian Canon

placatus accipias, diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque 10. ab aeterna damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.[k]

11. Quam oblationem tu, Deus, in omnibus, quaesumus, benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque 12. facere digneris; ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat 13. dilectissimi Filii tui [l] Domini Dei [l] nostri Iesu Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur, 14. accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, 15. [m] elevatis oculis 16. in caelum ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem, 17. tibi gratias agens, benedixit, fregit, [n] dedit discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est enim [2] corpus meum. Simili modo [o] posteaquam caenatum est, 18. accipiens et hunc praeclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, item tibi gratias agens, benedixit, [p] dedit discipulis suis, dicens: Accipite et bibite 19. ex eo omnes. Hic est enim 20. calix sanguinis mei, novi et aeterni testamenti, mysterium fidei; qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur 21. in remissionem [3] peccatorum.

Roman Missal

[k] 'Amen'

[l] 'Domini nostri'

[m] 'et elevatis'

[n] 'deditque'

[o] 'postquam' [This is the reading of *Fr*: see p. 103 note 2, no. 13.]

[p] 'deditque'

Readings of 'Gelas *saec. viii*' *MSS in so far as differing from* GV *:—*

On No. 10: 'eripias' *R*, *S* (?); 'eripi' *Ang* but the second 'i' on erasure; 'eripe' *Gell* and *Sacr. Godelgaudi* (Ménard *Notae* p. 16, Migne *P. L.* 78. 276).

On No. 13: 'Domini nostri' *R*, *S*, *Gell.*

On No. 21: 'in remissionem' *S*, *Gell*; 'in remissione' *R*; 'in remissiõ' *Ang.*

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[1] *Ott* omits 'Dei'.

[2] *Reg* reads 'Hoc est corpus meum' (without 'enim'). Although this is a 'unique' reading I take note of it here on account of the (theological) importance of the clause itself. But in view of the consentient witness of all the other MSS here dealt with (and, it may be added, of the pseudo-Ambrosian *de Sacramentis* lib. iv cap. 5) there can be no reasonable doubt that the omission of 'enim' in *Reg* is due only to a momentary want of attention on the part of the scribe, and has no textual importance or value.

[3] So *Cass*, *Ca*, *Reg*, *Ott*; *GV* has 'remissione' (see also No. 21, *Bo*). [So my note written in 1903. Mr. H. A. Wilson, *The Gregorian Sacramentary* (1915) p. 3 note 6, says that *Ca* here reads 'remissione'. In any case this could not affect the one fact that is of any importance, namely, that the consentient testimony of *Ca*, *Reg*, *Ott*, as against *GV*, is supported by *Cass* (see p. 80 above).]

Bo	*St*	*Fr*
22. in mei memoriam 'faci[ae]tes' [18]	i. m.[19] m. faciatis	i. m. m. facietis [20]
23. Christi Filii tui Domini nostri	= *Bo*	= *Bo*
24. vultu aspicere dignare [21]	= *Bo*	= *Bo*
25. et acceptum [22] habere sicuti acceptum habere dignatus es	e. acceptu h. s. accepto [22] h. d. e.	e. acceptu [23] h. s. acceptu h. d. e.
26. Supplices te rogamus	S. t. r. et petimus	= *St*
27. per manus sancti angeli tui [24]	= *Bo*	= *Bo*
28. in sublimi altario tuo	i. s. altari t.	= *St*
29. ex hoc altari participationis [25]	e. h. a. sanctificationis [26]	= *St*

[18] So the MS reads at present. Mabillon prints 'facietis'; I think the original script was 'faciatis'.

[19] [The last line of this page of the MS of *St* (in the original hand) ends with 'in mei'. Another hand (whether Moelcaich's or that of some other scribe is a question for the palaeographer) has added in two additional lines in the lower margin of the page and two in the upper margin of the next page: 'memoriam faciatis, passionem meam predicabitis, resurrectionem meam adnuntiabitis, adventum meum sperabitis donec iterum veniam ad vos de caelis.' The original hand resumes with the first line of the page: 'Unde et memores'.

The Ambrosian Canon as settled on the basis of the earliest MSS (Ceriani *Notitia Liturgiae Ambrosianae*, 1895, pp. 9–10) reads: 'in meam commemorationem facietis, mortem meam praedicabitis', &c., as in the margins of *St* (see above), except that its final clause runs: 'donec iterum de caelis veniam ad vos'.

But the *St* variant will trouble no one who is acquainted with (to use Dom Guéranger's word in another connexion) the Old Irish mania for amending, after a fashion, liturgical texts which are quite good in themselves. There seems no valid reason, so far as liturgical and historical considerations go, why such an Ambrosian text may not have been known in Ireland in the seventh or eighth or ninth century. For the Irish in the region of Milan in the middle of the ninth century see Traube's 'O Roma nobilis' (*Abhandl. d. k. bayer. Akad. der Wiss., philol.-hist. Cl.* xix, 1891) pp. 349 sqq.—Sir G. F. Warner has now assigned the date of the original hand of *St*, and also of Moelcaich's additions, to the first decade of the ninth century (H. B. Soc., vol. xxxii, 1915, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii).]

[20] So, clearly, in the MS.

[21] Cf. 'sereno vultu digneris respicere' *Bo* p. 358; 'ita nos dignare respicere', p. 380. See p. 90 note 3.

[22] 'acceptū abere' *Bo*, I think; the abbreviation is clear in the next line (cf. No. 1). As to *St*, in these Irish texts 'o' and 'u' are interchangeable.

[23] *Fr*: '"Acceptu . . . acceptu" clarissime, sine compendio, neque in rasura.' So Mgr G. Mercati.

[24] Cf. 'Ascendat oratio nostra per manus sancti angeli tui ad divinum altare tuum, Domine' *Bo* p. 351, ed. G. H. Forbes, p. 311. [The fragment of Roman Canon of the 'Missa Romensis' in the Mozarabic *Liber Ordinum* (ed. Férotin, col. 228), although it is a Gregorian text, reads: 'per manus sancti angeli tui'.]

[25] See p. 90 note 3.

[26] *Ambros*: 'ex hac altaris sanctificatione' Biasca MS; 'ex hoc altari sanctifica-

Gregorian Canon

Haec quotiescumque feceritis 22. in mei memoriam facietis.[1]

Unde et memores [q] sumus[2], Domine, nos [r] tui servi, set et plebs tua sancta, 23. [s] Christi Filii tui [t] Domini Dei nostri tam beatae passionis, necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in caelos[3] gloriosae ascensionis, offerimus praeclarae maiestati tuae de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitae aeternae, et calicem salutis perpetuae. Supra quae propitio ac sereno 24. vultu respicere digneris, 25. et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel, et sacrificium[4] patriarchae nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.

26. Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus, iube haec perferri 27. per manus [u] angeli tui 28. in sublime altare tuum, in conspectu[5] divinae maiestatis tuae, ut quotquot 29. ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur. [v] Per Christum Dominum nostrum [w].[6]

[x] Nobis quoque peccatoribus, famulis tuis, de multi-

Roman Missal

[q] *om.* 'sumus'
[r] 'servi tui'
[s] 'eiusdem C. F.'
[t] 'Domini nostri' [See No. 23, *Bo, St, Fr.*]

[u] 'sancti angeli tui' [See No. 27, *Bo, St, Fr.*]

[v] 'Per eumdem Chr. D. n.'
[w] 'Amen'
[x] *praem.* 'Memento

Readings of 'Gelas *saec. viii*' *MSS in so far as differing from* GV :—

On No. 22 : 'faciatis' *R* ; 'meae memoriam facietis' *Gell.*
On No. 23 : 'Domini nostri' *R* ; so too *Ang* originally, but 'Dei' interlined by same hand.
On No. 24 : 'dignare' *R.*
On No. 28 : 'in sublime altare tuo' *Ang* (originally ; but 'o' altered to 'ū'), *Gell.*
On No. 29 : 'ex hoc altaris participatione' *S* (corrected to 'hac') ; 'participationes'? *Gell.*

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[1] *GV* has 'faciaetis' : see also No. 22, *Bo.*
[2] *Ott* omits 'sumus' : see p. 95 (*e*).
[3] *Ca* 'caelis'. See p. 103 note 2, No. 18.
[4] *Cass* breaks off with 'sacri . . .' (of the word 'sacrificium', imperfect).
[5] *Ott* 'conspectum' : see p. 95 (*f*).
[6] The 'Amen' is in *GV* ed. Wilson (not in Tommasi, 1680, p. 198 ; nor in Vezzosi, 1751, p. 175) ; also in *R, S,* 2296. Not in *Bo, Fr, Gell, Ang, Ca, Reg, Ott.*—*St* has not the conclusion 'P. Chr. D. n'.
For the text of the Memento of the Dead at this point in *Ott* and other MSS see below p. 96 note 3, and p. 97 note 3. It is omitted by *GV, Ca, Reg.*

Bo	*St*	*Fr*
30. partem aliquam societatis donare digneris	p. a. et. societatem d. dignare	p. a. et societatem d. digneris [27]
31. Perpetua [28] Agne Cecilia Felicitate, Anastasia, Agatha, Lucia, Eogenia	P. Agna C. F. An. Ag. L.	
32. intra quorum nos consortio	i. q. n. consortia	
33. 'non stimatur meritis sed veniam quęsomus largitur admitte'	non estimatis meritis sed veniam [28a] quessumus largitor admitte [Moelcaich alters to 'estimamur']	
33a. [No 'Amen']	= *Bo*	
34. [29] Divino magisterio edocti et divina institutione audemus dicere	[29] D. m. e. e. d. i. formati a. d.	*St-Gall MS* 1394 [28b] = *St*
35. Libera nos Domine ab omni malo praeterito praesenti et futuro [30]	= *Bo*	= *Bo*
36. et intercedente pro nobis beata et gloriosa semperque virgine Maria beatis apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo da propitius [31]	e. intercedentibus p. n. beatis a. t. P. e. P. Patricio d. p.	= *St* [except : et Patricio (episcopo)]

tionis' Bergamo MS and 'codd. alii veteres et edd. antiquae Missalis Ambrosiani' (so Ceriani *Notitia Liturgiae Ambrosianae* p. 70).

[27] *Fr* breaks off at this word, imperfect.

[28] [A later hand has written over 'Per' of 'Perpetua' 'felic' (without, however, deleting the 'Felicitate' below), and has further 'doctored' the name 'Agne', though I cannot make 'Agatha' (see the Gregorian Canon) out of the correction. See as to this list of names Supplementary Note A, p. 104 below.]

[28a] [Dr MacCarthy and Sir G. F. Warner read 'venia' as the original script, i. e. treat the abbreviation mark over 'a' as an addition by Moelcaich. From the facsimile it seems to me to come from the original scribe; and 'venia*m*', like the readings (e)stima*mur*', 'meritis', goes back on the same correction (= corruption) of the genuine Roman text, whether originally by a Gallic or an Irish hand, as that found in *GV*, for which see p. 89 'on No. 33', and note 4.]

[28b] Warren *Liturgy of Celtic Ch.* p. 177, MacCarthy *Stowe Missal* p. 234.

[29] From this point *St* offers only a rescript of the interpolator Moelcaich. The form in *St* occurs in *Missale Gothicum* p. 228 (missa in cathedra S. Petri); another variant ibid. p. 297 (a Missa Dominicalis: 'D. m. docti et salutaribus monitis instituti a. d.'), this last being found also in *Moz.* 276. 83-85 (sixth Sunday after Pentecost) and 430. 21 23 (missa plurimorum martyrum). The genuine Visigothic formulae of preface to the Lord's Prayer are of a quite different cast, and the various forms mentioned above are to be referred to the preface in *Gelas* and *Greg* for their original, and all date from the seventh century. The influence of this *Gelas-Greg* preface is also perceptible in *Moz.* 315. 59-65 (in Cathedra St Petri), 333. 79-80 (in Nativ. S. Joh. Bapt.), 364. 96 (Assumption), 437. 96 (missa unius virg.); and possibly 273. 18, the fourth Sunday after Pentecost.

[30] See p. 90 note 3.

[31] See p. 90 note 3.

Gregorian Canon

tudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, 30. partem aliquam et societatem[1] donare digneris cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus, cum Ioanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, 31. Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia[2], Agne, Caecilia, Anastasia, et [y] cum omnibus sanctis tuis: 32. intra quorum nos consortium,[3] 33. non aestimator meriti,[4] sed veniae, quaesumus, largitor admitte. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem haec omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis et praestas nobis: per ipsum, et cum ipso, et in ipso est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti in unitate Spiritus sancti omnis honor et gloria, per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Oremus. 34. Praeceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati audemus dicere:

Pater noster . . . libera nos a malo.[5 z]

35. Libera nos, quaesumus, Domine, ab omnibus malis praeteritis, praesentibus et futuris, 36. et intercedente[6] beata et gloriosa semper[7] virgine Dei genetrice Maria, [a] et beatis apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo [b] (? at-

Roman Missal

etiam, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum N. et N., qui nos praecesserunt cum signo fidei, et dormiunt in somno pacis (*rubric*: '. . . orat aliquantulum, pro iis defunctis, pro quibus orare intendit . . .'). Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas deprecamur. Per eumdem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Nobis quoque', *etc.* [For the Memento in the Roman Mass in saecc. vii–ix see pp. 96 sqq. below.]

[y] *om.* 'cum'

[z] 'Amen'

[a] 'cum'

[b] 'atque Andrea et omnibus sanctis'

Readings of 'Gelas *saec. viii*' *MSS in so far as differing from* GV:—

On No. 30: 'et societatem' *R*, 2296; *S* doubtful; 'societatis' altered by another hand to 'et societatem' *Ang*.

On No. 32: 'consortio' *R*, *Gell*.

On No. 33: 'non estimamur meritis sed ueniam qs largitor emitt(as?)' *Ang* (corrected by another hand to agree with *Greg*); 'non estimatur meritis sed ueniam quaesumus largitur admitte' *Gell*; *R* and *S* as the *Greg* Canon (but in *S* 'the last syllable of "estimator" is written over an erasure.' Wilson, p. 239, note 70).

On No. 35: *Ang* originally written 'Libera nos quaesumus Domine'; 'quaesumus' erased and interlined by the same hand after 'Domine'.

On No. 36: 'pro nobis' omitted *R*, *Ang*, erased *S*; 'semperque' *R*; 'que' erased *S*, *Ang*; 'et beatis' on an erasure, and 'apostolis tuis' omitted *S*; 'atque Andrea' omitted *S*, *Ang*, *Gell* (but 'atque Andrea cum omnibus sanctis' has been added in margin of *S*); *R* after 'Andrea' adds 'et beatis confessoribus tuis illis'.

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[1] *GV* has 'partem aliquam societatis'.

[2] For Aldhelm on the order of these names see Supplementary Note A at the end of this paper.

[3] *GV* has now 'consortia', and the word is so printed by Tommasi, 1680, p. 198, and Vezzosi, 1751, p. 175; but 'consortium' was apparently first written (Wilson, p. 239, note 69). Cf. No. 32.

[4] *GV* has 'non stimamur meritis sed veniam . . .': cf. No. 33, *Bo*, *St*.

[5] 'Amen' *Ott*.

[6] *GV* has 'et intercedente pro nobis'; *Ca*, *Reg*, *Ott* 'et intercedente' only; *Cass* is here wanting: but in view of the fact, on the one hand, of the agreement of the three Gregorian witnesses, and the support elsewhere given to them by *Cass*, and, on the other hand, seeing that 'pro nobis' is found in *Bo*, *St* and the St Gall MS 1394, it seems most probable that the words 'pro nobis' are in *GV* an Hiberno-Gallican addition to the Roman text.

[7] So *Ca*, *Reg*; *GV* and *Ott* have 'semperque'; the remark in the last note applies to this case also.

Bo	*St*	*St Gall MS* 1394
37. pacem tuam in diebus nostris	= *Bo*	= *Bo*
38. et a peccato simus semper liberi	= *Bo*	e. a peccatis semper simus l.

On a review of the foregoing Table, it will be seen that whilst as a whole the Canon of *Bo* must be classed with *St* and *Fr*,[1] yet in a certain number of its readings (see Nos. 2, 9, 10?, 15, 17 'agens', 19, 29 in part, 30, 36 in part)[2] it deserts these two MSS and agrees with the other class, as represented by *GV*. A question therefore arises: has *Bo* adopted certain readings of the *GV* class, its original having in these items agreed with *St* and *Fr*; or did its original belong to the *GV* class and has *Bo* modified that original by the adoption of *St* readings? Not to dwell on the general tendency to approximate to the current practice of Rome which is a dominant feature in the history of Western Liturgy viewed as a whole, and manifests itself too in the hands of the correctors of *Bo*,[3] there is the broad fact, obvious on the face of the Table, that the agreements with *GV* are the exceptions, dissent from it is the rule. To take, on the other hand, an item of detail: that a scribe, with the correct form 'accepta' familiar to him from practice and lying under his eye, should, in the exercise of his choice of readings to be adopted from the *St-Fr* text, change it to 'acceptum' (see Nos. 1 and 25), is surely an assumption much less reasonable than that of descent from a common vitiated ancestor. The natural conclusion, in face of the facts, and the only safe working hypothesis, is that the original of *Bo* belonged to the *St* class, but that in this particular MS certain readings of the *GV* class have been adopted. Indeed (unless there be some feature of the case that escapes

[1] In comparing the readings of *Bo*, *St*, *Fr*, the list of *unica* p. 103 note 2 *infra*, should not be forgotten.

[2] Nos. 3 and 21 have no bearing here.

[3] The following is a list of corrections of the text of *Bo* by other hands designed to bring the MS as first written into conformity with the *GV* text (the references are to the numbers in the Table): No. 3 'devotissimo' elided; No. 9 see Table; No. 12 'quae' changed to 'ut'; No. 13 'autem' elided; No. 15 see Table; No. 20 'sancti' elided; No. 22 see note 18 in Table; see p. 103 note 2, No. 18; No. 24 'aspicere dignare' changed to 'respicere digneris'; No. 29 'hoc' to 'hac' (but 'altari participationis' is not corrected); No. 31 see Table, note 28; No. 34, after 'Oremus' (and without erasing 'divino . . .' of original hand, as in Table): 'Preceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati audemus dicere' (so Mabillon; from the photograph in my hands I cannot decipher the interlineation and words in margin); No. 35 'malo', &c., changed to the plural; No. 36 'dei genitrice' inserted before 'Maria', and 'et' before 'beatis'. But it will be seen from Nos. 9 and 15 that the corrections were not all in one direction (15 cannot come from the Ambrosian text, and hence therefore neither, it may be assumed, does 9). It may be worth while to note that the 's' of 'caelos' (No. 16) has been elided (cf. Ceriani *Notitia* p. 65). On No. 3 see further p. 82 note 3 above.

Gregorian Canon	*Roman Missal*
que Andrea),[1] da propitius 37. pacem in diebus nostris, ut ope misericordiae tuae adiuti, 38. et a peccato[2] simus [c] semper liberi (*or* 'liberi semper'),[3] et ab omni perturbatione securi. Per.	[c] 'semper liberi'

Readings of 'Gelas saec. viii' MSS in so far as differing from GV :—

On No. 38: *S*, 'o' of 'peccato' over erasure; *R* and *Gell* as *GV*, except that *Gell* reads 'ad' for 'a'.—*R* and *S* have, like *GV*, 'liberi semper'.

[1] *GV*, *Reg*, *Ott* have 'atque Andrea'; of the '*Gelas* saec. viii' texts *R* has, but *S*, *Ang*, *Gell* have not, the words, which are also omitted in *Ca*. In the absence of *Cass* the question must remain open. For the addition in *Ott* between 'Andrea' and 'da propitius' see p. 95 (*g*) below.

[2] *GV* 'peccatis'.

[3] *GV* and *Ca* have 'liberi semper'; *Reg* and *Ott* have 'semper liberi': cf. No. 38. Roman Missal has 'semper liberi'. On the whole the evidence seems in favour of 'semper liberi'.

me) to assume the contrary would be perversity. I therefore take *Bo* as in its origin a member of the *St*, not of the *GV*, class.

Next, within the group *Bo*, *St*, *Fr*, certain minutiae deserve attention. Although on the whole *St* and *Fr* agree as against *Bo*, yet No. 13 (perhaps also 7 and 11, cf. also 1, 20, 22, 30) shews that *Fr* is not the mere reproduction of a *St* text, that no one of these MSS directly descends from one of the others—as indeed might be expected from the fact that one of them is found in Ireland, one in France, one in Northern Italy—and that all three descend from an ultimate original that lies some distance behind them. For although *Fr* agrees very closely with *St*, yet its original must have embodied at least one feature (No. 13) characteristic of the original of *Bo* (i. e. in which this original differed from the original of *St*). On the other hand, the close affinity as well as the ultimate common origin of *Bo* and *St* is evidenced by a feature proper to these two MSS, viz. the existence of the word 'sancti' before 'sanguinis' in the recital of institution;[1] and for a second case see No. 11: 'quam oblationem *te* Deus in omnibus quaesumus benedictam ... facere digneris', instead of '*tu*'. The ultimate common origin (from a single ancestor) of the text of the Canon as found in *Bo*, *St*, *Fr*, may therefore, I think, be taken as sufficiently established.

[1] [For 'sanctus sanguis' as a characteristically Irish expression see *Book of Cerne* pp. 247, 248 (No. 14) and p. 282 n. 1; for 'sacrosanctus sanguis' see ibid. No. 49. That 'sanctus sanguis' should be found no less than three times in the book called the *Missale Gothicum* is natural enough, since that book is (as its contents shew) a Missal of Autun, and therefore had its origin in the region of that great centre of Irishry, Luxeuil.—To the testimonies cited in *Cerne* add that St Columbanus in the last clause but one of his Rule writes thus: 'pro quibus Salvator noster Iesus *sanctum* effudit *sanguinem* ...' (Migne *P. L.* 80. 224 C).]

Of the two recensions of the Canon evidenced by the Table, which is the earlier? Taking first the indications afforded by the MSS, I still believe the view put forward in the article on the Stowe Missal in the *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theologie* in 1892 (pp. 489–490) to be just, viz. that, when we find in the seventh century at Bobbio, a monastery founded by the Irish, a 'Missa Romensis' which is identical with a mass found in Ireland containing a *commemoratio defunctorum* (or diptychs) specially designed for Ireland and dating from about the year 630–40,[1] the conclusion seems inevitable that these two mass texts derive from a common progenitor current either in Ireland or among the Irish in quite the early years of the seventh century. On the other hand, when the question of the earlier recension of the *Gelasianum* (*GV*) comes to be dealt with, it will, I believe, clearly appear that the MS from which the single extant copy of *Gelas* (*GV*) derives, left Rome not after, but before, the masses of the Blessed Virgin and Holy Cross were embodied in it, i. e. *at the latest* in the early years of the seventh century. But even if this be so, it does not necessarily follow that the text *of the Canon* found in this single extant MS of *Gelas* (*GV*) was the text contained in the Roman original from which it descends. In *GV* (written at the close of the seventh century or early in the eighth) the text of the *Gelasianum* has evidently been manipulated, and much foreign matter has been inserted. Among the changes it is quite possible that a text of the Canon of the type found in the Monte Cassino palimpsest and in the *Greg* MSS of the ninth century may have been substituted for the text which existed in the Roman manuscript of *Gelas* brought into France a century earlier.[2] So far, then, as the general evidence

[1] [The evidence as to the age of the diptychs is simple: they give (fol. 30^{b} and fol. 31^{a}) the names of a number of Irish bishops and abbats of the close of the fifth century, of the sixth, and a few of the early years of the seventh. The latest names are those of Laurence, Mellitus and Justus of Canterbury, and of that Irish bishop Dagan 'mentioned twice in the Letter of Laurentius, Mellitus and Justus to the Irish bishops and abbats, the opening of which is preserved in Bede, *H. E.* ii 4' (MacCarthy, p. 217 note s). The first name (or names?) at fol. 31^{a} is 'Maile Ruen'. The names that follow this one are again those of early bishops or abbats. These two words 'Maile Ruen' have been cause of hot dispute. Dr MacCarthy will have it that 'Maile' is the bishop of Ardagh 487, and that 'Ruen' is 'the phonetic form of Ruadain'; Dr Whitley Stokes will have it that 'Maelruen' is a person of the later part of the eighth century. Whichever way the dispute be settled the date and age of the diptychs cannot be affected. If Maile Ruen be an eighth-century personage, it can only be said that the scribe of the Stowe Missal, writing in the early years of the ninth century, added, for some reason or other, to the original diptychs of *c.* 630–640 an isolated name of a contemporary of his own. The one point of importance is that these diptychs indicate (if they do not certainly evidence) that the scribe of *St* had before him a missal written at the latest about the middle of the seventh century.]

[2] I need only mention the (?parallel) case of the 'baptismal' creed. It is impossible to touch on any problem presented by these early books without involving the case of other problems. But each is best dealt with, first of all, separately, on its own merits. By and by will come the summing up of the whole matter.

afforded by the MSS is concerned, it points to an attestation of the *Bo*, *St*, *Fr* text earlier than that which can be adduced with any confidence on behalf of the text now found in *GV*, for in the one case we can, through the combined evidence of three MSS, trace back the original of their Canon to a MS at the latest of the first years of the seventh century, whilst in the other we have no security that the text of the Canon in the one existing MS may not have been (as so much else certainly was) introduced later, and in France.

On turning to seek for any indications of anteriority that may exist in the texts themselves, I call attention to a note by Dr MacCarthy on the 'Supplices te rogamus *et petimus*' of *St* (see No. 26 of the Table), and the omission from *Bo* of the last two words. He writes: 'The insertion arose perhaps from the scribe remembering "rogamus et petimus" in the opening of the Canon' (p. 215 note *b* on fol. 27ª). This may possibly be the case; at the same time Dr MacCarthy had not observed that *Fr* has the same reading, and (as it is no mere copy of the original of *St*) affords independent testimony. And another explanation is possible. It will be observed that *St* and *Fr* (No. 9) read 'Hanc igitur oblationem . . . quaesumus . . . ut placatus *sus*cipias'; and that the original 'accipias' of *Bo* is corrected to '*sus*cipias', thus shewing that the *St* reading of the Canon at this point was known and indeed preferred, if not that the type of text afforded by *St* was as a whole current, in the circle in which the corrector lived. Moreover, not merely do *St*, *Fr* agree in reading 'supplices te rogamus *et petimus*', but they continue (and herein are supported by *Bo*) '. . . iube haec perferri . . . in sublim*i* altar*i* (altar*io* *Bo*) tu*o*' (No. 28). Now the fragment of the Canon quoted in the pseudo-Ambrosian treatise *de Sacramentis* lib. iv cap. 6 reads: '*et petimus* et precamur ut hanc oblationem *suscipias in sublimi altari tuo* . . . sicut *suscipere* dignatus es', &c. (see for another case note 16 to the Table). In view of the persistency of the tradition of verbal minutiae evident in the various early MSS of the Canon, in spite of all their variants, I think it will be allowed that these resemblances, if slight, are not to be lightly dismissed as just accidental, but are rather to be viewed as indications possessing a positive and substantive value. This is not all. The 'Hanc igitur' is one of the few variable clauses of the Roman Canon, thus affording means of verification; and I think there are distinct indications that 'suscipias' was the word used in the 'Hanc igitur' of the original *GV*. The detail is thrown into a footnote.[1]

[1] In *Greg* all the 'Hanc igitur' formulae read 'ut placatus accipias'. In *Gelas* i 24, 26, iii 24, 49, 50, 52 (second form), 53, 54, 73, 106 read 'suscipias'. i 40, 45, 89, 94, 98, 100, probably 101, 102, 106, iii 52 (first form), 93, 98, 99, 103 read 'accipias'. It is unnecessary to mention other variant forms here. As regards

The indications therefore uniformly point to the conclusion that the group *Bo*, *St*, *Fr* imply an earlier recension of the Roman Canon, whilst the group *GV* and the ninth-century MSS of the *Gregorianum* present a later one. On this several interesting questions suggest themselves; but the time, I think, is not yet come to deal with them, or to enter formally on the subject of what I may call the Antiquities of the Roman Canon; certainly this is not the place to do so, the object of this paper being merely to disengage the elementary facts that, on an analysis of the early texts, emerge from apparent confusion. I propose to distinguish the two recensions as recension A (that of the group *Bo*, *St*, *Fr*) and recension B; and at any rate it seems undesirable in future to designate the text of the Canon in *GV* as 'Gelasian'; if a descriptive name must be given to it, this, it would seem, should rather be 'Gregorian'. I should like also to be beforehand with any suggestion that the Ambrosian Canon is the source for recension A of the peculiar readings common to the two: a comparison of recension A as a whole and the Ambrosian Canon as a whole, as known in the early MSS,

i 89, &c., the closing numbers of the first book of *Gelas* are, as a whole, Gallican interpolations; whilst iii 93, 98, 99, 103 belong to that series of masses of the dead which I have elsewhere pointed out (see *Book of Cerne* pp. 269–272) as being also of late date and not part of the original Roman copy. There remain i 40, 45 and iii 52 (first form).

(*a*) The 'Hanc igitur' of *Gelas* i 39 and i 40 (for Holy Thursday) are with slight variants the same. The corresponding 'H. ig.' of *Greg* (col. 55) is either an abridgement of these or the original on which they are built up. If the purport of the additional clause 'ut per multa curricula', &c., and the nature of the feast be taken into consideration together, it will not be doubted, I think, that the second alternative is the true explanation, and the improvements of i 39 and 40 are a barbarous conception.

(*b*) If the 'H. ig.' of *Gelas* i 45 ('ad missam in nocte', Holy Saturday) be compared with *Leon* 24. 30–25. 2 and *Greg* col. 66, it will, I think, again appear that the text of *Greg* is that on which the other two (with their 'ascription in the book of the living') are built up.

(*c*) Once more, if *Gelas* iii 52 first form (nuptial mass) be compared with *Leon* 141. 3–8, and *Greg* col. 245, it is again clear that *Greg* is either an abridgement or the original of the other two. It will be observed that the additional element in *Leon* and *Gelas* 'sic (eam) consortio maritali tuo munere copulatam desiderata sobole gaudere perficias atque ad optatam seriem cum suo coniuge provehas benignus annorum' is pieced up out of the nuptial blessing of *Greg* ('quae maritali iungenda est consortio', 'ad optatam perveniat senectutem').

In every case therefore the formulae of 'Hanc igitur' which read 'placatus accipias' betray marks of derivation, of later date. The masses of book iii which have 'suscipias' in the 'H. ig.' need not be particularly examined; some of these are without doubt Gallican interpolations. It is otherwise with i 24, 26. These, one the mass for Saturday of Lent Ember-days with a 'Hanc igitur' for the newly ordained, the other for the third Sunday of Lent and first Sunday of the Scrutinies with a 'Hanc igitur' for the 'electi', are both most authentic and ancient portions of *Gelas*, and both read 'suscipias'.

Such treatment as it were by scraps in a note is eminently unsatisfactory, but may at least serve to illustrate the need of minute and close examination and comparison of the texts of *Leon*, *Gelas*, *Greg*, and not the least of *Leon* which contains, I believe, certainly some texts (in the form there found) of a date very little if at all earlier than the single extant MS itself.

shews that this is not the case, but only that the latter exhibits a few readings that are characteristic of A as compared with B.

The variants between *Reg* and *Ott* have now to be considered in order to determine, if possible, which is the more authentic text of recension B of the Roman Canon.

(*a*) It is evident that the words 'et antistite nostro illo' in *Ott* (see No. 3 of the Table) are an addition, and that *Ca* and *Reg*, with the mere mention of 'papa nostro illo', preserve at this point the original Roman text.

(*b*) The clause in *Ott* 'et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicae et apostolicae fidei cultoribus' (No. 3) is wanting in *Ca* and *Reg*. The observations of the Micrologus on this clause in his chapter 13, *Quid superfluum sit in canone*, are just: 'after the name of the Pope or their own Bishop (he says) some are wont to add the clause "et omnibus . . . cultoribus"; but this is superfluous. The very next words, "Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum", allow us to commemorate all the living, as many as we will.' It may be added that all these 'orthodox adherents of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith' and no others had already been prayed for as 'Thy Holy Catholic Church'. When, moreover, it is seen that *Reg* is supported in the entire omission of these words, not only by *Ca* but also by *G V* as representing the seventh century, and by *R*, *S*, *Ang*, 2296 as representing the eighth; that the MSS in which the clause is represented vary in their readings; and that in *Ott* alone of the texts reviewed is it found in full; the natural conclusion seems to be that it formed no part of the text of the Roman Canon, but was an interpolation made in A.

(*c*) *Ott* stands alone in prefixing to the clause 'qui tibi offerunt' the words 'pro quibus tibi offerimus vel', which in the MS are written by the original hand and as if an integral part of the text.[1] There is no need to say they are an interpolation.

(*d*) *Ott* reads (see No. 13, and cf. readings of '*Gelas* saec. viii'): 'dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri', *Reg* 'd. F. t. Dn. Dei n.'

(*e*) *Ott* reads 'Unde et memores Domine'; all the other MSS, as originally written, read 'U. et m. sumus D.' (The word 'sumus' has been erased in *S*, *Ang*, 2296, and *Ca*.)

(*f*) *Ott* reads (perhaps only by a slip of the scribe) 'in conspectum divinae maiestatis tuae'; the other MSS 'in conspectu d. m. t.'

(*g*) In the *Libera* after the Lord's Prayer, *Ott* reads 'atque Andrea [then occurs an erasure of the space of about fifteen letters][2] necnon et

[1] The addition is made in a later hand in *Ang*, but in the same order and terms as in *Ott*. See also the 'collectio ad panis fractionem' of *M. Goth.* xxxvi.

[2] [Mr H. A. Wilson writes to me thus under date of Nov. 23, 1914: 'As to the addition to the *Libera* which appears in *Ott*, it seems to me that the erasure

beato Dionysio martyre tuo atque pontifice cum sociis suis Rustico et Eleutherio et beato Chlodoaldo confessore tuo et omnibus sanctis da propitius pacem'; *Reg* reads 'atque Andrea da propitius pacem'. That the text of *Ott* is not pure is obvious.[1]

The conclusion to be drawn cannot be doubtful; viz. that of the two MSS *Reg* preserves the genuine *Greg* text of the Canon, and *Ott* offers a corrupt text. But it is interesting to observe that (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), (*e*), and the 'et omnibus sanctis' of (*g*) are found in the present Roman Canon, which must therefore descend from a MS of the type of *Ott*, and consequently may be (since *Ott* was a Paris manuscript) the Parisian recension in the ninth century of the text of *Greg*.

Finally, the question of the Memento of the Dead remains to be considered. It is wanting in *Ca* and *Reg*, the best witnesses to the text of *Greg*; in *GV*, the earliest extant copy of recension B of the Canon; also in *S* and 2296, MSS of '*Gelas* saec. viii'. *Gell* has the single word 'Memento'.[2] *Ang* gives a quite different text.[3] This is not all. Amalar's lengthy comment on the Canon (*De offic.* iii capp. 25, 26 written about 827–832) passes directly from the clause 'Supplices . . . repleamur' (ed. Hittorp, 1610, col. 425 D) to 'Nobis quoque peccatoribus' (col. 426 E), and says nothing of the Memento. It is also absent from two expositions of the mass, which embody the text of the Canon

between "Andrea" and "necnon" is to be accounted for by the words "et omnibus sanctis" having been written after "Andrea" as well as after "confessoribus"; the space is almost exactly the same which the words occupy three lines below,' and there are, he adds, traces of the tops of some of the letters.]

[1] The considerable variation in the texts of the MSS at this point (see No. 36) seems to evidence successive interpolations. It looks as if *St* most nearly preserved the original text; cf. the omission of 'et' before 'beatis' in *Bo* (Mabillon has 'et' in error).

[2] This is mentioned by Martene, *De ant. eccl. rit.* lib. I cap. 4 art. viii § 24.

[3] As follows: 'Memento mei Domine hanc tibi sancte pater licet meis manibus offerantur quia nec inuocationem tui nominis dignus sum et quia per sanctum atque sanctificatum filii tui nominis oblationes offerantur. sicut incensum in conspectu tuo cum odore suauitatis accendatur et eorum nomina qui nos praecesserunt cum signo fidei per xp̄m̄ dn̄m̄ nostrum (fol. 119). [This is the earlier, and original, form of the prayer, which (reduced more or less to the rules of grammar, but not always of sense) is entered by a later hand in *Ott* in margin opposite the Memento of the dead. The form in *Ott* is as follows (I take the text from Wilson *The Gregorian Sacramentary* in footnote at page 4): 'M. m. queso D. [? et] miserere et licet hec sacrificia indignis manibus meis tibi offer(an)tur qui nec invocare d. s. nomen sanctum tuum queso iam quia in honore gloriosi f. t. Domini Dei nostri tibi offeruntur s. i. i. c. divine maiestatis tue (c.) o. s. accendantur meque emundatum a delictis omnibus tibi Deo soli inmaculatum concede famulari p. x. d. n.' This may also serve as an example of the 'improvements' in piety as well as in style in vogue in the higher quarters at the time when *Ott* was written; it will be observed that in the formula of *Ott* the dead are entirely forgotten, and the prayer becomes one of the priest on behalf of himself alone.] With slight revisions the prayer in this form found its way into this place of the Canon of many later Sacramentaries, see Ebner, p. 419, Bona *Rer. liturg.* ii c. 14 § 1; 'sed et haec inconsulto hic posita est' says Bona. *Ang*, where it really embodies a Memento of the Dead, explains how the anomaly arose.

printed by Gerbert from a MS of the tenth century.[1] One of these expositions, he says, commonly has this note in copies found in south-western Germany and Switzerland: 'expositio haec a coenobio S. Dionysii venit.'[2] From the time of abbat Fulrad (died 784) St-Denis had cells in Alsace through which such a document could easily pass to monasteries of that region. The tract is thus of interest as shewing at Paris a text with a different tradition from *Ott*. On the other hand *Ott* is supported by *Bo*, *St*, *Fr* as testimony for the seventh century and by *R* for the eighth.[3]

[1] *Mon. liturg. Aleman.* ii 280, 288.

[2] Ibid. p. 282 n. 1.

[3] [In this note I propose to give a conspectus of the forms of the Memento of the Dead in the early MSS (*Ang* is already accounted for in note 3 p. 96 above):—

1. For the *Greg* mass for the dead (Mur. ii 270): '*Super Dipticia*. Memento etiam, Domine, famulorum tuorum (*illorum*) qui nos praecesserunt et dormiunt in somno pacis. *Post lectionem*. Istis et omnibus, Domine, in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis indulgentiam deprecamur. Per Dominum'.

2. In *Bo*: 'M. e. D. et eorum nomina qui n. p. cum signum fidei et d. i. s. p. *Commemoratio defunctorum*. Ipsis e. o. in Chr. q. l. r. l. et p. ut indulgeas d. P. Christum D. nostrum'.

3. In *St*: 'M. e. D. et eorum nomina q. n. p. cum signo fidei et d. i. s. p. cum omnibus (a lengthy addition, with diptychs, for which see MacCarthy, pp. 215–218 l. 6: the Roman Memento is resumed at line 7 thus:) Ipsis et o. in Chr. q. l. r. l. et p. ut indulgeas d.'.

4. In *Fr*: 'M. e. D. et eorum nomina q. n. p. cum signo fidei et d. i. s. p. Ipsis, D. et o. in Chr. q. l. r. l. et p. ut indulgeas deprecamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum'.—There can be little doubt that according to the rite of *Fr* the names were said after 'eorum', and that the word 'nomina' is really here a rubric. In *Bo* and *St* the names are recited at a later point, and the word 'nomina' is made (and this would be quite in the Irish liturgical manner) an integral part of the text.

5. In *Ott*: 'M. e. D. f. famularumque tuarum ill. et ill. q. n. p. cum signo fidei et d. i. s. p. Ipsis et o. i. Chr. q. l. r. l. et p. ut indulgeas d. Per Christum Dominum nostrum'.—And this, with the addition of 'Domine' after 'Ipsis', is the form in which the Memento of the Dead has found a permanent location in the Roman Canon of to-day.

I add a few miscellaneous notes.

6. The *Missale Gallicanum* in its first Advent mass embodies the Roman Memento of the Dead in the 'post nomina' prayer (i.e. the special prayer in the Gallican rite said after the recital of the names of living and dead). It is as follows: 'Placare, Domine, quaesumus, humilitatis nostrae precibus et hostiis: et ubi nulla suppetunt suffragia meritorum, tuae nobis indulgentiae succurre praesidiis: et eorum nomina q. n. p. cum signo fidei et d. in s. p.; ipsis et o. in Chr. q. l. r. l. et p. ut indulgeas deprecamur. Per'. The words 'Placare . . . praesidiis' are merely a copy of the 'secret' of *Gelas* ii 80; the rest, based on the Roman Memento of the Dead, is an original Gaulish composition. As it stands of course it makes nonsense, but it may be adduced here as a useful example of Merovingian liturgical style of the seventh century, many specimens of which are embodied in *GV* and ought to be printed in all the original barbarism of the MS, for this gives their authentic form.

7. *R* gives the Mem. of the Dead in two places: in the usual place, and also immediately after the Mem. of the Living. This latter phenomenon has been the cause or occasion of far-reaching speculations, stretching up even to 'primitive' antiquity, among the liturgiological experts of the last two generations. I have touched upon the question at pp. 112–113 below.

The text of these two Mementos of the Dead is as follows: (*a*) that after the commemoration of the living: 'M. e. D. et animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum fidelium catholicorum in Christo quiescentium, qui nos praecesserunt, illorum et illarum, qui per eleemosynam et confessionem tibi reddunt vota sua', &c. (as in

Were a literary production in question, the clause, in face of such MS evidence, would doubtless be pronounced spurious, an interpolation which (like the clause 'omnibus orthodoxis . . . cultoribus') arose in A and passed thence to *Ott*. The case is not so easily settled where liturgical texts are concerned. Circumspection is needed to avoid conclusions that may be as false as they are facile. External circumstances, too, have to be taken into account. These texts were for practical use in very varying circumstances; they were widely spread, from Ireland to Calabria; they made a very direct and intimate appeal to persons and races of very different minds, temperaments, traditions.

I have elsewhere pointed out[1] that the terminology of the Memento of the Dead under discussion is not native Spanish, French, Irish, but Roman, or Romano-African, if that be preferred. Nor, until the body of evidence there brought together is challenged and the case generally put on some other footing, do I see how the Roman origin of the clause can well be doubted although (whilst it figures in the earliest attestations of the Roman Canon, *Bo*, *St*, *Fr*) it be absent from many MSS of the period (750–850) in which the Gregorian mass book was generally propagated in France: absent *from the Canon*, that is, for it appears in all these MSS (with some slight variants) in the special mass for the dead. Still, its absence from the Canon is a difficulty which calls for an explanation. This I will endeavour to give in some measure at least, though necessarily by way only of briefest indication.

The Lyons deacon Florus (died *c.* 860) writes categorically thus: After the words 'qui nos praecesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis' 'it was the ancient custom, *which is also still observed by* the Roman Church (sicut etiam Romana agit ecclesia),[2] immediately to recite the names of the dead from the diptychs, that is the *tabulae*, and then, after they have been read, the clause "Ipsis et omnibus" is said.'[3] Unfortunately Gallic and other liturgical expositors or partisans have had a trick of squaring the facts to their fancies in these matters.

Canon in com. of living. (*b*) The Mem. of Dead in usual place in the Canon is exactly as in *Fr*, no. 4 above (see Wilson *Gelas. Sacr.* p. 238 n. 13 and p. 239 n. 62).

8. The treatment of the word 'nomina' as part of the text (though this makes nonsense) is perpetuated in the texts of later centuries, the solecism from habit passing unnoticed by skilled and unskilled alike. See however the correction of an expositor in Gerbert *Mon. lit. Aleman.* ii 165 'et eorum nominum qui'. The Micrologus (Bernold of Constance, a really scholarly person) at the end of the eleventh century has at cap. 23 'M. e. D. et eorum nomina qui' (Migne *P. L.* 151. 994 B; cf. also cap. 13 ibid. 985 D)].

[1] *Book of Cerne* pp. 267–273.

[2] 'Pseudo-Alcuin' (saec. 10 or 11) betters Florus thus: 'sicut etiam *usque hodie* Romana agit ecclesia' Hittorp 289 E. As to the use made of Florus in 'Pseudo-Alcuin' and the groundlessness of the ascription of the Trèves 'Liber Officiorum' to any 'Amalar', see Ad. Franz *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg, Herder, 1902) pp. 368 sqq.

[3] *Opusculum de expositione missae*, cap. 70 (Migne *P. L.* 119. 62).

This is shewn in all ages from the general introduction of Gregorianism in the ninth century to the 're-establishment of the Roman rite' in France in the nineteenth. It is necessary therefore to scan the statements of this class of writers somewhat closely. A difficulty at once suggests itself. If the statement of Florus be correct, how comes it that the Ordo Romanus I (a document which, so far as I have been able to test it, proves itself eminently and singularly trustworthy) not only says nothing of the reading of the diptychs but describes the recital of the Canon in a way which excludes such observance? The ninth century produced on this side of the Alps very many ritual tracts explanatory of the Roman rite, called forth by the liturgical changes of the time. Some embody personal reminiscences of what the writer had seen in Rome or had heard from those who had been there, and notice matters elsewhere taken for granted, or deliberately ignored or even misrepresented.[1] Two of these tracts supply an explanation which at least fits the facts. One says that on week-days, from Monday to Saturday, masses for the dead are said, and the names of the dead are commemorated in the mass; but such masses are not to be said on Sundays, nor are the names of the dead recited on that day, but only the names of the living.[2] The second, an exposition of the mass by question and answer, says: after the 'Supplices te rogamus' 'come two prayers, one "super dipticios" (viz. "Memento . . . somno pacis") and one ("Ipsis . . . deprecamur") after the recitation of the names, and this on week-days, that is on working-days (?) only'—'et hoc cottidianis, id est in agendis tantummodo diebus'.[3] If this be so, and the Memento of the Dead was not made in the Canon on Sundays in the then rite of Rome (and I see no reason for discrediting the statement, except the novelty of the idea to the modern mind), it helps to explain how it is that this Memento is absent from some at least of our Sacramentaries (e.g. *Ca*[4]), whilst it is found in the meaner, every-day codices like *Bo*, *St*.

[1] For instance, as regards the *Gloria in excelsis*.

[2] Gerbert *Mon. liturg. Aleman.* ii 173.

[3] Ibid. p. 165. The passage quoted in the text is cited in Du Cange under *Agenda*; I have ventured on a risky rendering of the word which at any rate makes sense. I do not think the text can mean 'on week-days, *and then only in masses for the dead*' (i.e. 'in agendis mortuorum').

[4] I have said (p. 65 above) *Ca* is a 'Prachtexemplar'. The supplementary matter added by later hands sufficiently shews, I think, that it was specially designed for the use of the bishop. It comprises, roughly, the following items: ff. 2–24[a] benedictions; ff. 24[a]–25 prefaces 'in unius confessoris', and of St Vedast, 'or̄ post confirmationem', and 'Deus qui apostolis' (Mur. ii 91), a 'Benedictio' and 'Absolutio' (long and 'Gallican'); ff. 26–33[b] ordinations (ostiar to priest); ff. 34–35[a] miscellanies; f. 204[a] mass of All Saints (also found at f. 240[a]); ff. 204[b]–205 'Or̄ ad infantes consignandos'; ff. 206–221[b] prefaces and benedictions; ff. 222–239[b] 'ordo ad inungendum infirmum' with prayers for agony, funeral, masses of dead; ff. 239[b]–241[a] masses for 'Dom. post ascensionem' and vigil and feast of All Saints; ff. 241[b]–245 more

Another consideration suggests itself. The Memento of the Dead was just the point where difficulty would be most probably found in popularizing the Roman rite in Gaul in the seventh and eighth centuries. In the end, indeed, the old native custom asserted itself in those regions, though in extra-liturgical fashion. I proceed to explain. The 'diptychs', which accident has left embodied in some texts of the Liturgies, Eastern and Western, 'St James', 'Stowe', make a considerable figure in the pages of the Ritualists (to use Maskell's favourite term). But in fact (apart from their interest for that article of the creed, the Communion of Saints) they belong to the department of ecclesiastical etiquette rather than popular religion.[1] Even to the Irish of the ninth century the 'Stowe' diptychs, native though the names be, must have been as much a list of forgotten worthies as they were to Witzel centuries later—'nostris obscurissima saeculis', 'nostris temporibus ignotissima' are the words he uses in regard to them.

The recital of the names of the dead in Gaul in the seventh century had quite a different character; one living, intimate, personal. Throughout the land it was, too, a prominent feature of the service on those days precisely when the Churches were full, Sundays, feast days. They were read aloud so that all present might hear, distinct and apart from the text of any prayer. From the collection of 'nomina' prayers in the Gallican missals, it is clear that the names of saints that form the substance of the 'diptychs' were no part of the names recited;[2] but these prayers continually dwell on the names of the dead, friends or relatives known to all, 'our dear ones' as the Gallican formulae are never weary of calling them with that strong affection and deep sense of family relationship that, inherited from a remote past, characterizes

benedictions. If (as I think appears from this review) the additions have generally the special requirements of the bishop in view, this MS was intended for use precisely on days (be they Sundays or feasts) when the Memento of the Dead in the Canon was omitted.

Whether the commemoration of the dead was in fact thus passed over at Cambrai, even by Bishop Hildoard, by whose order the volume was written, is another matter. In the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* (*Mon. Germ. SS.* vii 415) one fact, and one fact only, is recorded of Hildoard, viz. that 'he caused two handsomely carved ivory tabulae to be made in the twelfth year of his episcopate (801-802) as appears on the same tabulae'. Was he providing thus for the continuance in his church of its traditional practice of reciting publicly the names of the dead on Sundays and feasts, no less than on other days? The idea seems not unreasonable. If so, here would be another explanation of the omission of the Memento in *Ca.*

[1] [On this point see what is said in *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (Cambridge Texts and Studies) p. 113, cf. 105–106.]

[2] But from *Moz.* 15. 12–23, 27. 83, 345. 9, 435. 44 it is clear that names of saints had been recited. The saints are mentioned once in (the print of) *Bo*, and this text arrested the attention of G. H. Forbes for the reasons he explains, p. 348 note j. But the whole mass in which this mention occurs ('missa pro principe') is not a part of the original MS; it is written by another hand on an inserted leaf.

the French people still. It is no accident that All Souls day originated in France. This public recital of the names of their dead and recommendation to the prayers of all in the seventh century touched the nature and piety of those Gallic people in their tenderest point.

The Roman method was a complete contrast. When read without preconceived notions, or *parti pris* derived from present practice (of which later), the very text of the Memento shews that a simple mention of the names as an integral part of the celebrant's prayer is all that is contemplated: 'Remember Thy servants, so and so, who have gone before us with the sign of faith.' There is no room here for the formal recital of any 'diptychs', or lists of names as in Gaul. Nor does there seem anything to bar the conclusion naturally suggested by the documents that, at least from the seventh century, the names of the dead were in the rite of Rome commemorated in the Canon silently by the celebrant as at present.

This silent recital and no more is what was offered in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries to those in Gaul adopting the Roman rite in place of the touching solemnities hitherto observed. The result of the shock of the new system and the old, the foreign custom and the native, was a compromise, the precise steps of which it may, or may not, be possible one day to trace in detail; but its nature is seen in those mediaeval bidding prayers and the prône that continues still to-day, in which this section of the Gallican mass is perpetuated much in its ancient form and almost in its old position.[1] It can be no cause for surprise if the Sacramentaries of the period of transition, the eighth and ninth centuries, bear traces of the conflict of two incompatible practices, and if the Memento of the Dead be absent from the Canon of not a few of them.

Having proceeded so far, I may before concluding glance at another point. Whilst the prayers of the Gallican books, *Richenov*, *Goth*, *Gall*, are rich in detail for the 'recitation of the names', the Bobbio missal is

[1] [The canons 50 and 51 of the great Council of Frankfort of 794 dealt with the practice of this period of transition. They read: (50) 'Ut confecta sacra mysteria in missarum solemniis omnes generaliter pacem ad invicem praebeant'; (51) 'De non recitandis nominibus, antequam oblatio offeratur' (*M. G. Concil.* ii 171). These prescriptions go back on Nos. 53 and 54 of Charles's 'Admonitio generalis' of 23 March 789, which however make their purport quite clear: (53) 'In decretalibus Innocenti papae, ut pax detur ab omnibus, confectis Christi sacramentis'; (54) 'Item eiusdem, ut nomina publice non recitentur ante precem sacerdotalem' (*M. G. Capit.* i 57). With the adoption of the Roman rite, some priests, and perhaps bishops also, continued to recite the 'names' and to give the 'pax' at their accustomed place in the Gallican mass, i.e. before the Canon. The object of the two canons of the Council of Frankfort was to secure that in quarters in which the Roman rite was adopted the 'names' should be said and the 'pax' given in their (Roman) places, namely the 'names' (of offerers) at an early point of the Canon, the 'pax' immediately before the communion.]

as markedly sparing in them. But such as the material is it offers a singular medley. The 'nomina' *motif* occurs in five masses only: pp. 332, 348, drawn from the *Missale Gothicum*, thus a Gallican source; p. 359 rewritten from *Moz*, thus Visigothic; thirdly in the 'missa pro principe', p. 379, which (as stated above) is no part of the original book, is a mention of 'sanctorum nomina' only. Finally in a mass *pro vivis et defunctis* is a text proper to the *Bobiense*, found in none of the other MSS. This is, if I mistake not, a genuine piece of Irish work betraying the style and method of a race whose influence is of such incalculable religious importance in the seventh century as the medium through which the transition from one rite, practice, observance, to another was most easily brought about, and the age of fusion of very disparate religious elements was most effectively prepared. This is the text: '... tam pro vivis quam et solutis debito mortis ... quorum animas *ad memorandum conscripsimus* vel quorum nomina *super*[1] *sanctum altarium scripta adest evidenter*' (p. 363). Here is a middle term, a mere reference to a list of names lying on or near the altar-table, which does not belong to either use, Roman or Gallican, but shews a sort of compromise between the two.

To sum up the whole enquiry instituted in this paper:—

(1) The early texts of the Roman Canon fall into two classes or recensions ('A' and 'B').

(2) A, which seems the earlier, can be traced back (among the Irish) to the early years of the seventh century.

(3) The first attestation of B is in the only extant MS of the older recension of *Gelas*, and in the contemporary Monte Cassino palimpsest of *Greg*. These two MSS offer the same type of text as the MSS of *Greg* of the ninth century.

(4) Both A and B existed in France in the seventh century.

(5) Of the two copies (from *Reg* and from *Ott*) of the Canon of *Greg*, printed by Muratori, *Reg* is the purer; but the Canon in the

[1] In the Gallican books the expression is: '*ante* altare tuum nomina recitantur' (*Richenov* missa iv, cf. *Goth* No. lxx); 'hos quos recitatio commemoravit *ante* sanctum altare' (*Goth* No. xxvii). In *Moz* '*ante* altare' 257. 99; *coram* altario' 317. 100, 441. 101 (this is the text copied in *Bo*). The formula 'oblationis sacratarum virginum' in *Leon* with its mention of the recitation of their names 'before' the altar, 'quarum ante sanctum altare tuum oblata nomina recitantur' (36. 22-23) has no bearing on the questions relating to the seventh and eighth centuries under discussion here. [Formulae akin to that of the mass 'pro vivis et defunctis' in the *Bobiense* are found at a much later date. The following are examples from Italy, Spain, and Germany. In a later Bobbio missal, Bibl. Ambros. Cod. D. 84 part. inf. (of *s.* x/xi) a hand of *s.* xi ex. has entered in the margin at the Memento of the Dead: 'et quorum vel quarum nomina apud me scripta retinentur' (Ebner p. 81).—In the Canon of a Missal of Monte Cassino, or the neighbourhood, now in the Bibl. Vallicellana, Cod. C. 32 (*s.* xi), the Memento runs: 'quorum vel quarum nomina scripta habemus et quorum vel quarum elemosinas accepimus, et eorum qui nos praecesserunt', &c. (ibid. p. 203).—The

present Roman missal descends from a text like that in *Ott* (a MS of the church of Paris).

(6) The Memento of the Dead, found in the Canon of *Ott* but not in that of *Reg*, is an element of native Roman origin; but it is an element of the Mass for the Dead, and not of the Canon.

(7) In Rome itself, both before and after the introduction of recension B, the Memento of the Dead was not said at public (Sunday and festal) masses. It came into regular use in Rome, in every mass as now, not before the ninth century.[1]

The unique readings of the various MSS are appended in a footnote.[2]

interesting 'Missa omnimoda' in the eleventh-century Silos MS of the Mozarabic *Liber Ordinum* (but in this MS only), in the very lengthy 'embolismus' after the Lord's Prayer (= the 'Libera nos quaesumus' of the Roman mass) reads thus: '... quorum spiritus de hac luce migrare fecisti quorumque nomina penes nos adnotata sunt et super altaria tua posita esse videntur' (col. 241).—Finally, a formula in the so-called 'Missa Flacci Illyrici' (now known to be a MS of the eleventh century, preserved at Wolfenbüttel) entitled 'Item pro salute vivorum et mortuorum', intended to be said at the Memento of the Dead in the Canon, runs thus: 'et quorum corpora hic et ubique requiescunt, et quorum nomina hic in libro vitae scripta esse videntur', &c. (Martene *De ant. eccl. rit.* lib. i, cap. iv, art. xii, Ordo iv; p. 185 col. 1 of the ed. Bassani (Venetiis) 1788). Here we have, of course, the beginnings of that ritual use of the Liber vitae in the mass described in the Rites of Durham and elsewhere.]

[1] [See Supplementary Note C for further remarks as to the non-recital of the Memento of the Dead in the Canon according to the Roman rite and practice.]

[2] The following are the unique readings of the MSS additional to any already given in the Table; although some are mere blunders, I have thought it best to record them.

I. Of *Bo, St, Fr*: 1. supplices *te* rogamus *St.* 2. *et* unare *St.* 3. tot*um* orbe*m* terrarum *Bo.* 4. after 'episcopo' (see No. 3 of Table): *Hic recitantur nomina vivorum St* (MacCarthy p. 210 note on f. 24ª). 5. Memento *etiam* Domine famulorum *tuorum* N. famularumque tuarum (i.e. the living) *St.* 6. beat*issimo*rum apostolorum *Bo.* 7. Thomae *et* Jacobi *St*; Thomae *Item* Jacobi *Gell.* 8. et omnium sanctorum tuorum *qui per universo mundo passi sunt propter nomen tuum Domine seo confessoribus tuis* quorum meritis *Bo.* 9. muniamur auxili*um Bo.* 10. placatus suscipias (cf. No. 8 of Table) *eumque atque omnem populum ab idolorum cultura eripias et ad te Deum verum Patrem omnipotentem convertas* dies *quo*que nostros *St.* (and at end 'Per dominum nostrum'). 11. *et* ad te *St.* 12. *Fr* omits '*ex hoc omnes*' after 'manducate'. 13. postquam *Fr.* 14. caenatum (no 'est') *St.* 15. (chalice) in sanctas *et* venerabiles *Fr.* 15ª effundatur *Bo.* 16. *I*nde et memores *Fr.* 17. nos servi tui *St.* 18. In *Bo* 'celos' of 'in celos gloriosae ascensionis' has been changed to 'celis' by another hand; *Ca* also reads 'caelis'. [The same reading appears in the printed text of *GV* but this is an error. H.A.W.] 18ª maiestatis *Bo.* 19. jube perferri (omits 'haec') *St.* 20. omni benedictione (omits 'caelesti') et gratia *St.* 21. Between 'somno pacis' and 'Ipsis' of Memento of Dead, rubric: *Commemoratio defunctorum Bo.* 22. In 'Nob. quoque pecc.': donare dign*are*; and martyribus *cum Petro Paulo Patricio* cum Iohanne *St.* 23. Before 'Libera nos' is the rubric: *Post Pater noster Bo.* 23ª ope*m* misericordie *Bo.*

II. Of '*Gelas* saec. viii': 24. *Gell* omits 'et benedicas'. 25. *Ang* inserts: *Memento Domine famulo tuo rege nostro illo* before the usual Memento of the Living; cf. an interlineation in Tironian notes at this place in *GV: Memento Deus rege nostro cum omni populo* (Wilson p. 238 note 11). 26. *R* inserts between 'incolumitatis suae' and 'tibi reddunt': *Memento etiam Domine et animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum fidelium catholicorum in Christo quiescentium,*

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

NOTE A

(See p. 89 note 2)

St Aldhelm and the Gregorian Canon.

[In an article on this subject by Dom A. Manser in the *Revue Bénédictine* xxviii (Jan. 1911) pp. 90–95, the writer proposes the theory that the Irish MSS *Bo* and *St* preserve at least in one item the genuine text of Gregory's revision of the Canon. He argues thus:—

Aldhelm in his (prose) *Tractatus de laudibus virginitatis* c. 42 writes: 'Mihi quoque operae pretium videtur, ut sanctae Agathae rumores castissimae virginis Luciae praeconia subsequantur, quas praeceptor et paedagogus noster Gregorius in canone cotidiano, quando missarum sollemnia celebrantur, pariter copulasse cognoscitur hoc modo in catalogo martyrum ponens: *Felicitate, Anastasia, Agathe, Lucia*, quatenus nequaquam litterarum serie sequestrentur quae contribuli populo apud Siciliam genitae[1] simul caelesti gloria gratulantur'. Now the series 'Felicitate, Anastasia, Agatha, Lucia is that found in *Bo* and *St*, thus: 'Perpetua, Agne, Cecilia, *Felicitate, Anastasia, Agatha, Lucia*'; while all the other MSS have 'Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Cecilia, Anastasia'.

qui nos praecesserunt, illorum et illarum, qui per eleemosynam et confessionem. 27. *Ang* appends to the 'Hanc igitur' of *GV* the following with the rubric '*Item infra actionem*': Hanc igitur oblationem *quam tibi hac si indignus pro emendatione uitiorum et remissione peccatorum meorum offero et pro gloria martyrum et confessorum et pro salute uiuorum uel requiem defunctorum, propitius aspiciendo sanctifices sanctificando benedicas. Per quem te suppliciter deprecamur diesque nostros in tua pace disponas* per xp̄m dn̄m nr̄m. This is the original of the marginal entry by later hand in *Ott* (see Muratori ii, col. 3 note k). 28. grege*m* numerari *Gell.* 29. Hoc est corpus meum *Reg*, see p. 85 note 2; Hic est enim calix sanguis mei noui *Gell.* 30. *ad* inferis; sed et in cęlo *Gell.* 31. panem sanct*ae* vitae aeternae *R.* 32. jube *et* perferri *Gell.* 33. omn*e* benedictione celest*e Gell*; omne*m*? benedictione*m* S. 34. de multitudine*m Gell.* 35. Anastasia cum ('et' added by another hand) *Ang.* 36. prestes *R.* 37. Before Lord's Prayer, rubric: *Orat R.* 38. Before 'Libera nos', rubric: *Sequitur oratio Ang*; *Item sequitur oratio S, Gell.*

The following, though not *unica*, must also be mentioned here: 39. 'ut' omitted before 'placatus accipias' *R*, 2296. 40. dispone (for 'disponas') *R* and *Sacr. Godelgaud* (see Ménard *Notae* p. 15, Migne *P. L.* 78. 276). 41. Simile modo *Bo, Gell.* 42 novi aeterni testamenti *R, S, Gell* (and Bergamo MS of *Ambros*). 43. effunditur *Bo, Gell.* 44. praeclarae majestatis *Bo, Gell.* 45. benedices et praestas *Bo, Gell.* 46. ope*m* misericordiae *Bo, Gell.*

[1] That is, Agatha and Lucia only, of whom the former, as he goes on to explain, was of Catania, the latter of Syracuse.

The question arises: Do the Irish texts *Bo* and *St* preserve Gregory's text of the Canon here? or is the different order in *Bo-St* merely an instance of the Irish method of improving upon liturgical texts? *Cass* (and so too *Fr*) is wanting here; but in view of the witness which *Cass* elsewhere gives to the conservation of the genuine Roman text of *c.* 700 by MSS like *Ca*, *Reg*, and (with some exceptions) *G V* and *Ott*, it seems to me not open to doubt that, whilst the actual Canon text familiar to Aldhelm (as reported in the passage cited above) was of the type *Bo-St*, this order of the four women saints was merely a local Irish corruption, and that Aldhelm does not here preserve the reading of the genuine, Roman, Gregorian text of St Gregory. Aldhelm indeed knows of Gregory by tradition as the author of the Canon he uses: but this is no sufficient proof that the order of the four names as given by him is Gregory's order, still less is it proof that *Bo*, *St* preserve St Gregory's text of the Roman Canon. No one acquainted with the religious condition of England in the later decades of the seventh century can feel surprise at the use there of a Roman Canon touched up after the Irish fashion.

One point deserves special attention, namely, the separation in *Bo-St* of the names Felicitas and Perpetua. Are there any reasonable grounds for supposing that this familiar pair of saints were separated in the Canon at Rome in or before St Gregory's time? I do not know of any: on the contrary, in the ancient Roman Calendar for the year 354, written out by Philocalus the calligrapher of Pope Damasus, we find the two saints commemorated together on March 7: 'non. Martias Perpetuae et Felicitatis Africae.' The entry shews that the cult (except St Cyprian, the only African cult in this calendar) had already at this date established itself in Rome. A special mass for the two saints on March 7 is found in the Gelasian Sacramentary (ii 13), the secret of which gives the names in the order found in the Gregorian MSS of the Canon, viz. 'Felicitas, Perpetua'. It would appear, then, that the conjunction of the two names is a Roman feature; their separation is, I would suggest, an Irish 'improvement'.]

Note B

(See pp. 94–95)

Questions on Recensions A and B.

[Now that the text of the 'Gregorian Canon' has, I trust, been with some sense of security accurately fixed, it is possible, without risk of 'proceeding confusedly' to enter on difficulties or questions even the mention of which was withheld when this paper was first published.

As it then stood the paper suggested the existence of an earlier and a later recension, or type of text—a 'Gregorian' and a 'pre-Gregorian', if that designation be preferred.

I have no intention of formally discussing here the difficulties or questions referred to above; but I think it proper to mention two such cases as samples, one lying on the surface of the earlier text, the other residing in the character of the text itself.

(*a*) All the three witnesses to the earlier type of text contain the clause 'diesque nostros', &c., the introduction of which into the Roman Canon is, on what seems the good authority of the notice of Gregory in the *Liber Pontificalis*, to be attributed to Gregory himself.[1] In view of the date of the MSS of *Bo*, *St*, and *Fr*, there seems no reason for surprise at such an addition. So far as *Fr* is concerned, it seems practically certain, on investigation of the 'sources' of the prayers contained in that missal, that its compiler must have been acquainted with the Gregorian Sacramentary, just as his contemporary, the person responsible for the text of *GV* (as appears from prayers in that book, quite apart from the text of the Canon), must have been acquainted with and have used that Sacramentary also. As regards *Bo*, I do not see where the difficulty is likely to arise, believing as I do that this is an Italian (i. e. a Bobbio) MS, and seeing that the compilation itself bears strong marks of Irish influence and workmanship. As to *St*, Sir G. F. Warner has now told us that its original script, and also the script of Moelcaich, date from the first years of the ninth century.

(*b*) The other case is No. 29 of the Table. In the first place the variants shewn by *Bo* and *St-Fr* are in themselves an indication that they are independent attempts to 'improve', to put into a 'better form', an original text which for some reason or other was considered 'difficult', or not sufficiently explicit. Moreover, taking the readings as they stand, it is easy to see how an original text 'ex hac altaris participatione' could and would have been corrected by Irish or Gallic hands into 'ex hoc altari participationis' (*Bo*), or 'ex hoc altari sanctificationis' (*St*, *Fr*); but not so easy to understand why an original Roman text in either of these two forms should have been corrected into 'ex hac altaris participatione'. More than this:

[1] According to Duchesne's view the notice of Gregory in the *Liber Pontificalis* is practically by a contemporary (see *Lib. Pont.* ed. Duchesne, i p. ccxxxii); on the other hand Mommsen (see the edition of the *Lib. Pont.* in *Mon. Germ. Hist.* pp. xiii to xviii) upholds Waitz's view that the writer was not of an earlier date than the latter part of the seventh century. The Neapolitan MS, written at Bobbio, shews that this notice of Gregory was known in that monastery in the later years of the seventh century (see Duchesne, i p. clxxvi; Mommsen, p. lxxxv; and also, for England, W. Levison *Neues Archiv* xxxv pp. 341–342, 348–350).

a friend has pointed out to me two cases of a similar construction in formulae which are indubitably Roman, namely the forms for the blessing of the oil on Holy Thursday and for the blessing of the font on Saturday. In the Gelasian Sacramentary we read: 'Emitte, quaesumus, Domine, Spiritum sanctum Paraclitum de caelis *in hanc pinguedinem*[1] *olei*' (ed. Wilson p. 70 l. 9; the Gregorian text is 'in hanc pinguedinem *olivae*', Muratori ii 55); and 'Descendat *in hanc plenitudinem fontis* virtus Spiritus tui' (Wilson p. 86 l. 11; so also *Greg* ii 64). In both these cases we have an example of the figure known as 'hypallage'. The idiomatic character of the expressions lies in the fact that in each the attribute 'hanc' is grammatically construed with a noun which it does not properly qualify. The result is (as frequently in cases of *hypallage*) a certain vagueness of expression corresponding to a want of definiteness in the conception. We might resolve 'in hanc plenitudinem fontis' into 'in plenitudinem huius fontis', or 'in hunc plenum fontem'; but in neither case is the result quite satisfactory: still less satisfactory would be 'in pinguedinem huius olei'. The construction 'ex hac altaris participatione' (whatever the exact idea intended) is a real grammatical parallel to these two examples taken from genuine Roman formulae; and it is capable of being resolved into either 'ex huius altaris participatione', or 'ex hoc altari participationis' (as in *Bo*, and also—but with 'sanctificationis' for 'participationis'—in *St*, *Fr*). Thus in *Bo*, *St*, and *Fr* we have for an equivocal, but thoroughly Latin and Roman, construction one that admits of no possible ambiguity.

It appears to me, then, that the 'ex hac altaris participatione' of the Gregorian Canon preserves the genuine Roman reading. Indeed the secret of i 13 in *Gelas* (the mass for Septuagesima Sunday) offers a direct parallel: 'Concede nobis . . . tuis servire semper *altaribus*, et *eorum* perpetua *participatione* salvari'. The versions in *Bo*, *St*, *Fr* (with the Ambrosian Canon) are no more than seventh-century attempts to do what has been done by some modern translators of the Canon into English, namely to resolve an equivocal Latin idiom into simple and unambiguous terms. As experience has taught me the utility and instructiveness, for the purposes of the liturgical enquirer, of modern translations of the Roman Canon, I take three such translations of our passage—not specially selected, but found in books which happen to be at hand. (1) In *The Roman Missal for the use of the Laity*, bearing the imprimatur of Cardinal Wiseman: 'as many as *by participation at this altar*'. (2) In *The Sacrifice of the Mass* by Fr Gavin S.J., bearing the imprimatur

[1] The MS has 'in hac pinguedine'; but the solecism does not affect the point here under consideration.

of Cardinal Vaughan: 'as many of us as *by participating in this altar*' (4th ed. p. 140). (3) In Messrs R. and T. Washbourne's latest Latin-English Missal (1913), with the imprimatur of the Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Westminster: 'that as many of us as *partake*, in this holy Communion, of the most sacred Body and Blood of Thy Son',—without mention of the altar at all.

I have two more remarks to make; these are of a general character, and are designed to bring out clearly questions which will have to be considered in the future.

(1) In reviewing the list of variants on the left-hand page of the Table, other items (e.g. Nos. 34 and 35; see p. 88 n. 29, and *Book of Cerne* p. 264 no. 57) will suggest themselves as being also Hiberno-Gallican modifications of the genuine Roman text. The question may then be raised whether the whole of the variants of the texts *Bo*, *St*, and *Fr* are not such mere modifications of the Gregorian Canon. This view doubtless may deserve discussion. But when all the items are reviewed, and the relative considerations are taken into account, I see no reason to modify the view that the group *Bo*, *St*, *Fr* preserve at least elements of an earlier recension of the Roman Canon.

(2) It would follow that Gregory's work on the Canon consisted of a comparatively few verbal corrections of the Canon in use before his time. But in regard to this question there is another and widely different view which may be easily and best learnt from two quite recent writers, Dr A. Baumstark and Dr Buchwald. Columns D and E of the Table (pp. 187–190) of Dr Baumstark's *Liturgia Romana e Liturgia dell' Esarcato* (Rome, Pustet, 1904) will put the reader at a glance in possession of Gregory's work on the Canon, which, according to this view, consisted (*a*) in putting at the beginning what was previously at the end; (*b*) in omitting an Epiklesis and prayer for the communicants. Dr Buchwald, whilst adopting Dr Baumstark's general notions, enters in addition into the fullest minutiae of Gregory's operations on the text of the Canon, and shews him to us—just as if we were looking over his shoulder—busy over his shred-and-patch-work, using up and distributing in his new Canon bits of the eliminated Epiklesis. (See *Weidenauer Studien* i, Wien, Leo-Gesellschaft, 1906;[1] the whole of pp. 51–56 is worth reading.)

It was necessary, but here it is also enough, to mention the existence of this view of Gregory's work on the Roman Canon, and so leave the matter. But it may be useful to add that, according to the theory of the school represented by the two writers just cited, the Roman Canon as it existed up to the close of the sixth century was free from

[1] Weidenau is the Austrian ecclesiastical seminary of the diocese of Breslau, and the *Studien* are published under the direction of the Professors.

all the difficulties that, with the present text, now embarrass the theologian, all of which are thus due to the curious and, it would seem, somewhat perverse reforming activity of the greatest of the Popes.]

Note C

(See p. 103 note 1)

The Memento of the Dead.

[At present the Memento of the Dead is, according to the Rite of the Roman Church, said in the Canon at every mass. In this Note I propose to add further details with a view to shewing that this was not the case until a comparatively late date.

In the *Journal of Theological Studies*, October 1912 (vol. xiv p. 45), I reverted to this question and drew attention to further evidences that the Memento of the Dead was not said in public masses (i.e. those of Sundays and feast-days) and formed no part of the Canon of the Mass in Rome. I reprint this note here:

The case has been set out in the *J. T. S.* iv 571 sqq., cf. xii 391 (*e*). I now carry this matter back further and also approach it from another side. In the Penitential of Theodore (a source for the history of liturgy which has not yet been exhausted; or perhaps the value of which is not yet fully recognized) lib. ii cap. v, De Missa defunctorum § 4, is found this somewhat enigmatical pronouncement: 'Missae (or 'missas') quoque monachorum fieri per singulas septimanas et nomina recitare mos est' (Haddan and Stubbs *Councils* iii p. 194). In the so-called 'Canones S. Gregorii urbis Romae', first edited by Kunstmann (*Die lateinischen Pönitentialbücher der Angelsachsen*, Mainz 1844, p. 129), is a canon (No. 108 p. 138) which runs thus: 'Missam monachorum per singulas septimanas nomina recitare. Secundum Romanos die dominico nomina mortuorum non recitantur ad missam.' Kunstmann edits these Canons of St Gregory from a St Emmeram MS, which he describes (p. 29) as written in 'Anglo-Saxon' script, and he assigns it (p. 28) to the end of the eighth or, at latest, the beginning of the ninth century. Whether this MS be with the other St Emmeram MSS now at Munich I cannot tell,[1] and it is clear that H. J. Schmitz, who had searched so sedulously for MSS of Penitentials, had never seen it, and speaks only after Kunstmann (*Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren*, Düsseldorf, 1898, p. 522). This piece was reprinted by Wasserschleben (*Bussordnungen*, 1851, p. 160) from Kunstmann's text, with collation of another copy, Paris MS 2123 *s.* ix, which, however, he considers affords a less authentic text than the MS used by Kunstmann. From Wasserschleben's edition of the 'Canones' it appears that this whole document is to be referred, canon by canon, for its original and source to Theodore; to which its text also affords at times a useful explanation or gloss, inasmuch as the script of the St Emmeram MS, no less than the title itself of the document, shews that it must have been drawn up in England and at a date certainly not far removed from the redaction of the document known to us as Theodore's Penitential. That the canon 108 is an authentic and trustworthy gloss of the relative text of Theodore I do not, for myself, in view of the other testimonies as to the non-recital of names of dead in the Sunday mass at Rome, see any ground for doubting; and England, in the first, or even second, half of the eighth century

[1] [1916.—It is the Munich MS lat. 14780, olim Em. e. 2 (see *Neues Archiv* ix, 1884, p. 564).]

would be as good and trustworthy a source of information in regard to Roman liturgical practice as could possibly be found.

The meaning attached by the person responsible for the redaction of 'Theodore's Penitential' to the passage quoted from it above is quite another matter; but I would suggest that the tenor of the enquiry put to Theodore was of this kind: 'The monks say masses for the dead every day of the week, and recite the names of dead, Sundays included, which the Romans do not do; what are we to say as to the continuance of this local, this English, practice?' And Theodore's answer was to the effect: 'Leave the monks in peace and let them go on in their own way.'

I now add further details bearing on the same question.

On the introduction of the *Gregorianum* in France as the official mass book by Charles, the Canon was recited as found in the manuscript sent by Hadrian—that is to say without any Memento of the Dead—and as in Rome: at least in some, the ruling, quarters. But this by no means satisfied others who had been accustomed to say the Memento of the Dead in the Roman Canon in all masses, as had been done, in some quarters at least in France and among the Irish, from a date as early as the seventh century. This dissatisfaction finds a very definite expression in canon 39 of the Council of Chalon-sur-Saône in 813: 'Visum praeterea nobis est ut in *omnibus* missarum sollemnibus pro defunctorum spiritibus loco competenti Dominus deprecetur. *Sicut enim nulla dies excipitur* qua non pro viventibus et pro quibuslibet necessitatibus Dominus deprecetur, *ita nimirum nulla dies excipi debet* quin pro animabus fidelium preces Domino in missarum sollemnibus fundantur' (*M. G. Concil.* ii 281). It is to be observed that the subscriptions to the Council are not extant, but in the proem (p. 271) its members are described (p. 274) as 'episcopi et abbates totius Galliae Lugdunensis', which would practically mean the four ecclesiastical provinces of Lyons, Sens (which comprises Paris, whence comes our Sacramentary *Ott* which has the Memento of Dead in its text of the Canon), Rouen and Tours; but, as a separate Council was at the same date held at Tours, it is probable that in fact only the three provinces of Lyons, Sens, and Rouen were represented at Chalon. How far this argumentative canon, with its reasons of congruence, was actually carried into execution is another matter. It is certain, however, that the Roman practice of not saying the Memento of the Dead was also observed, and very commonly observed. The rubrics of a MS of St-Gall No. 150, of the ninth century, printed by the late Weihbischof Schmitz (*Die Bussbücher* vol. ii, Düsseldorf, 1898, pp. 188–189),[1] though in the common 'Sacristy-Latin' style, are clear enough on the point. At pp. 344–350 of this MS is an Ordo Missae, in the Canon of which are these rubrics: first at the Memento of the Living: 'Hic nomina vivorum memorentur si volueris. Sed non Dominica die nisi ceteris diebus' (p. 188). The Memento of the Dead is introduced by this rubric (p. 189): 'Hae orationes que dicuntur una super Dipticius, altera post lectionem Nominum et hoc cottidianis vel in agendis tantum modo diebus. Memento etiam', &c. (Then follows the text of the Memento of the Dead.) It may be noticed in passing how this rubrician, this authoritative expert in Liturgy, extends the Roman rule as to the Memento of the Dead to the Memento of the Living; the manner and method of this class of reformer is the same in all ages; and some day, when the real history of the liturgies has been made a little clearer than at present, it will be a story by itself—truly interesting and instructive—to detail the works and workings of this kind of reformer and their effect on the developement of divine worship among Christians. But this by the way as to a task in some future generation: I resume my task here.

[1] For the original contents of this MS see ibid. p. 175.

The now lost Pontifical of bishop Prudentius of Troyes, of about the middle of the ninth century—who may be esteemed (I think) a good witness for the practice of the Palace Chapel for the date when his Pontifical was compiled—has this rubric at the end of its Burial Service; 'Die autem dominico non celebrentur agenda mortuorum (= no funerals), nec nomina eorum recitentur ad missam, sed tantum regum . . . et sacerdotum vel pro omni populo Christiano oblata vel vota reddantur. Defunctorum autem qui moriuntur die dominico Christus Filius Dei ipse det eis requiem qui semetipsum pro ipsis vel pro universo genere humano hostiam obtulit' (Martene *de ant. eccl. rit.* lib. iii cap. xv Ordo ii). This is not indeed 'Sacristy-Latin', but the writer might have expressed himself more clearly. I am disposed to think the conclusion may be justly drawn from it that according to the Rite of the Palace, by the fifth decade at all events of the ninth century, the Memento of the Dead was said at Sunday masses as well as at others; but that the only names mentioned were those of very 'high' personages: Royalty and Episcopacy, Crown and Mitre, alone were allowed to figure; a derogation of this sort from the Roman rule in this matter would be quite in accord with the tendencies that had developed in Court Circles and the Palace Chapel since the death of Charlemagne.

A missal later in date by some hundred and fifty or two hundred years, but Italian this time, is much more conservative and (what Prudentius is not) quite clear, precise, and business-like in its directions; it has this rubric introductory to the Memento of the Dead in the Canon: 'Hec non dicit in dominicis diebus nec in aliis festivitatibus maioribus' (Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana MS Aedil. 123 *s.* xi; it came from the Cathedral of Florence; Ebner, pp. 34–35).

I here give, without making any particular search, a list of MSS of the *Gregorianum* the Canon of which does not contain the Memento of the Dead; it may be convenient as a starting point for any person disposed to enquire further, and doubtless with proper search it might be largely added to.[1]

Saec. IX.

1. The Cambrai MS 164, formerly 164, and 2. the MS Vat. Regin. 337 are mentioned above (p. 87 note 6).
3. Le Mans Sacramentary, Library of Le Mans, MS No. 77 (Delisle No. xxxi; Netzer, *Introduction de la Messe romaine en France sous les Carolingiens*, Paris 1910, p. 95).
4. Mainz, Seminar-Bibliothek (Ebner, p. 388; Delisle No. xlv, 'x^{e} siècle').
5. Verona, Bibl. Capit. lxxxvi (81) (Ebner, pp. 286–288, cf. 388; Delisle No. xxv).

Saec. IX/X.

6. Modena Cod. ii 7 (Muratori i col. 71; Ebner, p. 94; Delisle No. xxiv).

Saec. X.

7. Sacramentary of Worms, Paris Bibl. de l'Arsenal MS 610 (Delisle No. l).
8. Corbie Sacramentary, the 'Codex S. Eligii' edited by Ménard, Paris B.N. MS lat. 12051 (Delisle No. li; Netzer p. 106).
9. St-Gall MS 342 (Delisle No. cvi 'xi^{e} siècle'; Ebner p. 421 n. 3).
10. Zurich MS 71 from Rheinau (Delisle No. civ 'xi^{e} siècle'; Ebner, p. 421 n. 3).

[1] Nearly all are enumerated by Ebner, p. 421 note 3; but I think a formal list, with references, will be convenient to enquirers. Martin Gerbert (*Vetus Liturgia Alemannica* i 366) mentions several MSS which did not give a Memento of the Dead in the Canon. As I do not know whether these exist to-day, or where they may be found, no notice is taken of them in the list above. His remarks on the question pp. 366–368 are still interesting.

Saec. XI.

11. Bobbio Missal now Bibl. Ambros. Cod. D. 84 part. inf. (Ebner p. 80: Mementos of both Living and Dead are added in margin by a later hand *s.* xi ex.; The Memento of the Dead has also these words: 'et quorum vel quarum nomina apud me scripta retinentur'.
12. Bologna, Bibl. dell' Università, cod. 1084, probably South German (Ebner pp. 6–7; at p. 421 note 3 '*s.* x'; or 'xi in.', p. 6).
13. Rome Cod. Vat. Pal. 494 from Zell in the 'archdiocese' of Mainz (Ebner pp. 246–247, cf. p. 386).
14. Munich MS lat 10077 olim Pal. 774, from the Palatine Library at Mannheim (Ebner p. 421 n. 3; *Neues Archiv.* ix 549).
15. The Memento of the Dead was not found in the Sacramentary used by the compiler of that pitfall for the unwary, Hittorp's 'Ordo Romanus' (see Hittorp col. 63, ed. 1610).
16. Finally it may be observed that the Florence MS Bibl. Nazionale Cod. B A 2 saec. x, perhaps a South German MS, in entering the Memento of the Dead after the 'Nobis quoque peccatoribus' (Ebner p. 43, cf. p. 423) seems to shew that the scribe had before him as *Vorlage* a MS the Canon of which did not contain the Memento.

It will be seen then that the practice of saying the Roman Canon without the Memento of the Dead, in accordance with the ancient and native Roman custom, must have lasted in some quarters much later than we should have been prepared to expect. Yet it is singular how slowly the liturgists, the experts and savants of the modern world, have been able to come to a realization of the facts. Ménard, on finding its absence in the MS he was editing (No. 8 above), took the course of just inserting it (see Migne *P. L.* 78. 26, 280; orig. ed. p. 3, *Notae* p. 20) 'ex editis' as he calls it, which in practice meant that he brought it up to date to accord with the Roman Missal of his own time, for he could not consider Rocca's print in itself a proper make-weight to his own MS of St-Eloi. When Mabillon found it was not in the Worms Sacramentary (No. 7 above) he easily explained its absence thus: 'il était suppléé par les diptiques qui estoient exposez ou recitez au prêtre' (Delisle p. 174). It is pathetic to read the pages (421–423) in which Ebner deals with this question. It almost makes me wish that, instead of being content to send me the MS draft of the ten pages or so (pp. 374–384) of his book, he had sent me the continuation; but our interchange of letters ceased in the later days of May 1895, before I had been to Cambrai and when all I could do was to refer him to Delisle's note, *Mém. sur d'anc. Sacramentaires* p. 400. Our correspondence was never resumed; and his fast failing health doubtless made him concentrate himself on the completion of his volume. Of the just interpretation to be put on the absence of the Memento of the Dead from so many MSS of the Canon he has no inkling though the phenomenon, as he says more than once, seems to him as indeed 'strange' (p. 421). His explanation in brief is that put in clear and easy terms by M. Netzer (p. 240): 'L'absence complète du *Memento* des morts' (in two of his MSS) is, he says, 'très significative. Elle corrobore la conclusion de la savante dissertation des auteurs de la *Paléographie musicale* (tome v p. 77) qui affirment que, primitivement, la mémoire des défunts ne se faisait point à cet endroit du Canon mais à la suite du *Memento* des vivants, ce qui explique la présence de l'*etiam* dans ce deuxième *Memento*'.

The origin of this idea is to be traced back to the publication in 1847 by H. A. Daniel of the second volume of his *Codex liturgicus ecclesiae universae.* In that

volume he gives (pp. 12–21) on opposite pages what he calls 'Ordo et Canon Missae Gregorianus' and 'Ordo et Canon Missae Gelasianus'. In the latter he prints the Memento of the Dead not only in its usual place, but also (p. 15: in brackets) immediately after the Memento of the Living as found in the Rheinau MS 'of *Gelas* saec. viii' (Wilson's R: see for the text p. 97 n. 3.7(*b*) above). Daniel, in his 'Adnotationes' on these two Canons (pp. 38–39), reviews the opinions of previous writers who had noticed the omission of the Memento of the Dead from the Canon in early MSS of the Roman Sacramentaries, Muratori, Ménard, Assemani, Vezzosi, and then offers a suggestion of his own, namely, that the Memento of the Dead was 'ut ita dicam, Canonis pars fortuita atque adventitia'.

This idea seems not to have commended itself to later experts, who have accordingly excogitated explanations of their own, whereof that cited above from M. Netzer is one. As will have been seen from all that has been written above, I wholly range myself on the side of Daniel, and differ from him only in being more precise and definite.

The history of the Memento of the Dead in the mass appears to me to be in outline this:—

1. Up to the fourth century any mention of the dead was comprised in that long prayer 'for all sorts and conditions of men' said at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful. This prayer was at a later date transferred to the Eucharistic prayer, of which it was made the concluding section; and this is now called by the liturgical experts 'The Great Intercession'.

2. This transfer was already effected by the middle of the fourth century in that great centre of liturgical novelty, the Church of Jerusalem. Moreover, this church had already adopted, or more probably initiated, another novelty, namely the public recital in the 'Great Intercession' of the names of certain dead persons intended to be specially prayed for.

3. From this centre the new devotion spread. Our earliest witness for this is the Sacramentary of Serapion, bishop of Thmuis in the Nile Delta. In Egypt, however, as is clear from the whole future history of its native liturgy (that called 'St Mark' and 'St Cyril'), the novelty of placing a 'Great Intercession' after the consecration of the eucharistic elements found no acceptance or admission.

4. But it was otherwise with the whole of that great region north of Jerusalem, the Greek-speaking portions of the patriarchate of Antioch, extending on the one side to the shores of the Black Sea, on the other throughout the Balkan Peninsula. This of course included the Imperial City of Constantinople, the centre alike of civil and ecclesiastical pre-eminence throughout the Eastern Empire; and hence in the course of time the Jerusalem practice of *c.* 350 has become the practice—the 'quod ubique'—throughout the great Orthodox Church of the East.

5. In the West, as in the East, in the earliest period the Mass of the Faithful began with the long 'prayer for all sorts and conditions of men'. When the novelty of reciting the names of particular persons, started in the East, was adopted in the West, the churches of Gaul and Spain, with at least some parts of northern Italy, attached the recital of names—of living offerers and of dead persons—to that part of the 'prayer for all sorts and conditions' in which the offerers and the dead had been traditionally mentioned.

6. The Church of Rome, however, taking (as individual churches did in those days) its own line, instituted the practice of mentioning the names of 'offerers' at the early point in the Eucharistic prayer (i.e. the Canon) at which the offerings were mentioned.

7. As to mention of *the dead* in the liturgy of the Church of Rome, we know nothing as to whether their names were recited at all in the public masses; though it must be said that from analogy it is not impossible, perhaps not improbable, that they were mentioned in the prayer 'for all sorts and conditions' in the early part of the Mass of the Faithful, just as in Gaul and Spain.

8. Throughout the West, at some period unknown, a clean sweep was made of this great prayer 'for all sorts and conditions'.

9. But in the liturgy of Gaul and Spain a reminiscence of it was preserved, namely in the so-called 'post nomina' prayers of those liturgies, which occur precisely at that point in the service at which the old prayer 'for all sorts and conditions' had been said. The 'post nomina' prayer is quite brief; the object of it is first the 'offerers' (i.e. those of the congregation who have offered bread and wine for the sacrifice), and then very particularly the dead, whose names had just been publicly read out.

10. In Rome, the prayer for the 'offerers' had been long since provided for with the recital of their names in the early part of the Eucharistic prayer, namely at the same place as in the present Roman Canon ('Commemoratio pro vivis'): see no. 6 above.

11. This being so, and the abolition of the old prayer 'for all sorts and conditions' being absolute and complete in Rome, it is evident that, should it be determined to maintain in the public masses the recital of names and prayers for *the dead*, some special place would have to be found for this commemoration. That is one alternative.

12. But there is another, namely the letting fall altogether of this recital and prayer for the dead in public masses. The testimony alike of our earlier MSS of the Roman Canon (which can be shewn to give the actual use of the Church of Rome itself) and of competent witnesses in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries to actual Roman practice, shews that the second alternative was the one adopted: the

commemoration of the dead in the Canon being relegated to the special masses for the dead, as shewn in the *Gregorianum*.

13. There remains the consideration of the introduction of the Memento of the Dead as an integral part of the Canon, to be said at every mass, in the Irish and Gallic mass books. This has been dealt with above (pp. 100–102); but the matter is so important as an illustration of a general law that I revert to it and permit myself, at the cost of a repetition, to give here a sentence from the Paper (No. VI) which follows the present one. The words were written as long ago as 1899.

'The history of Liturgy must remain a hopeless and irrational tangle so long as there is a failure to recognize freely and fully the cardinal factors that dominate, and must dominate, the whole subject, the varying natures, spirits and tendencies of the races and peoples that have found a home in the Christian Church.'

14. Finally, when (by the seventh century) the Roman Canon had been adopted in Franco-Gallic and Irish circles, the men composing these circles embodied the Roman Memento of the Dead as an integral part of the Canon, to be said at all masses. This process was repeated in the ninth century, after the introduction of the *Gregorianum* by Charles as the official mass book (cf. the Canon of the Council of Chalon, of 814, cited at p. 110 above); so that the Memento of the Dead became a regular part of the Canon at all masses. This extension of its use was eventually adopted by Rome itself (where it had previously been employed only in masses for the dead): and the Memento of the Dead now stands in the Missal as an integral portion of the Canon. Its position is that first assigned to it in their Canon by Irish and Gallic improvers in the seventh century; namely, between the prayer 'Supplices' and the 'Nobis quoque peccatoribus'. It is to be observed also that the form in which the Memento of the Dead has been now embodied in the Roman Canon is that which was settled by those Hiberno-Gallic improvers of the seventh century.]

VI

KYRIE ELEISON

A LITURGICAL CONSULTATION[1]

PART I

SOME time ago I received an enquiry couched in these terms: 'I do not know the evidence (or reason for concluding) that *Kyrie eleison* was not an original part of the Roman Rite. (I attribute its introduction into the Gallican Rite *in great part* to the Council of Vaison, but it was then [A. D. 529] part of the Roman Rite at the Choir as well as at Mass apparently.)' This question arose out of a statement I had made that the *Kyrie* was not a native element of the Roman mass. My attention was arrested by an expression at the close of the five queries which followed the one that I have copied. 'I dare say', wrote my correspondent, 'some of these questions will reveal my ignorance.' The word 'ignorance' drew me, and for this reason: such study as I have been able to give to the subject which is called Liturgy, but which (agreeing with a certain bookseller who knew his public) I prefer to call Christian Worship, has brought home to me with ever increasing force a sense of my real ignorance of its history. 'Here is a kindred spirit,' said I, 'who has learnt something too.'

It was the word 'ignorance', then, let drop by my correspondent, that made me try, for my own instruction also, to draw out a formal answer to his first question. The substance of this answer, somewhat amplified, makes up the present paper. I cannot think that it will be 'interesting', as the word goes now, to anybody; but here and there there may be one who may like 'to know' what I too like '*to know*'. Besides, in view of 'our press', can an apology be needed nowadays for printing anything?

First, however, since our question, copied above, reads as it were a little *louche*, it will be well here to put it into form, so that we may be clear as to what it is that has to be discussed. I throw it thus into two branches: (*a*) What is the extant early evidence (or reason for concluding) as to the use of the *Kyrie eleison* at mass

[1] From the *Downside Review*, December 1899, and March 1900.

in the Roman Church? (*b*) What evidence is there, or ground for supposing, that the *Kyrie* was an original part of the Roman Rite? By 'original' is here understood 'of native origin', 'not borrowed from any other Church', or, simply (as some people find figures easy for 'fixing'), 'of the second century, or third century'.

We may not begin our Consultation without a rough preliminary review of what previous writers have said on the subject. This is a tiresome habit that I have acquired, I confess. Yet often the results are instructive. We begin with Bona. How thoroughly Italian he is here (lib. ii c. 4) in his discursiveness and want of exact method; but he is himself in the abundance of, then, most rare informations; how he surveys the ground, penetrating even into the then remoter corners of it; yet of what little use he is now for our immediate purpose. But we must carefully take note of one thing, which, however, Bona's successors seem to pass over in silence—except, of course, Claude de Vert. Arrian writes: 'invoking God we pray to Him "*Kyrie eleison*"'.[1] This is quite primitive testimony. It is a pity, however, for our purpose, that Arrian was a pagan and was speaking of his co-religionists only. Let us run quickly through Le Brun, Giorgi, Krazer and the rest; they are all in singular agreement in having so little to say on the subject, and helping us, I may say, not at all. But there is another source of tradition from which is drawn, I fancy, much of the dogmatic teaching on our subject current in the orthodox liturgical schools, I mean Claude de Vert. This man had a fertile imagination; he has now a bad name, above all in those schools. But there are plenty of examples of so curious an anomaly; the subject need not concern us here. To Théraize and Bocquillot, de Vert's ingenuities[2] in reference to the *Kyrie* were unknown, whilst nothing can be more simple and, so far as it goes, more solid than the teaching on this subject of the Blessed Giuseppe Maria Tommasi, prince of liturgists (1691). But they were

[1] *Dissertat. Epictet.* ii 7 (ed. Schweighaeuser i 202). On this passage Upton remarks: 'Notissima formula, in Christiana ecclesia iam usque a primis temporibus usurpata' (ibid. ii p. 402). What a pity he did not give contemporary, or even later, examples. Ducange thinks the expression was borrowed by Arrian 'ex Christianismi forte usu'. There seems reason then for instituting an enquiry into the subject. [Will no one give us a little tract to tell us how and in what context the expression occurs in the Christian writers, say, from the Apostolic Fathers to about the time of Nicaea? More than one passage of the Psalms affords an inviting start. I had hoped that such a thing would have been done before this, and would now express formally a *vœu* in this matter.]

[2] *Cérémonies de l'Église* (1713) iii 50–58, iv 40–49. Naturally the discussions in vol. iii of Caspari's *Ungedruckte . . Quellen zur Gesch. des Taufsymbols* (1875) as to the late date at which Latin became the current language of the Christian community in Rome have had their part in inducing the belief in many quarters at the present time that the *Kyrie eleison* in the Roman mass is a survival from the primitive liturgy of that community.

taken up in excellent little Manuals such as those of Grancolas and Leodegar Mayer; and so liturgical tradition on our point has been formed, until it now seems to have crystallized into a sort of accepted fact. But, to judge by later exponents, the system assumes that knowledge on several points of detail which precisely we do not, so far as I can see, possess—which it should be the object of liturgical enquiry really to obtain, or recognize as not obtainable.

Let us try then to make our own way, and venture on our own Consultation, but bearing always in mind what those who have gone before have already done.

It will be best to start with the document mentioned by my correspondent, the third canon of the Council of Vaison (529). In the last number of this *Review*, attention was called, following MM. Seignobos and Langlois,[1] to the all-importance in historical investigations of 'the document'. This, of course, is obvious. Yet only within the last two or three generations has the verity in its full force come home, even to specialists, that the document is '*the* teaching thing', to which enquirers are, and must inexorably be, in the first place at least, absolutely subject. From what I see and read I am convinced that this verity has even now come home to comparatively very few Catholics; whilst ability, or perhaps patience, to realize the full import of a 'document' submitted, is even more rare amongst us. This may, in some measure, perhaps, be explained by what I have next to say. With the recognition of this value of the document, another verity has come to be apprehended, namely, that it has a great deal more to tell than has, in the former more superficial, or the superior, mode of treating it, been commonly recognized. This, however, is conditioned, as a rule, by submission to a discipline whereby our wishes, prepossessions, desires, hopes, are put on one side for the nonce; whilst the faculty of observation and attention is exerted to the utmost in listening to its every word, listening even to its omissions, observing the turn of every phrase, catching if possible its least accent: so as to gather up and possess all that it has to tell us. 'Mere stuff!' I hear from the lips of an impatient, not to say petulant, friend. Still I go my way, and ask: Can I do something of this that I have been saying with our Vaison document? I cannot tell; but I can try. If I make a botch of the operation, others, happier, more keen of sight, more just of sense, will come along and mend the botch I make.

In regard to the Council of Vaison, held in 529, it is well to remark that the bishops present came from the region (speaking roughly)

[1] See No. XXVII, below: 'Historical Critics and the Critical Art'.

of modern Provence. Also in view of the fact that to some the very word 'Gallican' is a bugbear, whilst to others it is sweet as 'Mesopotamia', it should be added that these bishops precisely had nothing to do with the Gallicanism of the now widespread realm of the Franks; that the great man they looked up to was the Most Illustrious Prefect Liberius; in other words these people were a Romanizing, not a Gallicanizing, set.

The following is so much of the third canon of the Council as concerns us:

Et quia tam in sede apostolica quam etiam per totas Orientales atque Italiae provincias dulcis et nimium salutaris consuetudo est intromissa ut *Kyrie eleison* frequentius cum grandi affectu et compunctione dicatur, placuit etiam nobis ut in omnibus ecclesiis nostris ista tam sancta consuetudo et ad matutinum et ad missas et ad vesperam Deo propitio intromittatur.

The points which seem to deserve attention here are:

(1) The geographical extension of the practice of saying *Kyrie eleison*: 'In the Apostolic See and through all the provinces of the East and of Italy.' Now the fifth canon of this Council, prescribing the introduction of the *Sicut erat*, says it was in use 'not only in the Apostolic See but also through the whole East *and all Africa* and Italy'. I know it can be said that the fathers of the Council merely forgot Africa in the third canon; that its omission was only an accident; for which view I have no doubt ingenuity may find half a dozen reasons, equally good, leading to the conclusion that we should pay no attention to the difference in the wording of the two canons. Our business at present, however, is with none of these things, but simply and solely to note accurately the Council's words. *As a fact*, in regard to the geographical extension of *Kyrie eleison* and *Sicut erat*, the Council does make a difference.

(2) The services at which *Kyrie eleison* was used. The fathers prescribe that in their region it is to be said at matins (= lauds), mass, and vespers. As regards the rest of the world it only says that it was used *frequentius*, without explaining precisely whether by this is meant that the repetitions were numerous; or that it was used often, at two or three or more services, on the same day; or whether that vague word was simply intended to cover more than one use. But here again the Council does, as a fact, make a distinction in terms when describing current practice and prescribing its own.

(3) The words '*cum grandi affectu et compunctione*' seem to indicate that the *Kyrie* was sung by the body of the people.

(4) The origin of the practice. The Council says: '*consuetudo*

est intromissa', and prescribes '*ut ista consuetudo intromittatur*'. I can conceive some one working on *intromittere*, turning the word inside out, and finding in it an indication of popular devotional (and therefore probably recent) origin, as in the case of so many of our present sacred rites. It is enough, however, to observe that in contrast to the variation of phraseology under (1) and (2) above, here we have an almost slavish iteration; 'the custom has been introduced there, let the custom be introduced here'. Thus it happens, that where we might hope for some guidance from the Council in the precise point which is the object of our enquiry, it simply brings us up to a blank wall. It has only one word to utter, 'custom'; whether ancient or recent it does not say. It places, for our purpose, their own land which now adopts the custom, and other places where it already exists, on the same footing. This is unfortunate.

Foiled here, let us turn and see whether the venerable Christian antiquity at large will throw the required light on the origins of the *Kyrie* in the mass. This task is made easy for us by one of those invaluable persons, our forerunners. I mean the Prelate Probst. I know he has been smartly called 'the muddy-minded Probst'. To say truth, some of these current judgements seem to require much revisal. Probst's books are long, and what is called long-winded, certainly; but how much more useful and, with all their blunders and ignorances, less misleading than much more lauded liturgical works. For instance, those of Dom Guéranger, who has not merely left behind him a heap of ruins, but has also (speaking from the ground of liturgical science) carefully led those who were pleased to follow him out into an arid desert where the oases are only mirages. But the simple-minded and modest ex-professor of Tübingen has done what few have done in our days; read through page by page, pen in hand, the Fathers of the first five centuries, with one single object. It is, I think, the fault of people themselves if they cannot profit by his books, though these books are tiresome reading. But a consideration such as this need not deter us from taking up his *Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte*, and finding in it just the information we now seek.

In Cyprian there is nothing about the *Kyrie* (pp. 219 sqq.); nor in Hippolytus and Novatian (pp. 207 sqq.); nor in Tertullian (pp. 190 sqq.); nor in the second book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (p. 175). But here we must stop for a moment: a prayer is mentioned, *Ap. Const.* ii 57, as said by a deacon at the time of the offertory, for the entire Church, the whole world, &c., &c. Th. Harnack (*Der christliche Gemeindegottesdienst* p. 482) infers that

the people intervened in this prayer with '*Kyrie eleison* or such like' (p. 477). It might be nicely observed that the text of the *Apostolic Constitutions* does not say the people responded; and that Th. Harnack's foible is to see them taking as large a share in public worship as may be. I remark that the passage cited does not occur in the Syriac *Didaskalia* (Bunsen *Analecta Ante-Nicaena* ii 280), and is one of those items in which, as Funk says (*Die apostolischen Konstitutionen* p. 77), the interpolator to whom we owe the *Apostolic Constitutions* has brought the third-century text into conformity with the practices of his own time. This settles the question and brings *Ap. Const.* ii into agreement with the rest of the evidence of the third century. Whether this interpolator worked in the latter part of the fourth century, or early in the fifth, is of no importance for our purpose.[1] There is no sign or trace of the *Kyrie* in Origen (Probst, pp. 152 sqq.), Clement of Alexandria (pp. 135 sqq.), nor, in a word, in Irenaeus, the Apologists, or the Apostolic Fathers.

For the fourth century we may, in the same way, take Probst's *Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts*, and say that neither does Eusebius of Caesarea,[2] nor Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Basil, nor do the two Gregorys witness to the liturgical use of the *Kyrie eleison*.

Our first clear attestation of such use is in the so-called Clementine Liturgy in the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*; and here, as it seems, it is used in the same manner as in the Greek Church at the present day. We can at once realize this form by aid of the later portion of the Litany of the Saints, assuming a deacon to proclaim the 'Ut Ecclesiam tuam', &c., 'Ut Domnum Apostolicum', &c., and other like suffrages, and the people to say after each proclamation '*Miserere Domine*' instead of '*Miserere nobis*'. This attestation in the *Apostolic Constitutions* viii brings us, as I believe is generally agreed for liturgical purposes, to a date somewhere in the second half of the fourth century, and to the neighbourhood of Antioch. It could be no cause for wonder, in these circumstances, if traces of the same practice be found in the writings of St John Chrysostom.

To sum up: it cannot be said that the witness of venerable antiquity is such as to counteract any unfavourable impression as to the traditional, or rather untraditional, character of the *Kyrie eleison* at mass that may have been produced on the enquirer's mind

[1] [Thus as written in Nov. 1899: I should now prefer to word the passage 'This settles . . . purpose' thus: 'This settles the question; and accordingly *Ap. Const.* ii 57 is to be viewed as evidence for (possible or probable) use of *Kyrie eleison* not in the third, but in the fourth, century.' I have since considered the case in detail (see *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1912, pp. 55 sqq.]

[2] But cf. p. 51; from which nothing can, however, be deduced for the liturgy.

by the sober and reserved expression of the fathers of the Council of Vaison—'*consuetudo est intromissa*'. For in the first three hundred and fifty years of the Christian Church we do not find any trace of the liturgical use of the *Kyrie eleison* at all.

It is sometimes stated that the Good Friday prayers in the Roman missal are a solitary survival of the 'prayers of the faithful', said (it is suggested) at one time in the old Roman mass between the *Dominus vobiscum* before our present 'Offertory' and the Secret. If this be so, may not such a parallelism at Rome with the Greek 'prayers of the faithful', reaching back to a time long antecedent to the redaction of the earliest extant Roman mass books, raise a presumption in favour of the extreme antiquity of the *Kyrie eleison* in Rome, and of its being an original element of the Roman rite?

But on looking at these Good Friday prayers it is evident they are not 'prayers *of* the faithful' at all; but 'prayers *for* the faithful', which is quite a different thing. According to Eastern practice the deacon does the work and service of propounding to the people the theme; they answer *Kyrie eleison*, 'O Lord, have mercy': a prayer, short indeed, but all-sufficient for the case. They, the people, alone, say the prayer; it is emphatically, solely, the prayer *of* the people. All this takes place so far independently of the priest's part in the service that his part and that of the deacon and people can be separated so as each to form a distinct service of worship in itself. But in our Good Friday prayers the priest himself propounds the theme to the people; then he alone makes the prayer; the people's part being no more, in its form at least, than an articulate assent *to him*, 'Amen, so be it'. In spite of possible dialectical manipulations with a purpose, this word *Amen*, of its nature, is not, and cannot be, a prayer.

In sum: there is no analogy between the Good Friday Roman prayers and those Eastern prayers of the faithful of which the *Kyrie eleison* is the very essence. In these circumstances the question whether the Good Friday prayers are a survival of some ancient general practice in Rome can have no bearing on the present discussion. But I believe it to be important to observe the difference brought out by contrasting the two forms of prayer just discussed and compared, and see how in the one the people, so far as voiced prayer is concerned, are something in the forms of public worship, in the other as nearly as possible nothing. And in this latter liturgical note I recognize historically the true, genuine Roman tendency and spirit.

The history of Liturgy must remain a hopeless and irrational tangle so long as there is a failure to recognize freely and fully the cardinal factors that dominate, and must dominate, the whole subject, namely, the varying natures, spirits, and tendencies of the races and peoples that have found a home in the Christian Church. The study of Liturgy, whatever else it may be, must also be a study in religious psychology.

These Good Friday prayers lead us up at last to the first clear attestation of the use of *Kyrie eleison* in the Roman mass. The text is so hackneyed that it seems to have lost almost all its original sense for the reader. Still I will recite it once more. It is St Gregory's famous letter to John, bishop of Syracuse,[1] the whole tenor of which shows that it relates to the mass, not to the Office. Gregory begins his letter thus:

Some one coming from Sicily has told me that some of his friends, whether Greeks or Latins I know not, full of zeal, of course (*quasi sub zelo*), for the Holy Roman Church, grumble about my measures, saying: 'A nice way, surely, to put the Church of Constantinople in its place, when he is following its customs in everything.' I said to him: 'What are these said customs we follow?' He replied: 'Why, you have ordered [among other things] *Kyrie eleison* to be said (*dici statuistis*).' And I answered: 'In none of these things have we followed the example of any other Church.'

Taking the text as it stands, the plain man, having no theories or preconceived notions on the subject, but attending only to what is thus said, and knowing no more about the matter, might, and I think naturally would, draw the conclusion that Gregory himself had introduced the *Kyrie eleison* into the mass at Rome.

The following passage gives the way in which Gregory defends himself against the charge of having followed the Constantinopolitan custom as regards the *Kyrie*:

We have neither said, nor do we say, *Kyrie eleison* as it is said by the Greeks. For among them, all [the people] sing it (*dicunt*) together; but with us it is sung by the clerks, and the people answer (*a populo respondetur*). And *Christe eleison*, which is never sung by the Greeks, is [with us] sung as many times[2] [as *Kyrie eleison*]. But in non-festal masses we omit some things usually sung [with the *Kyrie*] and sing only *Kyrie eleison* and *Christe eleison*, so that we may be engaged somewhat longer in these words of supplication.

[1] Lib. ix 12 of the Maurist edition; lib. vii 64 of Goussanville's; lib. ix 26 of Ewald-Hartmann's, and assigned to October 598.

[2] Ewald-Hartmann have 'totidem *vo*cibus', and no variant reading. I am obstinate enough to prefer the old 'sumpsimus'.

This passage suggests the following observations:

(1) If, as said above, we take the words of St Gregory just as they stand, we observe that he nowhere denies the statement made, that *he* had ordered the *Kyrie eleison* to be said—in other words, had introduced it. He only says he has not *imitated* any other Church in this point, and explains why. After his explanation in detail on the various items complained of, he adds these words: 'In what therefore have we followed the customs of the Greeks, since we have either renewed our old customs [that had lapsed][1] or have established new and useful ones, in which however we cannot be shown to imitate others?' It is easy to indulge in conjecture, but impossible from these last words to conclude anything certain as to the antiquity of the *Kyrie eleison* in the Roman mass.

(2) From the '*aliqua quae dici solent*' it is clear that on feast days the *Kyrie* was used with a theme, as among the Greeks, and not as in our present mass;[2] but there is nothing to shew whether the theme was proclaimed by the deacon, as in the East.

(3) When the '*aliqua*' were omitted, that is on most days of the year, the clerks sang *Kyrie cleison*, and the people repeated the words, just as is done in singing the Litany of the Saints at the present day. But it will be observed that, as compared with the Greek practice, the initiative *in prayer* is taken from the people and transferred to officials, the singers, subdeacons and inferior clerics. When next information is to be had as to the singing of the *Kyrie* of the mass in Rome, at the end of the eighth century, the people take no part in it at all.

(4) The fixation of number in Rome in 598 is not unworthy of note. Some persons may be inclined to see here an instance of the tendency to formalism, legalism, which is a feature of the historical Roman Church.

Once more, in this first attestation of the use of *Kyrie eleison* in

[1] Personally, I think St Gregory may here have in mind the '*subdiaconos spoliatos procedere*'; but the discussion of this point is not necessary for the present purpose.

[2] [And in fact the method of the Greek litanies—theme propounded (by deacon) and response by people—is precisely that found in the litany preserved by Alcuin and called by him *Deprecatio Gelasii* (i.e. of Pope Gelasius I). I have discussed this document in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (April 1911, pp. 407 sqq.), and I there concluded (*a*) that it is a Roman document, (*b*) that there seems to be no reasonable ground for questioning its attribution to Gelasius. A year later Professor W. Meyer discussed the question at length (*Nachrichten d. k. Gesell ch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen, philol.-hist. Klasse*, 1912) from quite another point of view, namely that of the philologist, and he came to the same conclusion: nor do I see how, from the standpoint of the liturgist, anyone who has really made a study of Roman, Gallican, Spanish, Irish liturgical style can come to any other conclusion than that the litany is (as Alcuin gives to be understood) of Roman origin.]

the Roman mass there is nothing that can indicate ever so faintly that it was ancient, native tradition, or that it formed part of the original Roman rite. On the contrary, it, as well as the evolution of the *Kyrie* use in Rome itself between the years 600 and 800, would seem to point to an opposite conclusion.

The space available bids me stop here. In summing up the results of the enquiry as a whole it will be necessary to take into account some points not as yet adverted to.

Postscript

20 *December* 1899

Since this article was in print, the *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi* (ed. I. Ephr. II Rahmani, Moguntiae, Kirchheim, 1899) has come to my hands as a Christmas present from my friend Dom Gasquet. I have to note that whilst in the account of the mass (bk. i cap. 23 pp. 37 sqq.) there is no word or indication of a diaconal litany and prayer of the faithful, yet among the chapters dealing with the office of deacon (bk. i capp. 33–38) is one (cap. 35 pp. 83–89) containing a long diaconal litany. Without anticipating what competent judges may have to say as to the date or dates of the document as a whole, I may remark that the evidence of the *Testamentum* as to the use of the *Kyrie* does not seem to me to point to a conclusion on the subject different from that suggested by the other Christian documents of the first three centuries. In other words, bk. i cap. 35 seems a later addition, and not part of the early elements of this work.

The *Testamentum*, therefore, does not call for any modification of what is written above.

PART II

Nothing, I know, can be more tedious than enquiries such as that on which I am engaged. They commonly issue only in shewing how very little we know, or perhaps can know, in regard to the subject discussed. To most people the utility of this result is not obvious. Few persons will recognize at once the advantages of freedom from the dominance of the school of historical impressionists, who have many powerful allies. Such freedom is to be wrought out by faithfulness *in minimis*. By and by it may dawn on the intent, practical

people, whose strong impulse is to be always 'proving' something, especially with a view to the discomfiture of their neighbours, that they may be usefully occupied in seeing into the value and the quality of their own 'proofs'. Revelations on that score await many of us, I opine, in many quarters: me, in my small way, here, perhaps. At any rate, I push forward.

In the first part of this Consultation it was pointed out that the evidence for the liturgical use of the *Kyrie eleison* in the East is late, not reaching back further than the second half of the fourth century. The next step is to review in the briefest manner the evidence for its earliest history in Gaul. I again start with the third canon of the Council of Vaison.

Is there any evidence whether and how this decree was carried out? So far as the *Kyrie* at lauds and vespers is concerned, the answer is: Yes, but only for the city of Arles; no more. In the Rule for monks, drawn up by St Caesarius and circulated by him (as his nephew. abbat Tetradius, says) after he became bishop (503), it is prescribed that lauds on Sunday should end with *Te Deum*, *Gloria in Excelsis*, and *capitellum* (Holstenius *Cod. Reg.* ed. Rom. ii 93; ed. Paris. ii 56; Migne 67. 1102). In the more lengthy but confused and imperfect directions as to the Office given in Caesarius's Rule for nuns, and drawn up apparently not earlier than 529, more probably in 534 (C. F. Arnold *Caesarius von Arelate* p. 518) there is also no mention of the *Kyrie eleison*; the *capitellum* or *capitella* still forming the conclusion of the hours (*AA. SS. Boll.* Jan. 12, in Palmé's reprint, ii 17–18; this portion of the Rule is not printed in Migne).

It appears, therefore (if the accepted dating of the relative section of the Rule for nuns be correct), that St Caesarius did not put into execution, in his sister's monastery, his own decree of Vaison of 529, but preserved intact the old custom of Lerins. How that decree as to the *Kyrie* in the Office was carried out, may be learnt from the somewhat later Rule drawn up for a monastery of monks in Arles by St Aurelian (bishop 546–553), apparently in the earliest years of his episcopate. From this we learn that it was said three times at the beginning of each Office, three times after the psalms, and three times at the close—that is, after the old traditional ending, the *capitellum* (*Sic in omni opere Dei tertia vice*, &c.; as a full example, terce on Easter day, *ad tertiam ter Kyrie eleison*, &c., Holsten. *Cod. Reg.* ed. Rom. ii p. 109; ed. Paris. p. 66; Migne 68. 393). Ferial lauds are an exception, *Kyrie* being said twelve times at the close (ibid. p. 111; p. 67; col. 395). It will be seen that there is already here some advance on the prescription of Vaison; the *Kyrie* is added not merely at lauds and vespers but at every Office.

But if at Arles itself, the see of the metropolitan and president, the Vaison decree did not remain a dead letter, I cannot find anywhere else in Gaul the least trace of its observance, so far as the Office is concerned. Gregory of Tours, in his gossipy books, speaks once of the *Kyrie*, and that is only to report what a deacon of his heard in Rome ; whilst he frequently and currently mentions the native Gallican invention, the *capitellum*. It is useless to crowd this page with references, since the excellent *Indices verborum* of Bruno Krusch to his volumes of the *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* will guide an enquirer to at least a sufficient number of 'testimonies'. From three or four passages it is evident that the *capitella* ended the Office as in the Rules of St Caesarius. But this was not the Gallican practice only, for it seems clear that the Irish monks who settled in the country said at the Office the *capitella* (though in a somewhat different form) without *Kyrie eleison*. How long the practice continued at Arles there is no evidence to shew. But it may be safely said that the use of the *Kyrie* in the Office, so far as Gaul at large is concerned, had to wait for the introduction of the Rule of St Benedict into that land in the seventh century, and the gradual spread of its observance. We still then are not able to get behind the Council of Vaison and the year 529.

Perhaps it may be as well to explain in a few words what these *capitella* are and what is their history, so far at least as I can understand the matter. Their nature is indicated in canon 30 of the great Council of Agde in 506, at which the Gothic dominions in Gaul, extending up to Tours, were represented and over which St Caesarius presided. This canon orders that at the end (*in conclusione*) of lauds and vespers, after the hymns, *capitella de psalmis* be said. This is precisely the arrangement at all the hours (and not at lauds and vespers only) described in the Rules of St Caesarius, and it is probably derived from Lerins, the order of which he says (in his Rule for nuns) that he follows in his directions as to the Office. There seems to be a marked distinction between these *capitella* (which I will, for the sake of clearness, call the Gallican form) and the Irish or Columbanian form. The Gallican form strictly answers to the versicles and responses of the *preces* in the Breviary. A lengthy example of a pure Gallican set of *capitella ex psalmis* is printed by Martene from a Laon MS in his *De ecclesiae ritibus* lib. iv c. 8.—In the Rule of St Columban the *capitellum* is described as *versiculorum augmentum*, and each verse is a special supplication for some definite class of people. St Columban's description corresponds very well with the text found in the Bangor Antiphonary fol. 20 v°–21 v° (Henry Bradshaw Soc. vol. x p. 22–23); though in the Bangor book it would seem evident that some customary invitation or monition by the officiant (like e.g. *Oremus pro benefactoribus, &c.*) is there wanting, and each response is followed by a short prayer or collect, of which St Columban

says nothing. In the Appendix to the *Antiphonary* the editor has given (p. 64) a good late Carolingian representative of this Irish or Columbanian form. Amalar *De eccl. rit.* iv 4 explains how, even before his time, that is by the beginning of the ninth century, the two forms had become combined, the first few verses being composed of a versicle and a response, both from the psalms, the subsequent verses being composed of an invitation or monition to prayer for some definite class of people, and a people's response drawn from the psalms. Examples in brief of this Carolingian combination are to be found in the Roman Missal after the psalm *Deus in adiutorium* on Rogation Days, where the first four verses are what I have called Gallican *capitella*, and those which follow, Irish or Columbanian; or in the morning and evening services of the *Book of Common Prayer*, after the second *Our Father*, the first verse representing the Gallican, the second the Columbanian form. From Amalar's account, it is clear that the introduction of the *capitellum* was one of the earliest modifications to which the Roman Office was subjected on its adoption in the kingdom of the Franks. And hence it has in course of time found its way into the Roman Office of Rome, forming the original element of what we call the *preces*, though it is now somewhat overshadowed by yet later additions like the *Credo* and the *Confiteor*.

As the idea of a 'litany' has become to us inseparably connected with the Rogations, as the Rogations are a custom of Gallican origin, and as the idea of the *Kyrie* suggests itself unbidden to the mind in connexion with 'litany', it is in place to see whether there is anything in the original testimonies of the fifth and sixth centuries to prove the use of the *Kyrie*, or indeed of a litany at all in our modern sense, on the Rogation days; or even to countenance such a notion. First it is to be observed that the word 'litany' in the fifth century conveyed quite a different meaning from what it does to us. The first instance of its use that I can find is in a law relating to Constantinople, of the year 396, in the Theodosian Code lib. xvi tit. 5 l. 30, where, as anyone who will consider the terms of this law will see, it simply means a private prayer meeting; as, say, among various sects of Dissenters at the present day, *minus*, however, in this case, the minister. To Sidonius Apollinaris less than a hundred years later, and in Gaul, it suggested (*Epist.* v 7) simply and only a penitential idea generally. A hundred years later still, to Venantius Fortunatus 'litany' could simply mean short commons. Dissatisfied with the provision made for him by a friend, he writes: 'I thought I was to have my fill at four o'clock, and am still waiting about at eight; I have found your banquets were more like fasting fare and your morning meals no better than a litany' (*Carm.* vii 15). When, then, the Council of Orleans of 511 begins one of its canons with the words: 'The Rogations, that is the litanies', it is not to be inferred straightway that what we call

litanies were then sung on Rogation days; the words may only mean, 'Rogations, that is penitential supplications'.

And, indeed, so far as I can read, there is no indication whatever that litanies were at the first institution sung on these three days at all. The original documents give quite a different impression. Sidonius Apollinaris, though he says his friend St Mamertus, bishop of Vienne, *invenit, instituit, invexit*, 'invented, introduced, and established' the 'solemnity of the Rogations', also tells us that rogations for fine weather had been in use in the diocese of Vienne before his time, but were attended to only in an off-hand sort of way—*vagae, tepentes, infrequentes . . . oscitabundae supplicationes*; but that Mamertus fixed and regularized them, and made them a very serious business indeed—*ieiunatur, oratur, psallitur, fletur*: their new observance was in fasting and prayer, and the singing of psalms and weeping tears of sorrow (*Ep.* v 14). See also *Ep.* vii 1, addressed to Mamertus himself.

Avitus, successor (*c.* 494–517) of Mamertus in the see of Vienne, uses much the same form of expression. Mamertus, he says, 'fixed all that on this day the world in its invocations says of psalms and prayers' (*definivit quidquid hodie psalmis ac precibus mundus inclamat. Opera*, ed. R. Peiper, *M. G. Auctt. Antiquiss.* vi part 2 p. 110). And again, when mentioning that the Rogations had spread from Vienne to other churches, though observed on other days, he adds that this does not matter, provided that the psalms are sung with annual penitential observance (*dummodo psalmorum officia lacrimarum functionibus annuis persolverentur*. Ibid. p. 111).

St Caesarius of Arles, in his two sermons for Rogations (Migne 39. 2076–2079), describes the devotional exercises of those days again and again in the same words as Sidonius Apollinaris and St Avitus: *legendo, psallendo vel orando;* or *ieiunando, orando et psallendo;* or he warns those who *nec ipsi psallunt nec alios psallere vel orare permittunt;* and adds *orare studeamus et psallere*. In providing, some years after the Suevi had passed from Arianism to Catholicity, for the introduction among them of practices common among the orthodox, the Council of Braga of 572 prescribes in regard to the Rogations that 'neighbouring churches uniting together and for three days perambulating the churches of the saints with psalms, should celebrate the litanies': here 'litanies' again evidently means only 'rogations' or 'supplications' in a general sense.

In a word, so far as the original testimonies go, the substance of the devotion of the Rogations was psalm-singing, with, perhaps, the prayers or collects which in some quarters accompanied the singing of psalms. Such use of the psalms would concord with the character of

the *capitella*, the native Gallican equivalent of St Benedict's 'litany', the *Kyrie eleison*. The Rogations, then, so far as we can know anything positively of them in the fifth or sixth century, afford no ground for concluding that the *Kyrie* was in use in Gaul.

St Benedict's use of the word 'litany' having been mentioned, it will not be out of place to add a few words on the meaning he attached to that term. With him we are no longer in Gaul, but in the region of Rome, and we may not be surprised if he uses the word in a sense different from that of the Gallican writers, just as *missa* means one thing to him, another thing to Saints Caesarius and Aurelian. It has been already pointed out that in the Eastern diaconal litanies the *prayer* consists of the two words *Kyrie eleison* sung by the people. This is quite in accordance with the notion that must have been in St Benedict's mind when he wrote cap. 9 of the Rule: 'and the *supplication of* the litany, *that is* Kyrie eleison'. Having thus on first mentioning the matter in cap. 9 explained precisely what it is that he means to be said, he had afterwards no hesitation in using, for brevity, in cc. 12, 13, 17, the words *litania* and *Kyrie eleison* as equivalents. But this does not afford a ground for concluding that 'litany' was the technical word for the *Kyrie eleison* in Middle Italy at the beginning of the sixth century.

St Gregory's use of the word 'litany' at the close of that century has to be carefully distinguished from St Benedict's. It would take too much space to explain the whole case, but it may be added that the word seems to have suggested to that Pope's mind, as a matter of course, the idea of a penitential procession. This is evident from the first of the series of letters as to the use of the pallium by the bishops of Ravenna. But in the progress of the correspondence, though the word is not changed, another sense is put into it, namely, that of a public procession amidst the applause of the people, without any thought of prayer at all, much like the Papal procession from the palace to the church of the station described in the first Roman Ordo. So much may suffice to shew that it is necessary to take careful account of times, places, and circumstances, if we would avoid error in assigning its due meaning to the word 'litany' in any given case.

Is there any better evidence of the early or the general use of the *Kyrie* at mass in Gaul than of its use in the Office or at Rogations?

We have no information whatever as to the way in which the decree of Vaison was carried out in the mass at Arles; and it is to be remembered that in any case this decree would apply only to a small part of south-eastern Gaul.

The evidence (and, with the exception of the Bobbio Missal, the sole piece of evidence) in regard to the whole of the lands comprised under the term Gaul, whether under the rule of Goths, Burgundians, or Franks, is found in the first of two letters attributed to St Germanus, bishop of Paris (555-576), explanatory of the order of the

mass as known to the writer.[1] He tells us that before the prophecy (the first of the three lessons of the mass), and between the epistle and gospel, the *Aius* was sung in Greek and Latin; that it ended with *Amen*; and that then three small choir-boys (*tres parvuli*) sang in unison (*ore uno*) *Kyrie eleison;* so far as appears, once only. What was this *Aius*? The text has not survived; but this much is certain, that it was a text beginning with 'Agios,' or 'Aïos'. A text with this incipit occurs in the Mozarabic mass, but it has no *Kyrie* after it. Some writers have asserted that it is the Trisagion of the Constantinopolitan liturgy (the 'Agios o Theos', &c., of our Good Friday Office); and a reason can, I think, be shewn for believing this conclusion to be a correct one.

The most recent authoritative writers who deal with the question agree in declaring the *Aius* to be the 'Trisagion'. But by 'Trisagion', one writer means one thing, another something quite different, a third two different things, whilst one says it was sung twice, another in one place that it was sung three times, and in another place four times; to say nothing of other complications which I need not here describe. But all agree in taking no notice of such divergence of opinion among themselves, and in refraining from giving any reason why the *Aius* should be one thing rather than another thing. I feel in these circumstances bound to give a reason for my opinion, if I express one at all, for I do not wish to add to the existing confusion.

First, by 'Trisagion' I mean that hymn, 'Holy God, Holy Strong, Holy Immortal', which is sung in the Constantinopolitan liturgy before the epistle. The considerations that move me to think this is the Gallican *Aius* are as follows. The 'Agios o Theos' of our Good Friday Office is simply this hymn of the Constantinopolitan liturgy treated according to St Germanus's description of the Gallican *Aius*, but without the *Amen*. How and when did the 'Agios o Theos' find its way into the Roman books? It seems to have been part of the Good Friday Office in Rome in the twelfth century, and probably in the eleventh, so far as I can understand the somewhat confused accounts of Tommasi and Vezzosi; this is countenanced by an expression in a letter of Gregory VII (*Regist.* viii 1); and it was certainly in use in the early days of the eleventh century at Farfa, close to Rome. On the other hand it was certainly no part of the Roman rite in the ninth century. The earliest distinct attestation that I can find of it is (for Good Friday) in the Pontifical of Prudentius of Troyes (846–861), at a time when the reaction against the once fashionable

[1] [The MS of these letters, long considered lost, still exists, though it is not at present available. A friend who has seen it tells me it is of the eleventh century, not of the eighth, as Martene gives to be understood. It may be as well to add in passing that, after full consideration, I have come to the conclusion that this document is not of the sixth century, and therefore not by Germanus of Paris, but a production of the second half of the seventh or even, it may be, of the early eighth century.]

Roman ritual movement was in full course.[1] One mark of this reaction is the steady way in which old native usages began to revive, and reasserted themselves, making for themselves a home in the very heart of the Roman books. I suggest that the 'Agios o Theos' which thus appears in the middle of the ninth century in France, is simply a revival, in another setting, of a feature of the old Gallican mass. I am further inclined to this opinion inasmuch as the first adumbration of the Reproaches, of which the 'Agios' now forms a part, is found, so far as I can see, in the Bobbio Missal. It is in this missal also (Mabillon *Mus. Ital.* i 281–282) that the name of the *Aius* is twice mentioned, and the prayer (p. 281) after the first mention contains indications, if I mistake not, which point to the Constantinopolitan hymn. It begins: *Tu summe Deus, aïos, ipse sanctus, omnipotens Sabaoth, qui venisti ab excelsis pati pro nobis, miserere nobis tu trinae potentiae Pater inclite.* An allusion (as in the words 'qui venisti' &c.) to Peter the Fuller's addition, 'who wast crucified for us', need not cause surprise.[2]

The 'Trisagion' seems to have been introduced into the Constantinopolitan liturgy about the middle of the fifth century.[3] As to the source of its introduction into Gaul, we are not without indications, faint though they be. The unique MS containing the letters fathered on Germanus of Paris (who was of Autun, and abbat there before he became bishop) was found at Autun. This city was in the Burgundian

[1] [This Pontifical of Prudentius has disappeared. Martene seemingly never saw the original MS, but only a copy then in the hands of Jean Deslyons, that curious and interesting Dean of Senlis who was the author of *Traitez singuliers et nouveaux contre le Paganisme du Roy-Boit*, &c., &c. This, or another, copy was also in the hands of Jacques de Sainte-Beuve when was writing his *De Extrema Unctione* (1686), and he cites it freely in that work. I have failed in all attempts to recover either the original or a copy. For liturgical purposes it would, in all probability, be highly important to recover this volume. Prudentius, though so important a personage in France, was, it is to be remembered, a Spaniard. I hope to enter on a discussion of the whole question of Prudentius and the Liturgy later.]

[2] It may be as well to say that the identification of the *Aius* with the *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*, is subject, so far as I can see, to the gravest difficulties. I ought to add that in my opinion G. H. Forbes is quite right in deriving the 'Reproaches' of the Bobbio Missal from Spain.

[3] [Dom Connolly supplies me with the following note on this point: 'Nestorius in his *Liber Heraclidis*, preserved in a Syriac translation (ed. Bedjan, pp. 499 sqq.), seems to say that the *Trisagion* came into use at Constantinople during the period between the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. Because the populace held heretical views of God the Son and refused Him the epithet "immortal", "God Himself gave them a formula of supplication . . . that they should say: Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us". Evidently based on this is the Nestorian tradition that the *Trisagion* was delivered by angels to a certain presbyter of Constantinople in the reign of Theodosius II. The story is told by Abraham Bar Lipheh in his *Interpretatio Officiorum* (*c.* saec. viii) and by an anonymous writer (of perhaps the ninth century), till recently wrongly identified with George of Arbela (saec. x), in a work entitled *Expositio omnium Officiorum*. Both of these works are edited and translated in the *Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium* ser. 2 t. xci-xcii. For ps.-George of A. see t. xci (trans.) pp. 149–150; for Bar Lipheh, t. xcii (trans.) pp. 153–154. The translation of t. xcii, though printed, still awaits publication owing to the war.']

dominions. The other manuscript in which the *Aius* is mentioned, the Bobbio Missal, has also a Burgundian connexion. Now the Burgundian rulers were notable for their close relations with Constantinople. When precisely the *Aius* was introduced, whether towards the close of the fifth century or early in the sixth, there is no means of conjecturing; but it may be safely assumed that it came to Gaul from Constantinople into Burgundy direct; and that it was not introduced on account of its *Kyrie* or in any way in connexion with the decree of the Council of Vaison.

There remains for consideration the Gallican use of the *Kyrie* in the so-called 'prayers of the faithful' at mass. Such prayers are distinctly witnessed to in Gaul, by a memorandum appended to the canons of the Council of Lyons (a city also of the Burgundian realm) of about the year 516–523, which mentions the 'oratio plebis' after the Gospel. This prayer is no longer extant. The question has been dealt with with perfect discretion by Duchesne, *Origines* pp. 189–191. The point for notice here is that, as he says, we have in both the parallel examples which he cites distinct evidence of translation from a Constantinopolitan text. Here, then, so far as any evidence is available, we are once more brought to the conclusion that the use of the *Kyrie* in Gaul is more modern, perhaps by at least a century, than its use in the East, and that it is no more than a foreign importation.

To come now at last to Rome. The text of the Council of Vaison, taken by itself, does not warrant the conclusion that the *Kyrie* was in use in Rome at both Office and Mass; only that it may have been so, and that it was certainly said at either one or the other. If the theory put forward by M. Batiffol that the Roman Office was a creation of the seventh and eighth centuries could be accepted without more ado, the case would be easy enough. Unfortunately this is not possible. That writer justly observes, that the Benedictine Office had only a late and remote influence on the Roman; but he quite omitted to enquire whether the Roman Office had influenced the formation of St Benedict's. This is the more unfortunate since, in the absence of proof to the contrary, everything conspires to countenance such an idea. The Office sketched in the Rule is the clearest, most detailed, and earliest scheme known in the West. Though its author does not, like Caesarius, state whence he drew it, he assumes familiarity with some already existing Office. This complete and detailed scheme has its birth close to Rome, and is due to one who has lived there. Finally, so soon as we come to know the texts of the Roman and the Benedictine Offices (as distinct from the arrangement of the Psalter) in the ninth century, they are found substantially one and the same. The use of both is certainly

the same as regards the *Kyrie eleison* towards the end of the various hours, as appears from a comparison of Amalar *de Eccl. Off.* iii c. 6, and iv cc. 2, 4, 7, and 23, and *de Ord. Antiph.* c. 1, for the Roman Office on the one hand, with cc. 9, 10, 12, 13, 17 of the Rule on the other.

It may well be the case, then, that the *Kyrie* was said in the Roman Office at the date of the Council of Vaison. The way is therefore open for the conclusion which I have said the ordinary reader would naturally draw from St Gregory's letter, namely, that this Pontiff himself introduced the *Kyrie* into the Roman mass. Yet this conclusion would be, I think, an unsafe, indeed an incorrect, one. For an ordination form, which is certainly Roman,[1] in the Gelasian Sacramentary (lib. i 20) contains a rubric directing that the mass is to be said at St Peter's, that the introit is first sung, and then the Pope gives out the names of the persons he intends to ordain; 'after a short interval [to allow of objections] all begin the *Kyrie eleison* with the litany.' The expression seems to be an equivalent of the *Kyrie eleison* 'with certain things usually sung', as mentioned in St Gregory's letter, and of St Benedict's '*supplication of* the litany, *that is* Kyrie eleison'. The forms of expression used in the Benedictine Rule and in the Gelasian Sacramentary are peculiar; I do not know where to find a parallel to them in the fifth or sixth century; they both express one and the same idea, look at the things, 'litany' and *Kyrie*, from one and the same point of view; in a word, seem to proceed from one and the same circle.

But objection may be taken to this rubric as evidence of the use of the *Kyrie* in the Roman mass before St Gregory, on the ground of Duchesne's theory as to the dates of the early Roman sacramentaries, according to which the *Gelasianum* is assigned to the seventh century. It appeared to me from the first that this theory was untenable and could not survive independent investigation, on either the historical or the ritual side. The one feature that really seemed to give it countenance simply disappeared at once when, on examining the long-lost MS Vat. Regin. 337, I for the first time learnt what were really the contents of the Gregorian Mass book sent by Pope Hadrian to Charles the Great.[2] It may be mentioned by the way that I was, I believe, the first to examine this manuscript in recent times, and so to know what the *Sacramentaire d'Hadrien* actually was. Ehrensberger had indeed come

[1] It is to be observed that the ordination forms found in the early manuscripts of the *Gregorianum* are those printed in Muratori ii 357–361; the forms at coll. 405 sqq. are later and corrupted texts.

[2] It in fact comprises not coll. 1–138 only of Muratori's edition, as had been hitherto supposed, but coll. 241–272 also. In these circumstances it becomes difficult indeed to view the *Gregorianum* as specifically the Papal Mass book.

across Regin. 337 in going through the library shelves for the purpose of compiling his catalogue, though I knew nothing of that, and 'found' it on my own account, and by the simple expedient of asking for it by the right number given by Giorgi instead of Muratori's wrong one. That was in the year 1895.[1] By this present time independent enquirers, in Germany at least, have come, or are coming, to the only conclusion that is reasonable when all the factors are taken into proper account, namely, that we have in the *Gelasianum* (minus, of course, many Gallican elements, most of which I fancy are distinctly identifiable) in substance the Roman missal of the sixth century.[2]

This being so, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the Council of Vaison of 529, in ordering the use of the *Kyrie* at lauds, mass, and vespers, was in all three cases simply introducing what was already in practice 'in the Apostolic See'. And this I believe to have been, in fact, the case.

The following seems to be the history of the *Kyrie eleison* in the first six centuries, so far as it is revealed by the evidence.

Kyrie eleison was a pre-Christian religious invocation. It found its way into public Christian services soon after the triumph of the Church, that is in the course of the fourth century.[3] This took place, as we should naturally expect, in Greek-speaking regions. Thence it spread to the West, through Italy; its introduction into Italy falling in the fifth century at the earliest; probably in the second half rather than in the first. It was imported into Gaul, partly by way of Arles, from Old Rome (and Italy) in the early part of the sixth century; partly from Constantinople direct, perhaps as early as the close of the

[1] [As Ehrensberger's catalogue of the liturgical MSS of the Vatican Library is here mentioned, I think it well to say, in reference to note 1, page 64 above, that I do not wish to imply carelessness on his part (or indeed on the part of his forerunners, D. Giorgi, Vezzosi and others) for failure to detect and read the erased name of Pope Nicholas I in the *Exultet* of Regin. 337 (see his *Libri Liturgici Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae manu scripti*, Friburgi Brisgov., 1897, p. 400 ll. 5–7). I have long since come to the conclusion that from purely natural causes it is easier for some persons to read and recover erased script than it is for others.]

[2] For instance, this is the case in Friedrich Wiegand's *Die Stellung des apostolischen Symbols im kirchlichen Leben des Mittelalters*, the first volume of which reaches me as I am writing. But I take leave to differ from Wiegand's view, that Duchesne's failure to recognize 'diesen ziemlich klaren Sachverhalt' was due to his opinion as to the credibility of John the Deacon (p. 205). This may be in part the case, but I think it is due much more to reaction against some very modern people, namely, the French legendary Catholic School, dominant for the last fifty years, whose exploits in the domain of history, sacred and secular, ancient and modern, have been trying enough to trouble the judgement of the most patient lover of simple historical truth. Extravagance in one direction is apt to produce exaggeration in another, and in reaction and recoil men are apt to overpass the due limits.

[3] [Of course I do not mean to imply that it was borrowed from pagan practice: it has already been pointed out (p. 117 note 1) how desirable it is that some one should give us a *Vorgeschichte* of the liturgical *Kyrie eleison*.]

fifth century. But there seem to be substantial reasons for doubting that it was general in Gaul previous to the introduction of the Rule of St Benedict into Gaul in the seventh century and its spread there. As in the case of most ritual novelties, its adoption was probably gradual.

I may say that, whilst the Roman mass and the African are evidently very nearly akin, in the African Church previous to the Vandal invasion there is no trace whatever of the *Kyrie eleison* in the mass.

VII

THE LITANY OF SAINTS IN THE STOWE MISSAL[1]

IDEAS in regard to the first attestations and early history of what is designated in the official books of the Roman Church 'the Litanies', but commonly called 'the Litany of the Saints', seem vague and indefinite. The use of such a series of invocations of saints by name was, for instance, in an article I read not long ago, assumed to have been in existence in Gaul in the sixth century; and this assumption was used as an instrument in the criticism of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. In the last number (iv 1) of the *Oriens Christianus* Dr Baumstark has printed (text and translation, pp. 116–119) a 'Syrian-Melchite Litany of All the Saints', with a lengthy preliminary dissertation (pp. 98–116, 120). The subject is now therefore on the order of the day. Moreover, what must be the definitive edition of the *Stowe Missal* is in preparation [so in October 1905; see now H. B. Soc. xxxii]; and doubtless discussion of some points of detail had better precede than follow on that publication. But the starting-point of an enquiry such as I have indicated is, so far as I can see, precisely the litany which stands at the beginning of the normal mass in that Missal. It has then seemed to me opportune, without waiting for further information, or more light, to lay before those interested in the subject what I have been able to gather in regard to the early history of the 'Litany of the Saints' in the West, with which Dr Baumstark and his former colleague, Dr Schermann, have not concerned themselves. Such a paper will serve to bring the discussion of this rather obscure matter into some definite form; and I propose to restrict my remarks, as much as I can, to what is textual, documentary, and, so far, positive.

Before examining the features of the litany of *Stowe*, it will be proper to remark on its position and surroundings. This litany appears as an item of what is now called the 'Praeparatio Sacerdotis', viz. the series of non-liturgical prayers which form the priest's personal preparation for saying mass. In the earliest Western books this

[1] From the *Journal of Theological Studies*, October 1905.

'Praeparatio' is rudimentary, being represented by a single prayer entitled 'Apologia Sacerdotis'. In his edition of the *Book of Cerne* (pp. xxv–xxvi), Dom Kuypers, in comparing two of these forms of the earliest period, has pointed out that the most ancient examples of the 'Apologia' represent more than one type of religious mind and feeling. The form given in the *Bobbio Missal*[1] shews yet a third type of mind, though textually it is related to the two 'Apologiae' adduced by Dom Kuypers. This is the stage of developement at the close of the seventh century. The 'praeparatio' which the *Stowe Missal* offers (before the interpolations were made by Moelcaich) is something quite different both in form and substance. It is thus composed: (1) a short prayer embodying penitential supplications evidently inspired by the litany; (2) a litany of saints; (3) a prayer 'ut pro peccatis meis possim intercedere, et adstantis populi peccatorum veniam promereri, ac pacificas singulorum hostias immolare; me quoque tibi audaciter accedentem non sinas perire', &c.; (4) a brief ejaculatory prayer. Item (3) strikes, in the words quoted, a note that is absent from the three 'Apologiae' mentioned above. In these the idea of specifically priestly supplication does not find utterance. But the idea is quite in the spirit of those prayers of Eastern liturgies which, beautiful and devout in themselves, repeat with a wearisome iteration the same idea—the unworthiness of the priest himself and the 'tremendous' nature of the sacrifice. The precise position of the *Stowe* 'Preparatio' in the Western developement must be matter for consideration; but to me it appears to represent the next stage immediately after the simple 'Apologia' of the seventh century.[2] It must not, however, be forgotten that, with the peculiar character of Irish piety and devotion, a developement of this kind is

[1] Mabillon *Mus. Ital.* i 375; Muratori *Liturg. Rom.* ii 934.

[2] I do not find an 'Apologia' in the Gellone Sacramentary. The Sacramentary of Angoulême, Paris B. N. Lat. 816, f. 70^b has a single 'Apologia' (printed by Martene *de ant. eccl. rit.* lib. iv cap. 27 § 10) there called 'Accusatio Sacerdotis . . . ante altare'; it emphasizes the ideas already found in the *Stowe* 'Praeparatio', item (3). In Gerbert (*Mon. vet. liturg. Alemann.* i 297) this 'Accusatio' appears as if a collect of a 'missa propria sacerdotis'. The so-called *Missa Flacci Illyrici* contains some fifteen or twenty apologies besides a fully developed scheme of prayers for putting on vestments, &c. Perhaps it would be better to say that it is an Ordo Missae 'farced' with apologies. This document was by its first editor attributed to an early date; and in this he has been followed by different writers on various grounds; and in our own day it has been attributed to Alcuin. The recent recovery of the original MS (cod. Helmstad. 115 in the Ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel), which has proved to be of the eleventh century, shews that the judgement of Bona, who assigned the *Missa Fl. Ill.* to the tenth or eleventh century, was sound. A similar set of fifteen Apologiae, of somewhat earlier date, is to be found in Ménard's *Codex S. Eligii* (Delisle No. li p. 175; Migne *P. L.* 78. 226–231). For the collection incorporated by Rodradus in his Missal of the middle of the ninth century see above Paper No. IV p. 67 n. 3; the collection in the contemporary Pontifical of Prudentius bishop of Troyes (see Martene *de ant. Eccl. rit.* lib. i cap. iv art. xii Ordo vi) I hope to deal with some time later.

likely to be marked and accentuated earlier and more readily in Ireland than perhaps in any other Western country.

So much of the exact text of the Stowe Litany of Saints as is needful for the present purpose will be given later. But it will be convenient, for the understanding of what follows, to give a summary of it at once; thus:

Christe audi nos (three times)
Kyrie eleison
Invocations of thirteen saints by name
Omnes sancti orate pro nobis
Propitius esto parce nobis Domine
P. e. libera nos D.
Ab omni malo l. n. D.
Per crucem tuam l. n. D.
[Peccatores te] rogamus audi nos (brackets from Moelcaich)
[? Fili Dei t. r. a. n.] (Moelcaich, see p. 143 n. 3)
Ut pacem dones r. a. n.
Agne Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis.[1]

In this litany it is necessary to distinguish two elements: the invocations of individual saints, and the general 'framework'. Each element must be considered separately. I take the names first. The invocations of saints in this *Stowe* Litany are: Mary, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew, James, Thaddaeus, Matthias, Mark, Luke. Inspection of the four lists of Apostles in the New Testament shews that this list, though imperfect, agrees in *order* with that of Matthew (x 2–4) only.[2] The order of the names of the twelve apostles in the diptychs of the *Stowe Missal* (MacCarthy, p. 216) is: John Baptist and Virgin Mary, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew, James, Simon, Thaddaeus,[3] Matthias, Mark, Luke. This again is the order of Matthew. The litany then, so far as it goes, agrees with the diptychs; and it is not too much to suppose that when drawing it up the compiler had before him the diptychs and adopted their order.

But the two *Stowe* documents do not stand alone. The order of names of Apostles and Evangelists in the litany of MS Reg. 2 A xx,[4]

[1] See MacCarthy 'On the Stowe Missal', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* vol. xxvii (1886) pp. 192–194 and 267 (on fol. 13[a]). [It is proper, indeed it is necessary, for me to add here that, still to-day, the only intelligible print of the *Stowe Missal* is Dr MacCarthy's; and by its aid alone can a reader, who might so wish, follow in the original document what I have to say in this Paper.]

[2] The order of Luke vi 14–16 is as Matthew's, except that it has 'Matthew, Thomas' instead of 'Thomas, Matthew', and 'Simon, Iudas Iacobi' instead of 'Thaddaeus, Simon'.

[3] This is the order of Matth., except that in the diptychs Simon (the Canaanite) comes before, not after, Thaddaeus. After Matthias, Mark, Luke come Stephen and other martyrs.

[4] fol. 26[a] (*Book of Cerne* pp. 211–212).

a manuscript of the eighth century, is the same as that in the *Stowe* diptychs, except that Barnabas is inserted before Mark and Luke. Not merely so; but this litany adopts the order 'John, Mary', of the diptychs; and the case is both in diptychs and in litanies, so far as I can find, in the West, unique.[1] But, after thus agreeing in its order of invocations up to Luke with the *Stowe* diptychs, the litany of 2 A xx proceeds to subjoin Stephen and the whole twelve names of martyrs appended to the quite different list of Apostles in the Canon of the Roman mass.[2]

The question arises which is the borrower? Did the English document borrow the order of Apostles and Evangelists from Ireland, or did Ireland borrow from England? Several prayers and other documents, English and Irish, of a date presumably earlier than the ninth century, shew enumerations of the Apostles.[3] From the prayers giving the names of the Apostles in the *Book of Cerne* and in MS 2 A xx, it appears that only the order in the Roman Canon occurs in prayers in *Cerne*; whilst in 2 A xx (and also in Irish books) only the order of Matthew is found. The diptychs of the Mozarabic mass and those of the Church of Arles both adopt the order of Acts i 13. Unless, therefore, further evidence can be adduced to throw a new light on the case, the conclusion seems inevitable that the presence of the Matthew list is to be taken as a probable indication of Irish influence.[4]

If there be relationship between the invocations in the litanies of the *Stowe* 'Praeparatio' and 2 A xx, much closer is the relationship in the 'framework' of those litanies. In fact the 'framework' of the two is identical. There exists yet a third Latin litany which must be mentioned here; it was first printed from a Fulda MS by G. Witzel (Wicelius) in his *Exercitamenta sincerae pietatis*, 1555, sign. P. The MS used by Witzel was evidently another copy of the Old Irish Missal of which the only copy now extant is *Stowe*; and though, as appears from so much as Witzel prints, the names of the saints invoked in the litany of the 'Praeparatio' differed, the 'framework' is identical with that of the litanies in *Stowe* and 2 A xx.

But we must not stop here. A Greek litany appearing on the last leaf (f. 200) of the so-called 'Athelstan Psalter', Cotton MS Galba A xviii,[5]

[1] See Supplementary Note B below.

[2] This use of the Roman Canon probably explains the insertion in 2 A xx of Barnabas. For Barnabas see Duchesne, in *Mélanges G. B. de Rossi* (Rome, 1892) pp. 40-71.

[3] See Supplementary Note C below.

[4] I should feel disposed to add here as follows: 'with the *Stowe* diptychs as a primary model. It would therefore follow that our litanies are of a later date than (say) about the year 650.' See above p. 92 n. 1.

[5] In what follows I take no notice of the discussions on the Apostles' Creed, of set purpose. But it may be for persons engaged in that line of enquiry to consider

has to be taken into account. This manuscript contains on the same leaf the Greek text of the Old Roman Creed, whereof the Latin is found in the Laudian MS of the Acts and (with slight changes) in MS Reg. 2 A xx also. In what I have now to say it will be well to ignore the discussions on the Creed, but proper to observe that through the documents common to Galba A xviii in Greek and 2 A xx in Latin, viz. the Old Roman Creed and the litany, we come into touch with the earliest age of the English Church. Sir E. M. Thompson, who has described the Galba manuscript,[1] considers that the psalter was

whether, or how far, anything said in this paper may have a bearing on the questions that engage their attention; e.g. the origin or 'sources' of the Enumerations of Apostles found in connexion with the Creed, the suggested date of the Galba litany in relation to the use (or disuse) of the Old Roman Creed in Rome itself, &c.

[1] *Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum, Part ii Latin* pp. 12–13. Kattenbusch *Das apostolische Symbol* i 66, following Heurtley, states that the attribution to Athelstan 'has no sort of authority', but is a mere conjecture of the possessor of the MS in the sixteenth century. There are, however, good and solid grounds for giving credence to this 'Athelstan' tradition. And first, there seems to be no reasonable cause to doubt that this psalter, Galba A xviii, was a Winchester book. To begin with, it was, within a few years after the suppression of the Cathedral Priory of Winchester, in the possession of a priest named Thomas Dackombe (or Dakomb), a Winchester man then attached to the Cathedral foundation. From entries in several MSS in the British Museum it appears that at or about the time of the dissolution he had acquired a number of MSS once belonging to the Cathedral Priory, and he chose (it may be said in passing) good ones (see *Anc. Manuscr.* p. 62; and 'Gifts of Henry of Blois to Winchester Cathedral', Paper No. XX below, footnote to the notice of the MS from which the list was printed). This is an indication that the MS was at Winchester at the time of the Suppression. But there is indication that it was there in the eleventh century also, for a leaf of Galba A xviii, that has disappeared since the seventeenth century, had five lines in verse commemorating the gift by Stigand to some church of a rich cross (*Anc. Manuscr.* p. 12); and from the Winchester Annals, A.D. 1072, it appears that Stigand in fact gave such a cross *to Winchester Cathedral*. But further: from contemporary entries in several ancient MSS it appears that Athelstan, in giving books to churches—a practice of which he may be said to have been 'fond'—liked to have inserted in them a record of such gift on his part: for instance, Cotton MS Claud. B v, a gift of Athelstan to Bath; Otho B ix, a gift to Durham, or rather to St Cuthbert; Tiberius A ii (a Lobbes book, by the way, which must have been written while Ratherius was there), also Reg. 1 A xviii, and the MacDurnain Gospels at Lambeth, gifts to Christ Church, Canterbury. This being so, the probabilities are in favour of the idea—itself an obvious and reasonable one—that when Dackombe made his memorandum 'Psalterium regis Athelstani', he based it on some record (similar to those in the MSS just mentioned) then found within the covers of the book. As Athelstan gave books to other churches, there could be no reason why the Cathedral Church of his own capital city and residence should not have shared in his gifts; and it is entirely congruous that he should have bestowed upon it a memento so personal as the psalter used by him for his own private devotions. The inference from all this is obvious, if not indeed conclusive, viz. that the Galba MS with verses commemorating this gift was itself a Winchester book.

I have made these explanations in full in view of the importance of the MS Galba A xviii, as giving the text of the Old Roman Creed embodied by Marcellus of Ancyra in his letter to Pope Julius in defence of his orthodoxy (Epiphanius *Haer.* lxxii 3). It seemed desirable to do what is possible to come to just notions as to the history of this MS, and hence as to the way in which this Creed and the other Greek documents may have come into it. In consideration of all the circumstances, as regards the Creed or the Litany, in Greek or Latin, in England, my own view is that the Greek pieces in Galba A xviii were copied from an English MS

written abroad in the ninth century, and that the additions (ff. 1–21, 120, 178–200)—including of course our Greek litany and the other pieces in Greek—were made in England in the tenth. At the bottom of f. 199[b] is the title 'Hic incipiunt Grecorum laetanie', the litany occupies f. 200[a]; on 200[a–b] is first the Our Father with the title 'Hic incipit Pater noster in lingua Grecorum'; then the Apostles' Creed with the heading 'Credo Gr.'; lastly, with the heading 'Scs scs scs', the 'Sanctus', also in Greek but breaking off imperfect with the word 'doxis'. The next leaf, which gave the continuation, is now missing. The Greek litany at f. 200[a] shews a 'framework' identical with that of the Latin litanies in *Stowe*, in MS 2 A xx and in Witzel.

The Galba manuscript, however, does not stand alone. The Cotton MS Titus D xviii, after giving the conclusion of a piece begun on f. 12[a], has on the eighth line of f. 12[b] a title: 'Ymnus Grecorum ante canonem', and thereon follows the 'Sanctus' in Greek and complete. Then: 'Incipit letania Grecorum' and the first eleven suffrages of the Galba litany, which occupy the rest of the page; f. 13 is blank. From the orthography it may be gathered that this is not a copy made from the Galba leaf.[1] The following is a print in parallel columns of the full text of the Greek litany (from the two MSS Galba A xviii and Titus D xviii), with the entire 'framework' of the Latin litany (from 2 A xx, *Stowe*, and Witzel) and those invocations of saints which any one of these three Latin texts has in common with the Greek. The words in brackets complete from *Stowe* and Witzel the cues which are found in 2 A xx. The sign † = items printed by Witzel (W.); and * = items not in *Stowe* (S.).

Grecorum Laetanie.[3] Galba A xviii f. 200[a] Titus D xviii f. 12[b 2]		Laetania. MS Reg. 2 A xx f. 26 (in *Bk. of Cerne* pp. 211–212); *Stowe* litany in MacCarthy, pp. 192, 267; Fulda litany in Witzel *Exercit.* sig. P.
Χριστέ, ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν	1	† Christe, audi nos [thrice in S. W.][3]
Ἅγιε Μιχαήλ, εὖξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν	2	* Sce Michahel, ora[4]

of a date not later than the end of the seventh century, or the early eighth—even, possibly, existing at Winchester itself.

[1] Dom N. Birt has kindly copied the Greek pieces for me and supplied requisite details. This Titus MS seems of about the twelfth century. As regards orthography, Galba reads, for instance: 'Aie Gabriel euxe yperimon', 'Pantas yaies euxaste yperimon', 'fise ymas cyrie'; Titus reads: 'Agie Gabriel euche yper imon', 'Panta agies euchaste yper ymon', 'phise ymas Kyrrie'.

[2] The invocations found in Titus D xviii end with Ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ. In this MS the invocation Ἁγία Μαρία comes *before* that of Michael—a mere correction of the genuine text in accordance with the religious sense of the time. It is already found in the text of the St Amand Ordo, as to which see Supplementary Note A, p. 151.

[3] Followed in *Stowe* by 'Kyrie eleison'; this 'K. e.' is not in Witzel or in any of the other texts, and is doubtless an addition by the writer of the *Stowe* litany.

[4] Suffrages 2, 3, 4, 5 are not in *Stowe* or Witzel.

Ἅγιε Γαβριήλ, εὖξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν	3	* Sc̄e Gabrihel, ora
Ἅγιε Ῥαφαήλ, εὖξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν	4	* Sc̄e Raphael, ora
	5	* Sc̄e Iohannes, ora[1]
Ἁγία Μαρία, εὖξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν	6	† Sc̄a Maria, ora [pro nobis W.]
Ἅγιε Πέτρε, εὖξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν	7	† Sc̄e Petre, ora [pro nobis W.]
Ἅγιε Παῦλε, εὖξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν	8	† Sc̄e Paule, ora [pro nobis W.][2]
Πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι, εὔξασθε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν	9	† Omnes sancti orat[e pro nobis S. W.]
Ἵλεως γενοῦ καὶ φεῖσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε	10	† Propitius esto par[ce nobis Domine S. W.]
Ἵλεως γενοῦ καὶ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε	11	† Propitius esto liber[a nos Domine S. W.]
Ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε	12	† Ab omni malo liber[a nos Domine S. W.]
Διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ σου λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε	13	† Per crucem tuam liber[a nos Domine S. W.]
Ἁμαρτωλοί σε παρακαλοῦμεν, ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν	14	† Peccatores te rog[amus audi nos S. W.]
Ἵνα εἰρήνην δώσῃς, σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν, ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν	15	† Ut pacem dones te rog[amus audi nos S. W.]
Υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ, σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν, ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν	16	†* Filius Dei te rog[amus audi nos W.][3]
Ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν[4] τοῦ κόσμου, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς	17	† Agnus[5] Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis.[6]

I do not know whether any one is prepared to maintain that the Latin of this litany is the original and the Greek a translation made in Ireland, England, or on the Continent. If arguments should be adduced in favour of this view, they will receive my best attention; but for myself, I must say here that, after considering the case in its various aspects, I am unable to find any reasonable grounds on which to base such a supposition; whilst the contrary supposition, that the Greek is the original, and that the Latin is a translation, appears to me to be recommended by considerations both intrinsic and extrinsic. On the assumption that the Greek is the original, a reply to the question 'Whence came this document to England?' can be made with fair certainty: 'From Rome'.

In the first place, is there any ground for supposing that the four

[1] This invocation is in 2 A xx only: doubtless derived from the *Stowe* diptychs, see above, p. 140.

[2] Here follow in *Stowe*, Witzel, and 2 A xx further and differing invocations of saints, for which see p. 147 below.

[3] This suffrage no. 16, according to MacCarthy (p. 267), does not occur in the litany of *Stowe* as written by the original hand; it is in Moelcaich's rescript (p. 194) which, however, inserts it *before* 'Ut pacem', &c. As it is found in the Greek, 2 A xx, and Witzel, its absence from *Stowe* would be doubtless a mere omission. In Witzel and Moelcaich 'Fili'.

[4] 'tin amartias' Galba A xviii.

[5] 'Agne', *Stowe* (p. 267) and Witzel.

[6] 2 A xx adds 'Christe audi nos'; Moelcaich, the same three times; it is not noticed by Witzel.

Greek pieces found together in the Galba (or the two in the Titus) manuscript came to England from different quarters, and separately one from the other? It is to be remembered that of these four Greek pieces in the Galba manuscript one is the Old Roman Creed. Another is the *Sanctus*, in which (in both the Galba and the Titus manuscripts) we find the form Κύριος ὁ θεὸς Σαβαώθ. This is, of course, the reading of the Old Latin and Vulgate at Is. vi 3 ('Dominus *Deus* sabaoth'). It is also the form found in the Roman and Mozarabic liturgies.[1] All the Greek liturgies on the other hand (Serapion, the Clementine, James, Basil, Chrysostom, Mark, Alexandrine Basil, Alexandrine Gregory) have 'Lord of Sabaoth', as in the Hebrew and LXX. The Greek text of the *Sanctus* in the Galba and Titus manuscripts seems, then, to offer in the words ὁ θεός an additional indication that it came from Rome—over and above the fact that it is found in the Galba MS together with a Greek text of the Old Roman Creed, and the consequent probability is that it came to England along with that Creed.

Next, taking the text of the Greek litany in these MSS, we seem again to find internal indications supporting the *prima facie* probability that it also came from Rome in company with the Greek text of the Old Roman Creed.[2] To say nothing of the names Peter and Paul (the only two saints mentioned besides the Blessed Virgin), two suffrages deserve particular attention: Διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ σου and Ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. These are cults both of which are associated in Rome with the name of Pope Sergius (687–701). Sergius was a Syrian of the region of Antioch (and therefore Greek-speaking), though born at Palermo; he came to Rome at a mature age and, as a skilled musician, was placed under the chief cantor; five years later he was ordained priest, and seven years after that made pope. The account of him in the *Liber Pontificalis* shews that he had

[1] Also in Africa in the latter part of the fifth century. Victor Vitensis writes: 'sicut in mysteriis ore nostro dicimus . . . sanctus sanctus sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth' (*de persec. Vandal.* iii 23; in Petschenig's edition ii 100).

[2] It has been not infrequently stated that the church Office was said in Greek as well as in Latin in England towards the close of the seventh century. I do not know how the statement can be evidenced. Certainly there is nothing to warrant it in the elaborate exposition or argument printed in 1875 by Caspari (*Ungedruckte . . . Quellen* iii 188–199), who really seems to rely at bottom on the Greek pieces in Galba A xviii as evidence for the fact; and subsequent writers seem, for their part, to have relied on Caspari. The statement is also repeatedly made (e.g. among the last by Kattenbusch *Das apost. Symbol* ii 858, in 1900) that the Greek creed of Galba (which is our 'Apostles' Creed') was said 'in the hours, especially at Prime'. But it is to be observed that the Apostles' Creed was not said in the Office in the seventh and eighth centuries; and that the Greek pieces in Galba have nothing to do with the hours, or any other part of the Office. It would appear therefore that the statement as to the recital of the Office in Greek in England is not warranted by evidence, and is based on nothing else than a misunderstanding.

a natural bent towards all that concerns the church services, ritual, and song. As is well known he ordered that at the time of the confraction in the mass (i. e. just before the communion) 'Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis' should be sung by the clergy and people. Some persons have thought that the 'Agnus' was already before this date in use in the Roman mass, and that Sergius only made some change in the mode or place of singing it; others, that he first introduced it. These contradictories can each be plausibly maintained, and neither can be shewn to be wrong. All that is of importance here, however, is certain, viz. that the first record of the use of the 'Agnus Dei' in Rome occurs in the time of Sergius; and that if it had been indeed in use before, he gave to it an additional importance, inasmuch as by his new arrangement he introduced into the Roman mass a (possible) element of what is called 'eucharistic adoration' in a way that should be popular and universal, public and unmistakeable. The originality of the action of Sergius in regard to the cult of the Cross in Rome is yet less open to doubt. Sergius, we are told,[1] found a case hitherto 'in angulo obscurissimo iacentem' in the sacristy of St Peter's, which, though of silver, was dirty and black from neglect and age. After prayer he broke the seal, and opening it found within a precious gemmed cross containing a relic of the True Cross. 'Which from that day forward (says his contemporary biographer) is kissed and adored by all the Christian people in the Lateran basilica on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.'[2] This is the earliest notice of the public liturgical cult of the True Cross and the feast of the Exaltation in Rome, and there can, I think, be no doubt that Sergius was the real originator of such cult in Rome.

It may be asked, why, or how, such a Greek piece as this Galba litany comes, or can come, from Rome, the centre of Latin Christianity. Assuming a due appreciation of the state of things in

[1] *Liber pontif.* ed. Duchesne i 374.

[2] [Since this was written the treasure of the 'Sancta Sanctorum' at the Lateran has been opened and the objects it contains have been studied by Fr Grisar S.J. and M. Th. Lauer. Among these objects is a gold and enamelled cross, which former writers identified with the cross found by Sergius; and M. Lauer seems ready to countenance this identification. See the discussion of Fr Grisar in his *Il Sancta Sanctorum ed il suo tesoro sacro*, Rome, Press of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1907, pp. 73–109 for the cross and the box in which it is contained, pp. 170–172 for the stuff of the cushion on which it rests (German edition *Die römische Kapelle Sancta Sanctorum und ihr Schatz*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1908, pp. 56–82 and 127–128; pl. ii is a *coloured* representation of the cross); Lauer's account in *Trésor du Sancta Sanctorum* vol. xv of the *Mémoires et Monuments, Fondation Eugène Piot*, Paris, Leroux, 1906, pp. 40–49 the cross, 60–66 the box, 108–109 for the stuff of the cushion. It may be remarked as a matter of detail that whilst Sergius's biographer speaks of a jewelled cross, and says nothing of enamels, the cross lately found in the Sancta Sanctorum is an enamelled one and shews no jewels.]

Rome at this period, the proper answer to this question is, it seems to me, a counter question, namely: And why not? Why not, at any time during the period of some seventy years and more in which the Roman see was occupied by a succession of Popes Greek by race, Greek by language? If we wish to be more precise, Popes recruited from the ranks of those Greek-speaking 'Syrians' who from the first decades of the seventh century had taken refuge in crowds before the victorious advance of Islam, and had made in Sicily and Lower Italy a new home, a new Syrian land, for themselves: people who came largely from the region of Antioch and neighbouring Cilicia. Five such Syrians occupied the papal chair between the years 686 and 730; and at this period there must have been abundant occasion for the composition or use at Rome of pious formulae in the Greek tongue.

We have at any rate these elements: on the one hand a litany in Greek coming (as all the indications shew) from Rome, with evidence in its invocations of the cults of the Cross and of our Lord as the Lamb of God; on the other a Pope, Greek by race, whose speciality was church services and devotions, under whom the first mention is found of these cults in Rome. If we go a step further, sufficient traces are found of the relations of this Pope with England; for instance: he consecrated St Willibrord (Nov. 21, 695); he was concerned in the accession of Berctwald to the see of Canterbury in some way special enough to call for record in the jejune contemporary biography; he was in correspondence with Jarrow and Wearmouth. Any one of these occasions might have served to bring to England a litany, the text of which suggests Sergius; there were doubtless many other such occasions of which we know nothing, and speculation as to the real one is useless. There is then, on the basis of ascertainable facts, no ground in reason for surprise either at the origination of a litany in Greek in Rome—even if its form, a litany of saints, be new—or at its contemporary importation into England. To turn our attention now to England, to our insular selves:—it is again mere matter of fact that it is in England that we find the earliest attestations of the existence and use of a litany of saints at all. These attestations are two: (*a*) in the *Vita S. Gregorii antiquissima*, by a monk of Whitby, which its first editor (so it is now, I believe, agreed on all hands) rightly assigned to about the year 717. The author's words are: 'Iste enim sanctus (i.e. St Gregory the Great) utique per omnem terram tam sanctus habetur ut semper ab omnibus ubique sanctus Gregorius nominatur (*sic*). Unde letaniis quibus Dominum pro nostris imploramus excessibus atque innumeris peccatis quibus eum offendimus sanctum Gregorium nobis in ammi-

niculum vocamus, cum sanctis scilicet apostolis et martyribus' (ed. Gasquet, Westminster, 1904, p. 45); (*b*) in canon 17 of the Council of Cloveshoe of 747, by which a similar honour of cult is granted for the future to Gregory's disciple St Augustine the first Archbishop of Canterbury. The synod orders that both feasts 'ab omnibus, sicut decet, honorifice venerantur (*sic*); ita ut uterque dies ab ecclesiasticis et monasterialibus feriatus habeatur'; and then for St Augustine in particular it prescribes as follows: 'nomenque eiusdem beati patris et doctoris nostri Augustini in laetaniae decantatione post sancti Gregorii vocationem semper dicatur'. It will not be questioned, I suppose, that the 'litany' mentioned is in both cases a litany of invocation of saints after the modern form and manner. These testimonies stand alone; and no such attestation is to be found on the Continent (so far as I know) till some years later.

But we are not left to an inference. The litany of the *Stowe Missal*, the litany found by Witzel in a Fulda MS, the litany of 2 A xx, are actual extant specimens of such a Litany of Saints as is described in the two English documents just cited. In regard to one at least, 2 A xx, I take it (be it said in passing) that certain palaeographical indications in the MS point to its having been written in the first half of the eighth century rather than in the second, and in the earlier part rather than at the close of that half-century.

I review certain features of each of these litanies.—(1) The writer of the saints' litany in the *Stowe* 'Praeparatio' restricts himself to the Blessed Virgin and some of the Apostles, with Matthias, Mark, Luke. (2) The invocations of the litany of 2 A xx begin with three archangels (as in the Greek); then come invocations of John the Baptist, the Blessed Virgin, Apostles and Evangelists in the order of the *Stowe* diptychs, but with the insertion of Barnabas before Mark, followed (after Stephen) by the first order of martyrs (in the 'Communicantes') of the Roman Canon; then come seventeen invocations of martyrs, hermits, doctors, and confessors (ending with Benedict), lastly virgins. All of these (except Gregory and Benedict) are names of ancient saints well known in the earliest Western mass books and martyrologies or calendars; but there are no Irish names. (3) In Moelcaich's revision of the original litany of *Stowe*, after Stephen, Martin, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, Hilary, Patrick, come twenty invocations of Irish men, and five Irish women saints. (4) The litany in Witzel's Fulda manuscript after Luke has Barnabas, Stephen; then twenty invocations of well-known martyrs, doctors, confessors (ending with Benedict); then Patrick, Secundinus, and twenty-three more names, *nostris temporibus ignotissima* (says Witzel), of men and women, doubtless all Irish. This description suffices

to shew the close relationship of the four documents, and the influences determining the differing selection of names in each case.

On the supposition that the Greek litany came to England, say about 690, there could be nothing to appear surprising in a widespread adoption and rapid propagation of this new form of devotion if we consider the prevailing tone and temper of the English or Irish religious mind at this period. The ejaculatory, litanic, asyndetic, type of prayer is peculiarly suited to the Irish genius. We have only to observe the prayers common among that people from the Lorica of St Patrick downwards. The publication of the *Book of Cerne* and of MS 2 A xx affords abundant, and genuine, material for study. But there is more. The Irish masters in the early days of England's conversion were by nature attracted to solitude; they strove, were even able, to combine this inclination of theirs with the active duties of the apostolate; and many of their English disciples imbibed much of their spirit. We must not look to the ordinary life of Jarrow and Wearmouth in this matter; but the Life of St Guthlac by Felix gives a lively presentment of a type of spiritual life that was common in England so long as the influence of the Irish teachers lasted. But if men such as these lived in solitude, they still were not alone; their world was peopled by spirits, angels, good and bad, all either friends or foes, with whom they were in continual communion or conflict. Given too the particular stage of religious developement in Western Europe, we are bound to believe that in the world thus peopled with spirits, the ancient martyrs and the hermits who had suffered and had conquered in the fight were present too. In such a spiritual atmosphere as this nothing is more easy than to understand (the impulse once given) the developement and rapid spread of such a devotion as that which we call the litany of the saints, with its combination of freedom and variety in the choice of deceased persons to be invoked, and the ease, brevity, and uniformity of the actual prayer itself: 'Ora pro nobis.' On the supposition that the Greek litany reached England in (say) the last decade of the seventh century, I think that (given the then religious state and atmosphere of England) it is not unreasonable to expect that even a dozen years may have sufficed for the propagation of the new devotion among those who still gave the tone to the common religious public of the time.

From Ireland and England I pass to the Continent. The earliest non-insular example of a litany of saints known to me is contained in the so-called Sacramentary of Gellone, written in the second half of the eighth century, and the best representative of that Gallic compilation the '*Gelasianum* of the eighth century'. It occurs in the

baptismal office at foll. 173[b]–192[b] of the MS, which has been printed piecemeal by Martene in his *de ant. Eccl. rit.*; namely as Ordo ii of art. 12 of lib. i cap. 1, and Ordos vi and vii of art. 18. In the MS these three Ordos of Martene form one continuous whole. This baptismal office occurs in the section of the MS immediately after episcopal and other benedictions and miscellaneous prayers, being followed at once by the order of dedication of a church (also printed by Martene, *op. cit.*, as Ordo i of lib. ii cap. 13). Though a form for solemn baptism at Easter, with all the lenten preparations, it is in the MS but a secondary or supplementary one; the normal Gelasian baptismal office is given in its proper place in the ecclesiastical year, viz. at ff. 57–62 of the MS. Whether the office at ff. 173–192 be a part of the '*Gelas* saec. viii' as originally compiled or an addition peculiar to this MS does not for our purposes matter; for in either case it must be a composition drawn up in Gallic lands. The litany of saints is prescribed to be said while the bishop is going in procession from the church to the baptistery. It is short, containing but thirteen invocations of saints by name; but it otherwise recalls the 'framework' of the Galba litany and its congeners, consisting as it does of suffrages 1, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17 of that litany (*plus* a final *Audi nos*, as in 2 A xx: cf. Moelcaich)—but with the insertion of three petitions for fine weather between 15 and 16.

We find, then, that by the second half of the eighth century the Galba litany has made its way to the Continent. At this point I stop. To go a step further would be to open up a new period in the history of the litany, adequately to deal with which is beyond my opportunities. I must be content here to say in general terms that in the course of the ninth century and tenth, litanies of saints come into common liturgical use, and are now found in the order for the visitation of the sick also, and among the prayers said for those at the point of death. It is, however, but slowly and gradually that in the manuscripts they obtain admission into the strictly liturgical offices of the body of the Sacramentary itself. In the litanies of the ninth and tenth centuries the order of Apostles is commonly that of the Roman Canon; very frequently the order is not reducible either to it or to any of the lists in the New Testament. The influence of the order of Matthew (= of the *Stowe* diptychs) may still be traced, it would seem, in some cases.[1] The Matthew order is found

[1] See the litany in the 'Pontifical of St Dunstan', Martene lib. ii cap. 13 Ordo iv (and perhaps that in the 'Pontifical of Egbert' p. 27); in a Fleury MS in Martene lib. iii cap. 15 Ordo i; in an important Poitiers Pontifical ibid. lib. iv cap. 24; in an Antiphonar described by abbé Eugène Muller in an article entitled 'Antiphonaire du Mont-Renaud' in the *Bulletin du Comité archéol. de Noyon* (and separately Noyon, D. Andrieux, 1875, p. 21). All these are MSS of the late ninth, or of the tenth,

in the Rogation litanies of the *Manuale Ambrosianum*, a manuscript of the eleventh century; this seems to be the earliest Milanese attestation.[1]

In concluding, in order to avoid misconception, so easy in dealing with things so vague and shadowy, and in a case such as this where positive evidence is not to be had, but only indications whereby we may guide ourselves to a just conclusion, I think it is well to add a few words by way of summing up the enquiry so far as it has yet gone. Subject to the production of evidence or the detecting of indications which I have been unable to discern leading to contrary conclusions, I conceive of the case as follows:

(1) The Galba litany actually came to England from Rome about the last years of the seventh century, and was actually the starting point for the English and Irish developements found in *Stowe*, 2 A xx, &c.

(2) The Irish received this form of litany (that is the 'framework') from the English.

(3) At first it was a private devotion of individuals, and by and by probably of communities. If it in any way came to form part of the 'services' of secular priests or monks, this was as yet but in an informal manner, and it was far from having acquired a 'liturgical' character even (I conceive) at the date of the Council of Cloveshoe.

(4) I think that the English and Irish were the propagators of such litany of the saints in the eighth century in Gaul and Germany.

(5) The subject of the Roman liturgy in Rome and outside Rome in the seventh and eighth centuries is still involved in obscurities; with patience and increasing knowledge a good deal may be done to clear these away. Meantime an attitude of reserve is the only one that is reasonable, in regard to the question whether the litany of saints was also developed by Rome herself, or whether (as, in my opinion, was really the case) it was received into her liturgy as already developed from the Franks.[2]

century. The order of the Roman Canon seems generally followed at this time in the litanies of the region Paris-Reims.

[1] *Manuale Ambrosianum ex cod. saec. xi* ed. M Magistretti (Milan, Hoepli, 1894) ii 247, 258 (and from a manuscript saec. xiii pp. 47, 129, 164). Some persons may perhaps be disposed to see here a trace of Milanese influence in Ireland; I should rather think of the influence of the Irish in Milan. But possibly the resemblance has another cause altogether.

[2] [To come to a conclusion on (5) and on (6), one way or the other, the document must be carefully scrutinized. I take two cases as specimens of the sort of examination I have in mind, first the response *εὖξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*, secondly the suffrage *Ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς*.

(1) It may be said that the form *εὖξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν* is unknown, or alien, to Greek liturgical terminology. The observation is just. But there is another side to the matter. This litany is not a liturgical document; it is a product of, as it is meant

(6) The Galba litany was originally drawn up in Greek, the Latin is a translation.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

Note A

The St-Amand Ordo and its Litany.

[The Roman Ordo called 'of St-Amand' gives in its section vi, devoted to the *Letania maior* (25 April, St Mark's Day), a text of a litany of saints with a 'framework' as in the litanies dealt with in the foregoing Paper. This Ordo was first printed by Mgr Duchesne in his *Origines du Culte chrétien* (1889). Since then it has been, in the

for, private devotion; it is a specimen of popular piety. Unfortunately these forms of popular piety are just what we do not commonly find, and perhaps should not expect to find, in the solemn works of the Fathers. But two books, full of illustrations of popular religion, and just of the age important for us, do actually exist: the *Dialogi* of St Gregory the Great for the Latin West, and the *Pratum Spirituale* of John Moschus for the Greek East. From several of the stories told by this latter, we learn that then, as now, among devout and pious persons, the expression 'Pray for me' was usual, especially as coming from an ordinary commonplace Christian to a holy priest or monk. Thus cap. 8 (Migne *P. G.* 87 iii col. 2857 D) Εὔξασθε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ Πατέρες, Εὔξαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ Πάτερ. So too capp. 117, 137; or, cap. 55, this form: Εὔξαί μοι Πάτερ, cf. cap. 149. As in those days the distinction between living 'holy men' and dead 'saints' had not been brought into clarity and definiteness by theological speculation and processes or formalities of canonization, Εὔξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν is precisely the form that we ought to be prepared to find, or perhaps ought to expect, in a litanic composition such as that in the Galba MS.

(2) Let us now for a moment take as our supposition that the Latin is the original and the Greek a translation: how comes it that the Greek corresponding to 'Ab omni malo libera nos' takes the form Ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς and not a form (in view of the termination of the Lord's prayer ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ) reminiscent of the Lord's prayer? Taking the other point of view that the Greek is the original I would suggest whether Titus ii 14 ἵνα λυτρώσηται ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀνομίας might not rather have been in the writer's mind (the Vulgate is 'ut nos redimeret ab omni iniquitate'). But there is more. The stress here is upon παντός, 'omni'. The form to which the Roman ear was, and had long been, accustomed in every mass is 'ab omn*ibus* mal*is*', and this was peculiar to the Roman Liturgy (see Liturgical Note in *Book of Cerne*, No. 57 p. 264, in which a survey is taken of Western liturgies); a form which, if the litany was originally composed in Latin, one would naturally expect to have been adopted in our document which other reasons induce us to locate as of Roman origin.

Having expressed my opinion in the text at (6) I am not to be understood here as arguing the case, but as pointing out that, if our document is to be understood and justly located, several questions may have to be considered that are not obviously evident on the face of it. I know there is another method of settling critical or obscure cases of this kind; this method only requires confidence or boldness of tone, a sufficiency of ignorance and a facile pen; but then these are qualities, I think it will be allowed, not conducive to a 'right judgement' in the critical investigation of a document, however effective, or convenient, they may be found in imposing on 'the Philistines'.]

various editions, French and English, six times reprinted; and though the last of these Ordos to appear, it may now be said to enjoy the distinction of being the most vulgarized. Not merely so, but in quite authoritative books of eminent scholars (as for instance the late bishop of Salisbury's *Ministry of Grace* p. 76), the 'Ordo of St-Amand' is regularly cited as of primary value and as a first-rate witness for genuine Roman practice.

If this be so, then, seeing that our Greek-Latin litany in its Latin form would thus be witnessed to as in actual use in Rome towards the end of the eighth century—'at a date anterior to about the year 800', says Duchesne in the introductory notice to his print in *Origines*—and seeing that elsewhere it is stated by him (chapter on 'Les livres de liturgie latine' § I[6]) that this Ordo gives a 'rituel strictement romain, romain de Rome', it may be said that we thus have evidence that the Latin form of the litany is the original, and the Greek is a version. We further read in Duchesne: 'C'est donc tout-à-fait à la fin du septième siècle, ou plutôt au siècle suivant, que je placerais la rédaction de l'ordre tel que nous l'avons.'

This matter of detail, though not in the way in which I have just put it, has been brought directly before me in a private communication, and in reprinting 'The Litany of Saints in the Stowe Missal' I feel under an obligation to deal with the case. I am the rather moved to do so inasmuch as, even to understand the conditions in which alone a sound judgement can be formed as to the question of the Litany, it will be necessary to deal with the whole case of the quality and value of the Ordo of St-Amand as an authentic witness to Roman practice; a task to which I think no liturgist up to now has addressed himself.

Experience has taught me that if I really wish personally to know and understand just the most important and early documents of our Western Liturgy, there is nothing for it but to undertake for oneself, and one's own particular behoof, the task of 'editing' them (at least *taliter qualiter*) from the MSS. I have had to do this, for instance, with the famous *Gregorianum*, of which the experts have been talking time out of mind; and with the '*Gelasianum* of the eighth century', which is not mentioned by so much as a word in our text-books; indeed it was only by working through the MSS that I came to learn that such a book existed.[1]

[1] I have no hesitation to-day in calling the '*Gelas* saec. viii' compilation 'The Roman Sacramentary of King Pippin' father of Charles the Great. Dom Wilmart hardly exaggerates when he writes as follows in regard to this book: 'Aussi bien, c'est tout ce vieux missel romain formé en France au VIII[e] siècle par la fusion des deux missels gélasien et grégorien qui est le véritable ancêtre, le prototype de notre livre de messe. Quand on aura bien fixé ce point, l'histoire du missel romain sera

I. The following, then, is the way in which I have proceeded with the 'Ordo of St-Amand'. I have taken section i, as the best means of testing its author's quality. This is also the most important section of all, as it deals with the Mass. Breaking up the Order and Canon of the Mass into a dozen or so of convenient parts (e.g. order of procession of entry, action to end of introit, &c., &c.), I have confronted each part of the text of St-Amand with the corresponding part of all the Ordos known to me. The work on these Ordos, I may say in passing, was done just thirty-six years ago, in order that I might be able to know more or less what I was talking about when I spoke of the old Roman Mass, or its spread in the land of the Franks in the eighth and ninth centuries. It was thus an easy matter to enter at each part of my compilation the account given by the Ordo of St-Amand, so as to be able to take in the texts of all the Ordos *uno obtutu*, and I was now in a position to come to some opinion on the question whether our document be a genuine Roman production, and drawn up by a practised ceremoniar for practical use, or something else. The Ordos fall into three groups:

1. Mabillon's First Ordo[1] (based ultimately, I understand, on Cod. Vat. Pal. 487, Tommasi's 'vetustissimus codex', with the collation of a Colbertine MS); Bianchini's,[2] from a MS given to the church of Verona by the archdeacon Pacificus, who died 856; Gerbert's print[3] from a Zurich MS. 'saec. ix'. To this class is to be added MS Addit. 15222 ff. 28–42, 'of the ninth or tenth century', which being accessible I collated. This book is a Besançon MS; in it the bishops of the province in the eleventh and twelfth centuries subscribed with their own hands their profession of canonical obedience to the metropolitan. The Verona and Zurich MSS seem to me derived from the same original, having in common many little abridgements or omissions, which occur partially also in the Besançon MS. To these four must be added again the mutilated but valuable letter of the deacon Theotrochus of Lorsch, giving an account of the part taken by the deacons in the Mass as observed at Fulda. It was first printed from a tenth-

enfin écrite, et un enfant en pourra suivre le développement, tant il est simple malgré l'apparence' (*Revue Bénédictine*, xxx, 1913, p. 28 note 2). I would, however, add (*a*) that for the elucidation of the history of the Roman Missal, the Gregorian Sacramentary of Charles the Great must be added, on an equal footing, to the '*Gelasianum* of the eighth century'; (*b*) that, in the last sentence, to the Missal above mentioned by Dom Wilmart the Roman Pontifical and Ritual must be added. I am glad to say that an edition of '*Gelas* saec. viii', definitive and satisfying the utmost exigencies of the liturgical scholar, based on all extant manuscripts, is not merely in hand but almost completed.

[1] *Museum Italicum* ii p. 3 sqq.

[2] *Anastasii Bibliothecarii de Vitis Rom. Pont.* iii p. xxxix.

[3] *Monum. vet. Liturgiae alemannicae* ii p. 144 sqq.

century MS in *Neues Archiv* iv pp. 409 sqq., and has been conveniently reprinted by Dr A. Schönfelder in *Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Gesch. d. Abtei u. d. Diözese Fulda* No. 5 (Fulda, Actiendruckerei, 1910) pp. 102–104.

2. Gerbert's particularly interesting Ordo entitled 'Capitulare ecclesiastici ordinis', from a St-Blasien MS 'saec. ix circ.'[1] This recension is evidently, so far as the pontifical Mass is concerned, the basis of two other documents which at first sight have quite another look, and are an adaptation of the Roman Mass to monastic use: one has been edited from a Lorsch MS, Cod. Vat. Pal. 574, by Muratori,[2] and again from a St-Blasien MS 'saec. ix' by Gerbert;[3] the other was edited by Martene from a Murbach MS, which he says is of about A. D. 800, but which must be of a later date.[4] This group shews marked corruptions of the Roman Rite; and its chief representative, the Capitulare of the St-Blasien MS, whilst noisy and even violent in its advocacy of strict Romanism, is unblushing in its endeavour to revive discarded Gallican rites. This adaptation of the Ordo Romanus seems to have been prevalent in south-west Germany; and it enables us very well to understand how in the tenth century the Lorsch deacon Theotrochus found the observances in his own home so greatly wanting in Roman purity.

3. Mabillon's Ordo II[5] stands by itself; it is in fact a 'copy' of the Ordo I in this sense, that it is the Roman text, but a text greatly disfigured and corrupted by Gallican changes and interpolations. Some useful items can also be extracted from the so-called *Eglogae* of Amalar printed by Mabillon at the end of the *Museum Italicum*.

II. With this apparatus we can confront the Ordo of St-Amand, beginning at the actual entry of the pontiff into the church for the Mass ('et egreditur pontifex de sacrario') down to the end of the section ('complet omnia sicut supra scriptum est'): just eight and a half pages of print. When the examination has been made according to the usual methods, the following phenomena present themselves.

(*a*) Some thirty-seven items (according to my count)—little pieces from half a line to two or three lines, in a very few places more—occur nowhere else to my knowledge, and are for us first-hand authority, or new material. But when they are brought together it appears that they relate wholly to what may be called the underlings of the function, subdeacons and acolytes: above all the writer follows with particular attention the evolutions of the *Schola cantorum*—supernumeraries

[1] *Mon. vet. Lit. alemann.* ii p. 168 sqq.
[2] *Liturgia Roman. vet.* ii col. 391 sqq.
[3] *Mon. vet. Lit. alemann.* p. 177 sqq.
[4] *Thes. anecd.* iv col. 103 sqq.
[5] *Mus. Ital.* ii p. 42 sqq.

who, whatever the sweetness of their song, had by this time at all events reduced the people to silence;—our author marches them out to lift up their voice in the assembly, and brings them back again to decent obscurity 'subtus ambone'. All this then is new; and from the fact that this is so, it must be called, I suppose, an accession to 'knowledge'. In all this part of his work I have no doubt that the writer has used an authentic document or particular ceremonial of this class of persons, a sort of *guide des enfants de chœur* of the day. The general character of his book, as the examination reveals it to us, is a compilation rather than a record of things observed.

(*b*) The scattered bits mentioned under (*a*) are woven into the very texture of the Ordo; but now that we have sorted them out and can address ourselves to the residue—that is, the stuff that really matters—as a rubrical direction for the ceremonies or action of the Mass, it appears that (*exceptis excipiendis*, of which later) the Ordo of St-Amand is Mabillon's Ordo I, with a difference—a difference steadily maintained from the beginning to the end: it is elaborately rewritten in such terms and in such a way as (until modern methods are applied) to make the recognition of the original as hard for the reader as possible. And we can realize the meaning to be attached to the elaborate title which the man has given to his composition. He writes 'non grammatico sermone', he says,—and that is obvious indeed. But we can tell wherein lies the 'summum studium' and 'diligentia maxima' on which he prides himself: it is in his style. He is a stylist, *secundum quid*; a sacristy official into whose hands good material has fallen, and plenty of it, which he is above honestly copying, but works up in such a way as to make his book a trap (it is no less) for the modern savant. The only way to make this evident to an enquirer would be to 'edit' him with relative texts in parallel columns and a perpetual commentary. To do this properly would take up a substantial part of the present volume. In the circumstances perhaps my word that the Ordo of St-Amand is really Ordo I, rewritten in a 'literary manner' and disfigured with ritual blunders, will at all events be provisionally accepted.

(*c*) To come to the *excepta excipienda* mentioned above: these are pieces, or rather items, in which our author differs in some definite matter, some matter of fact, from his primary authority, Mabillon's Ordo I. That these differences are no more than ritual blunders and errors on the part of the composer of the Ordo of St-Amand, two specimens may suffice to shew. The first concerns the Pontiff's ritual washing of hands at the time of the offertory; the second concerns the number of hosts forming the Pontiff's (celebrant's) special offering at the general (people's) offertory—the 'oblatae quas offert pro se'.

The first is a more simple case, the second a more complex and difficult one.

The first case: the washing of the Pontiff's (celebrant's) hands at the time of the offertory. All Ordos known to me, with the single exception of the Ordo of St-Amand, agree in prescribing that the Pope (celebrant) wash his hands *after* collecting the offerings of the people, and his return to his chair. This is our present practice, practically at the same place in the service, though the 'reason' for this ablution has disappeared. Such ablution is a prescription the 'natural' reason for which, under the old system of collection of the bread and wine from the people, is obvious. The Ordo of St-Amand, however, prescribes this *ablutio manuum* immediately *before* the Pope goes down from his chair to make the collection. After having examined the work of the author to see what sort of man he is, and the nature of his methods, I think I may say that he is certainly not a man to have *invented* this ablution before the offertory: he found it in his materials, in his sources, somewhere. Now our group 2 above (and it is a characteristic feature of this group) prescribes an *ablutio manuum* for the celebrant *before* he goes down to receive the people's offerings *and also after* he returns to the altar from collecting them. I suggest (indeed I do not think it open to doubt) that our author took his prescription of handwashing before the offertory directly or indirectly from the original document on which the three Ordos of group 2 above are ultimately based. In any case his unique prescription of the *ablutio manuum* before *instead of* after the collection of offerings is in accord with the very special want of judgement and good sense that characterizes the writer of the Ordo of St-Amand among his fellows (not particularly sensible persons at best) the ritualists of the ninth century.

The second case: the number of the Pontiff's *oblatae*, or hosts. When coming to the ritual confraction just before holy communion, the first Roman Ordo says: 'Tunc pontifex rumpit oblatam ex latere dextro; et particulam, quam rumpit, super altare relinquit: *reliquas vero oblationes suas* ponit in patenam, quam tenet diaconus, et redit ad sedem' (Mabillon, p. 13). For which our author has this: The 'archdeacon' 'tenet eam (i.e. the paten) ad dexteram pontificis et frangit (*sc.* pontifex) unam ex oblatis quas offert pro se, et dimittit coronam[1] ipsius super altare et ponit *unam integram et aliam mediam* in patenam, . . . et pontifex vadit ad sedem suam'. Our business here is solely with the careful precision of 'one and a half' in the St-Amand Ordo as compared with the vague 'reliquas oblationes' of Ordo I. It is

[1] 'Coronam ipsius' is the writer's way of saying what Ordo I expresses by the plain words 'particulam quam rumpit'. See Ducange under 'Corona oblationis'.

necessary in reading our author and estimating his work to remember that not merely has he at his disposal an ample body of materials, but (to give him his due) he really possesses them well in mind. To be a match for him—in a word, to find him out—it is necessary for the modern critic himself to be well acquainted with this class of document.

Neither Mabillon's Ordo I nor the Ordo of St-Amand mentions how many hosts the Pope received from the archdeacon wherewith to make his personal 'offering' *at the time of the offertory*. But on certain high days in Rome at the mass of the Pontiff there was what is called concelebration; that is to say, the assistant cardinal priests said the Canon along with the Pope, consecrating at the same time with him certain hosts which they had before them in their hands on a corporal. All this is described in a fragment which though it has survived only in a separate form, is really an integral part of the first Ordo. It is printed by Mabillon, p. 29.[1] The direction in this fragment is: '. . . unusquisque tenens corporalem in manu sua: et venit archidiaconus et porrigit unicuique eorum oblatas *tres*.' Our author, in his usual way of rewriting, and in his usual latinity, has: 'et tenet unusquisque corporale in manu sua, et dantur eis ab archidiacono oblatas *duas* ad unumquemque.'

Here then we have a substantial variant, and in the variant a key also to the writer's 'one and a half'. On the assumption that the Pope received from the archdeacon, wherewith to make his personal 'offering', the same number of hosts as his concelebrants, each Ordo in writing as above '*reliquas vero oblationes suas*' (Ordo I), and '*unam integram et aliam mediam*', is consistent with itself; but the two clash as to the number of *oblatae*. How comes the Ordo of St-Amand by its 'two' instead of 'three'? Now the second Ordo of Mabillon, put above into a class by itself and said to be greatly Gallicanized, in describing the Pope's personal offering at the offertory, has: 'Deinde archidiaconus suscipit oblatas *duas* de oblationario et dat Pontifici; quas dum posuerit Pontifex in altare', &c. (p. 47). This is textually a copy of Ordo I (p. 11), but with the addition of the word 'duas': and this is the only Ordo known to me in which a precise number is specified at this place.

I suggest that the real state of the case is this: that according to Roman use the number of the Pontiff's *oblatae* at the offertory, 'quas offert pro se', was three, and when a piece of one had been broken off

[1] The fragment says this concelebration at Rome took place on four feasts, Easter, Pentecost, St Peter, Christmas Day; it is characteristic of the author of the St-Amand Ordo to extend the observance to Epiphany, Holy Saturday, Easter Monday, and Ascension Day—eight days in all.

the vague direction of the first Ordo at the confraction—'reliquas oblatas'—is quite correct; the 'one and a half' of the St-Amand Ordo is due to the fact that, like the Gallicanized Ordo II, he takes the Pope's own *oblatae* to be only two in number instead of three as in the authentic Roman practice.

III. Sections ii–iv relate to the services of Holy-Week and Easter Week. I do not intend to make any general remarks on these sections, but shall confine myself to a single item of detail, namely, the putting out of the lights at Tenebrae, that is at the matins (three 'nocturns') and lauds ('in matutinis') of the three last days of Holy-Week. This single item will however shew in a perfectly evident manner the quality of our informant and guide.

The following is the description of this ceremony given in the account of the Holy-Week services which is printed as an Appendix by Mabillon, p. 31:[1]

> Lumen autem ecclesiae ab initio cantus nocturnae inchoatur exstingui, hoc tamen ordine, ut ab introitu ipsius ecclesiae incipiat paulatim tutari [*id est* exstingui: Mabillon]: ut verbi gratia, peracto primo nocturno, videatur eorum pars tertia esse exstincta; medio nocturno iterum tertia: tertio vero expleto, exceptis septem lampadibus, nihil lumen relinquunt. Quae in matutinis exstinguuntur hoc ordine. Initio primi psalmi sit custos semper paratus in loco dextrae partis ecclesiae prope lampadibus: ut ubi audierit antiphonam, tenens cannam in manu sua, tutet lampadam unam: in fine vero psalmi ipsius tutet aliam partis sinistrae. In secundo psalmo, cum antiphonas audierit, tutet dextra parte aliam. Sic una ex parte una, alia ex alia tutantur usque ad evangelium [id est usque ad canticum *Benedictus*: Mab.]: in evangelio vero tutatur mediana lampada. Ea die vero Coena Domini, hora nona, faciunt excuti ignem de lapide . . . . ita ut ex eo possit candela accendi . . et de ipso igne continuo in eadem ecclesia loco secreto accendatur lampada una, et servetur usque in sabbato sancto ad inluminandum cereum, qui eodem die benedicendus est ordine, quo in Sacramentorum continetur.

This at all events is intelligible. What the author of the St-Amand Ordo has in its place is no better than gibberish: 'sed tantum inchoat ad matutinum antiphona in primo psalmo, tuta lampada de parte dextra, in secundo psalmo de parte sinistra; similiter per omnes psalmos usque vi aut vii, aut in finem evangelii, reservetur absconsa usque in sabbato sancto.' I leave it to the reader, if he will, to make any comment that is necessary on comparison of the texts.

But the extinction of lights at 'Tenebrae' was not observed in Rome

[1] There is another account at p. 22; but, from the mention in the St-Amand Ordo of the hiding of the light ('reservetur absconsa', &c.), I think it clear that a text like that of the Appendix p. 31 was before the author of our Ordo.

at all; it was a rite of Gallican invention. That curious, but I think also typical, ritualist Amalar went on a mission to Rome in 831 or 832. At home he considered himself, and was looked up to by his neighbours as, a first-rate authority on the real Roman usage; but arrived in Rome he had some surprising experiences, and among them this one, which may be given in his own words (*de Ord. Antiphonarii* c. 44): 'The custom obtains in our [Frankish] Church, that on the three nights Coena Domini, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday the lights are extinguished [at matins and lauds]. In regard to the practice of our holy mother, the Roman Church, I enquired of Theodore, archdeacon of the aforesaid Church, namely the Roman. He answered: "I am in the habit of being with the Pope in the Lateran when the office of Coena Domini is celebrated. Nothing is done there that night about extinguishing the lights. On Good Friday there are no lights in the Church of Jerusalem [i. e. Santa Croce]; . . . but on that day new fire is lighted from which some is kept until the night office."'

Modern ritualists have thought to save the situation by making out that, although the ceremony of extinction of lights at Tenebrae was not observed in Rome on Thursday, it was on Friday and Saturday: in other words they represent that Theodore in replying to Amalar had recourse to that sort of economy which is called by the moralists '*restrictio mentalis*', not to say to a *suggestio falsi*. This seems to me mere trifling. It would be well at once to accept the plain truth that the ritual extinction of lights at Tenebrae, with all the symbolism attached to it, was of Gallican invention and was not in use at Rome at all. This is even indicated by the use of the verb 'tutare', which is Gallic, occurring (says Ducange) in the *Regula Magistri* capp. 19 and 20.

IV. We may now come to the litany, for the sake of which the enquiry into the general character and quality of the Ordo of St-Amand has been instituted. This litany is contained in section vi, the Order for 'Letania maior' (St Mark's day, 25 April). The question is not whether invocation of saints in a litanic form was in use in the Roman Church in the early years of the ninth century or the later years of the eighth—of this there is no reason to doubt[1]—but whether the particular formula given in section vi was in use there. As no other ninth-century Order exists for 'Letania maior' with which to compare the St-Amand text, we must rely on internal evidence.

The litany is prescribed to be said by the schola 'infra presbyterium' of the church of the station in which mass is to be said; and the writer

[1] The evidence for this is the so-called 'Laudes' of which we have MS attestation of as early a date as the last years of the eighth century in the Psalter B. N. MS lat. 13159.

makes it clear that the close of this litany is the *Kyrie eleison* of the mass, as in the mass of Holy Saturday in the Ordos of the ninth century and as is the use of to-day. But there is a difficulty in the presentment of our Ordo. On Holy Saturday the mass goes straight forward from *Kyrie eleison* as usual; but in our Ordo for 'Letania maior' the order of the mass runs: *Kyrie eleison*, Introit, Collect, &c.; in other words the usual order—Introit, *Kyrie*—is inverted.[1] I am unable to parallel this inversion in any similar document; and in view of the general character of his work, the question arises, whether this piece of originality be not due to the compiler's aptitude for blundering and spoiling the material that is in his hands.

But there is a further suspicious note in the very text of the litany itself as he gives it. With one exception all ancient texts of this litany agree in this order of suffrages at the end: 13 Per crucem tuam; 14 Peccatores, te rogamus; 15 ut pacem dones; 16 Filius Dei; 17 Agnus Dei. But the text of the St-Amand Ordo gives this order: 13, 14, 16, 15, 17—an order which the very subject-matter of the suffrages shews to be preposterous. But it is the same order as that in the text of the litany given by Moelcaich (see p. 143 note 3 above), the later interpolator to whom the bulk of Gallican matter in the Stowe Missal is due.

I conceive the just inference from the facts as hitherto developed to be as follows: that the author of the St-Amand Ordo and the Irish interpolator of the Stowe Missal both used a late and corrupt text of this litany found in Gaul in their own day, in which the order of the concluding suffrages had been inverted. Moreover, the presence of this litany in the St-Amand Ordo is, in view of its general character, no evidence that the litany was in use in Rome on 'Letania maior' or on any other day. Consequently this Ordo affords no reliable ground for assuming that the Latin form is the original text and that the Greek is a version; which was the question we started out to discuss. But there is another result of our enquiry. It is this, that, so far from being a 'rituel strictement romain, romain de Rome', so far from being of primary value and a first-rate witness for genuine Roman practice, the Ordo of St-Amand is one of the most corrupt, as it is the most deceptive and audacious, of the Gallican perversions that pass under the name of 'Roman Ordos'. It may date from any time in the ninth century after, probably, 830.]

[1] 'Deinde [at end of litany] *Christe audi nos, Kyrie eleison,* tantum ter; et completum est. Et ipsa die . . . non dicit scola *Cyrie eleison* post antiphonam, neque pontifex *Gloria in excelsis Deo.*'

Note B

Influence of East Syrians on Western Piety and Devotion.

[It is mentioned above (p. 139) that in the *Stowe* diptychs the list of names begins with John Baptist, the Blessed Virgin Mary, Peter, &c. This is, so far as I know, the single example in the West (except in documents that stand in close relation to these diptychs, like the litany of 2 A xx) in which the name of the Blessed Virgin does not come first. In a brief note in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for April 1909 ('Liturgical Comments and Memoranda' No. I) I called attention (pp. 447–449) to the existence of this 'historical order' in the Syriac (Jacobite) liturgy of Cyriacus of Nisibis (A. D. 793–817), which had been printed a year or two previously: Cyriacus's Intercession shewing the more complete 'historical' order, 'John Baptist, *Stephen*, Mary'. This latter is also the order in the priest's Intercession of the Syriac Liturgy of St James itself (Brightman, p. 93); i. e. it is the order in the normal and general liturgy of the Syrian Jacobite Church.

In view of the *de facto* identity of the Irish order of Apostles, as shewn in the *Stowe* diptychs, &c., with that in the Intercession in the Greek Liturgy of St James (Brightman, p. 57), the order John Baptist, Mary, in the Irish document, and in 2 A xx under Irish influence, is not to be lightly dismissed as merely accidental: especially in view of general considerations of another kind, namely, the indubitable influence of Syrian (in the sense of Syriac) devotion and piety on Ireland, remote from each other geographically and historically as the Churches of these two regions are.

Interest in this matter was first aroused by Dr Scheffer-Boichorst's paper, mentioned in 'Spanish Symptoms' (see below p. 178 note 3); and I think I am now, after the lapse of nearly thirty years, in a position to make some observations on the subject by way of forecasting the course which the enquiry will take, and the results which will be obtained in regard to Syriac influence on religion in Western Europe during what I have called the critical period, i. e. the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries.

Any one who will take up Gerard Vossius's *Opera omnia* of St Ephrem and look over the prayers and meditations at the end of tom. i and some of the sermons in tom. iii, and then turn over the Mozarabic Missal with attentive eye, and read also St Hildefonsus's *De virginitate*, and finally consider the effusions of the oldest Irish piety —of which there is now good store in print in the *Book of Cerne* and 2 A xx—cannot fail to be struck by a curious similarity, I might say almost identity, of devotional spirit. To this spirit the prayers in even

the Gallican Missals (from which for this purpose I exclude the Bobbio Missal), but most markedly those in the Roman books, stand in clear contrast. As to the Syrian (Syriac) prayers, &c., it does not matter whether they be genuine productions of St Ephrem himself: it is enough that they represent the sort of piety and devotion dominant in East Syria in the fifth and sixth centuries. The authorship and date of particular pieces are a matter as to which we must look for more exact information to Syriac scholars by and by.

More than twenty years after Scheffer-Boichorst, M. Bréhier took up the same theme, and dwelt (*Byz. Zeitschr.* xii, 1903) in part on the influence of the 'Syrians' in the sixth and seventh centuries; among points that interest us here he calls attention (pp. 27–28) to the shock given to southern Gallic Christian piety at Narbonne by the introduction by such 'Syrians' of the crucifix instead of a simple cross; and at pp. 35–36 he briefly but justly characterizes (so far as he goes) the sort of religious influence exercised by the 'Syrians' in the West. But here we must make a distinction: there are Syrians and Syrians. The kind of Syrians he represents (pp. 4 sqq.) as exercising influence in Italy and in Rome in the seventh century are really a Greek set, religiously, liturgically, and in the spirit of their piety. The Syrians we are concerned with here, and those recalled to us in the Spanish and Irish documents, are the Syriac-speaking or Semitic Syrians, whether they be from the neighbourhood of Antioch, Edessa, or Nisibis—a Christian people with origins, traditions, religious and devotional tendencies of their own, and very different from those of the Greek-speaking populations with which in some regions (Syria, Antioch, Jerusalem) they happened to be mixed.

It is specifically the kind of piety that prevailed among these Semitic Syrians that is recalled so unmistakably to us in the documents of the Hispano-Visigothic and Irish Churches and peoples. It was something in the very nature of the Spanish and Irish character that was sympathetically moved by the new religious and devotional developement, forms, or practices, brought with them by these Semitic Syrians from East to West: a something which was as the good ground in which the seed takes root and fructifies as if in the native soil which first produced it. Rome was in this matter as the rock; and if the Western, Greek-speaking, Syrians for a time had everything in their hands there, they and their ways made no real impression on either Roman liturgy or piety; whilst the Franco-Gallic regions, if directly influenced from the East, were influenced rather by Greek than by Syriac Christianity.

The question may be asked: Where precisely did this Syrian religious influence, with its thoughts, forms of expression, even formulae

begin to make itself felt on Western piety? where did it make its first home? I answer unhesitatingly: In Spain; and it was the Spanish Church that inoculated the Irish. It is Spanish forms of private prayer or devout meditation that stand directly behind certain Irish forms, so far as my enquiries or investigations enable me to speak. In the *Book of Cerne* (pp. 278–280) I have given a specimen of the sort of documentary enquiry that will have to be initiated in regard to this matter. Long ago G. H. Forbes pointed out how Spanish forms lay behind the most interesting and characteristic features of the Bobbio Missal; though, like so much of the work of this admirable solitary, his words seem now as if forgotten, and their moral remains disregarded. Of course it is quite probable that such a feature as the order of Apostles, or the order 'John, Mary', in the *Stowe* diptychs was derived by some Irishman—and the Irish were in those days a people enamoured of the strange, the odd, the rare—directly from some Syrian, and taken directly to Ireland. Traces of this Syriac piety in forms of prayer, in prayer-books or devotional literature on the Continent north of the Alps and Pyrenees in the ninth and tenth centuries are to be ascribed to the influence of Irish or English missionaries or wandering scholars in the eighth or ninth.]

Note C

(See p. 143 n. 3)

Lists of Apostles.

[To the original print of this paper a Supplementary Note was appended (see *J. T. S.* vii pp. 135–136), giving details as to the various orders of Apostles' names in insular and continental documents up to the earlier part of the ninth century. Since then much further material has accumulated on my hands; and though the subject doubtless has a practical value of its own, to deal adequately with it would demand an altogether undue amount of space in this volume, to say nothing of its extreme aridity. I have determined then to omit the original Note. But whilst doing so I should like to utter a word of warning in regard to Dr Schermann's treatment of the matter at pp. 216–230 of his *Propheten- und Apostellegenden nebst Jüngerkatalogen*, &c. (*Texte und Untersuchungen* 3. Reihe, vol. i, Heft 3, 1907).

In my Supplementary Note, I had carefully distinguished the order in the 'Irish' group of documents, referring this to the list in St Matthew x 2–4; that of the Spanish diptychs and the diptychs of Arles which adopt the order of Acts i 13; and that in the Roman Canon not derived from Scripture. Dr Schermann in his summing-up

(p. 229) throws the Latin lists into seven types. The second of these he calls the 'liturgical' type. The order so designated is simply that of the Roman Canon, which spread, he says, with that 'Gelasian Canon' to Gaul, Ireland and England, and also Milan. Of his third type he says: 'in the regions of Gaul with Spain and the British Islands the Lukan lists seem to have been in use.'

I note:

(1) First of all that his third type (as witness the Stowe and the Mozarabic Missals) is as truly 'liturgical' as his second;

(2) That it suffices to look at Luke vi 14–16 and Acts i 13 to see that these 'Lukan' lists are two different orders, and that they cannot be thrown together as if one type; indeed the order in Luke is much more nearly like the order in St Matthew x 2–4 than that in Acts;

(3) That the Spanish order, and that of the diptychs of Arles simply *are* the order of Acts, and that is the end of the matter;

(4) Finally that, when the numerous Apostles' lists which can with safety and security be assigned to insular origin or influence are brought together in parallel columns in one view, their common derivation from Matthew is clear; though (as may naturally be expected in documents proceeding from Irish hands) a few shew variation in order: but even these abnormal cases can hardly be called 'Lukan'.

It may or may not be worth while to spend time over such a matter as Apostles' lists; but I would plead that, if the subject be dealt with, this should be done in a way different from that here followed by Dr Schermann; for it seems to me that he has successfully managed to throw into confusion again a subject which I hoped to have in some measure put into order. If such sort of enquiries be undertaken at all, it must be not merely with the best attainable fullness of material but also with strict and even tedious regard to the minutiae of variation presented by the documents themselves.]

VIII

'SPANISH SYMPTOMS'[1]

THIS title is borrowed; but its appropriation may find some excuse in that the details to be given will perhaps fit into the work of the writer from whom it is here adopted.[2] In the *Book of Cerne* (Cambridge, 1902) it was said there appear to be 'real indications that the rising Church of the English was influenced in the very centre of its life by the then flourishing Visigothic Church of Spain' (p. 277); and it was suggested (p. 280) that this influence was felt through the medium of Ireland rather than of Gaul.

In the present paper I propose (1) to bring together the scattered notices on the subject in the 'Liturgical Note' of that volume, and add a few more details; (2) to consider at what period it is most likely Spanish documents can have made their way into England; (3) starting from the three prayers to the Blessed Virgin in the *Book of Cerne* (nos. 56, 57, 58), to illustrate the Marian cult evidenced in some of our earliest Western liturgy-books. The subject of 'Spanish Symptoms' is, if not new, at least somewhat unfamiliar and at present obscure; it must therefore in any case be dealt with tentatively. What I should wish, however, now to do is to raise this question of the influence of the Visigothic Church on our insular Churches, of England and of Ireland, as a matter to be considered in and for itself; but I shall act as if little more than a finger-post, pointing to the lines of enquiry to be pursued and stopping short at the beginning of them.

It will be well, however, to make clear at once what is the ultimate object, what in a word is the 'use', of such enquiries. At the 'Congrès de l'Histoire des Religions', held at Paris in 1900, one or two voices were raised on behalf of the study of Christian liturgy; not by professed liturgists, but (if I remember rightly) only by laymen, who dwelt on the need of pursuing this branch of study specifically as a department of the history of religion. So far as I have been able to observe, these voices have not evoked any adequate, or indeed

[1] From the *Journal of Theological Studies*, January 1907.

[2] ['Spanische Symptome. Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferungsgeschichte und Paläographie' was the title of a tract projected by the late Dr Traube for his series of *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*. See as to his Collection of Materials *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen von Ludwig Traube* i (1909) p. lxv.]

any, response in the quarters most concerned. Yet these speakers precisely touched, I venture to think, on that which has constituted a weakness, has been the cause of a certain sterility, of liturgical work in the last century; namely, that it has been in the main a study in ritual rather than a study in religion; as a consequence it has seemed to be in touch rather with professionalism than with life, and appears in its general character to be predominantly of clerical interest. However it may be with earlier times, in dealing with the insular Churches of the seventh century we stand, comparatively speaking, on firm ground. I cannot but think, however, that with the 'Church History' which has so long held the field and is so familiar to us, there is call for more attention to the religion of the English and Irish of that age than the subject has hitherto received.[1] It is with this idea in mind that I am here concerned with 'Spanish Symptoms', and engage in the minute and miscellaneous details set out below.

I

The following are the Spanish items pointed to in the 'Liturgical Note' to *Cerne*, with some corrections and one or two additions which would not have been there in place.

(*a*) It has long since been observed that the diptychs of the Stowe Missal (an excellent example of the Irish eclectic, or tinkering, method in liturgy) draw, among other 'sources', on the diptychs of the Mozarabic, or old Visigothic (Spanish) mass (F. E. Warren *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* p. 260 n. 61). In the *Book of Cerne* (p. 270) it was also noticed that a prayer for the dead existing in the Toledan Missal in the second half of the eighth century (though not now found in its representative, the Mozarabic), and cited by Elipandus, bishop of Toledo, in his controversy with Alcuin, is used textually as a preface in the mass for the dead in the Stowe Missal.[2]

[1] I am not insensible of the difficulties underlying the question. Some are touched on, rather rudely perhaps, from the Protestant side in the address of the Geheimer Kirchenrath Lemme to the Evangelical Conference at Karlsruhe in the latter part of 1904 (*Religionsgeschichtliche Entwickelung oder göttliche Offenbarung?*, Karlsruhe, 1904); on the Catholic side, by Professor Schrörs in his rectorial address before the University of Bonn in the following year. The latter is more urbane, or academic, in his tone; but there is a decisiveness of exclusion, not to say a certain snap, in the title that leaves no opening for doubt as to his meaning (*Kirchengeschichte und nicht Religionsgeschichte*, Freiburg, Herder, 1905). And it must be allowed that one difficulty attaching to these studies in religion—but whether inherent or only actual is not so clear—is obvious even to the unconcerned onlooker, namely the ease, the seemingly fatal ease, with which those who pursue them so often *ingenii sui adinventiones faciunt* (*scientiae*) *sacramenta*.

[2] [Dom Férotin points out (*Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, 1912, p. xxxi) that, though not in the existing MSS of the Sacramentary as printed by him,

(*b*) In *Book of Cerne* pp. 253–254 (28) it is pointed out that a prayer (no. 19) of that collection textually embodies the central prayer of the 'mysterium crucis' said in the most solemn part of the Good Friday Office of the Mozarabic Missal.[1] An addition made by another hand to the original script of *Cerne* gave occasion to observe that there must have existed in England a text yet more closely following that in the Mozarabic Missal than the one given by the composer of the *Cerne* prayer.

(*c*) Attention was also called (ibid. pp. 252–253 (25)) to a prayer common to the Mozarabic Missal, the Irish fragment in St-Gall MS 1395 (eighth or ninth century) and the very curious burial prayers, quite un-Roman in character but marked by Irish and Spanish affinities, that make up the section iii 91 in the Gelasian Sacramentary. But here I must modify what was there said, that the text in *Moz* 'offers the original text of which that in *Gelas* is an enrichment'. Since these words were written Dom Férotin has published his Mozarabic *Liber Ordinum* (1904). It contains (coll. 110–111) this same prayer in a full text like that of the *Gelasianum*, and shews (what is of more importance here) that the Irish fragment does not derive from the text in *Gelas* or the *Liber Ordinum*, but from one akin to that in the Mozarabic Missal.[2]

(*d*) It was stated (*Book of Cerne* p. 240 (1)) that the prayer *Deus vitae dator* in the burial service[3] of the Carolingian Supplement to the Gregorian Sacramentary[4] is a prayer of a mass for the dead in the Mozarabic Missal (p. 459. 52–62). Not merely this one, but nearly all the prayers of the burial service of the Supplement are found in Spanish (Mozarabic) books; it is, as a whole, a 'Spanish Symptom', and one of the most significant, since Alcuin is now commonly, and, as I believe, justly and rightly, accepted as the compiler of that Supplement.[5]

It may be objected that Alcuin perhaps adopted a burial service

this text is found in the 'Missa generalis Defunctorum' in the *Liber Ordinum* edited by him (1904) col. 422.]

[1] [This prayer is not to be found either in the *Liber Sacramentorum* or in the *Liber Ordinum* edited by Dom Férotin; and it may be as well to observe that the Mozarabic Missal of Ximenes (ed. Lesley or Lorenzana) is still absolutely necessary to the enquirer who would wish to be sure of his work.]

[2] Where *Gelas* reads 'sequi studeat', and *Lib. Ord.* 'sequi gaudeat', *Moz* and the Irish fragment read 'custodiat'.

[3] 'Orationes post lavationem corporis', no. civ of the Supplement (Muratori *Lit. Rom. Vet.* ii 213–218).

[4] [See above, pp. 49 sqq. for this Supplement.]

[5] [See all this drawn out in detail in the Table in Supplementary Note A to the present paper. It is unnecessary to say how this has been rendered easy by Dom Férotin's Indexes to the Mozarabic formulae at the end of his *Liber Ordinum* and his *Liber Sacramentorum*.]

current in France in his day. But in face of the documentary evidence I do not see how it is possible that that view can be entertained even for a moment. We possess in *Gelas* iii 91 a complete form of 'burial service' (extending in four parts from the time of death to the final 'commendation' after the actual internment) in actual use in the early years of the eighth century, or in the last years of the seventh. Our next stage is the service in the MSS of the '*Gelas* saec. viii', a later compilation of about the middle of the eighth century. Two of these services are in print: that of the (now destroyed) copy of '*Gelas* saec. viii' written by the priest Godelgaudus of Reims in 799, and printed by Ménard in his notes to his 'Gregorian Sacramentary' pp. 260–261 (Migne *P. L.* 78. 467–468); and that in the Rheinau MS of '*Gelas* saec. viii' printed in Gerbert's *Mon. vet. lit. Alemann.* i pp. 312–315. With these I am now able to compare that in the Gellone Sacramentary—on the whole the best MS of '*Gelas* saec. viii'. These three services are derived from the original form in *Gelas* iii 91, with some additional matter at the beginning. Spanish material is represented in the service they give by five prayers out of the whole body of twenty; and all the Spanish material is derived from *Gelas* iii 91. On the other hand, in Alcuin's corresponding service, out of the eight prayers for one just deceased four are taken from Mozarabic sources, not one of which four is found in *Gelas* iii 91; three are the three of the 'in agenda mortuorum' of *Greg* (Muratori ii. 270);[1] and one only (the first) is from *Gelas* iii 91. Of the nine prayers of the remainder of his burial service six are found in Mozarabic books, not one of the six being found in *Gelas* iii 91. In a word, Alcuin made a clean sweep of nearly the whole of the twenty or twenty-one prayers found in these services in Gaul throughout the eighth century, and substituted for them new Mozarabic material. In these circumstances (since Spanish materials are otherwise found freely current in England and Ireland) the reasonable supposition is that the Spanish prayers in the new form of burial service found in his Supplement formed part of the devotional material originally derived from Spain that had by the end of the eighth century become in some measure naturalized in our insular Churches in Alcuin's day, and so came to be utilized by him, with some sparing use of Gallican material, in the compilation of that service.[2]

[1] [In face of Alcuin's use of the three prayers 'in agenda mortuorum' of *Greg*, as explained in the text, it would seem unreasonable to doubt that these three brief prayers are (so far as prayers are concerned) the Roman 'burial service' in the seventh and eighth centuries.]

[2] [Supplementary Note A, now newly added, is a synoptic Table of the earliest extant forms of burial service in the West, that is, in existence in the period from *c.* A.D. 700 to *c.* A.D. 800. We have no forms for Spain until two or three hundred

(*e*) In the 'Liturgical Note' to the *Book of Cerne* attention was called (p. 278) to Harl. MS 3060 ('saec. ix seemingly', or x?) which appears to be a copy of an earlier Visigothic MS dating (so far as its contents indicate) from the end of the seventh century or beginning of the eighth. This MS contains a prayer which (it was said, p. 279) 'stands behind' a series of prayers in *Cerne* that falls into two groups: nos. 21, 24, 49, and nos. 20, 23, 29, 36. But it is now possible to bring one of these groups into relation with a Spanish liturgical manuscript. The Mozarabic *Liber Ordinum* recently printed contains a long series of priest's masses 'for himself'.[1] In one of these the introductory prayer, and the 'alia' prayer following it (col. 266. 22 *Deus iustitiae* to col. 267. 12 *alienum sensum*), are, with a line added at the beginning and the end, the first part of the *Cerne* prayer no. 49 *Oratio pęnitentis* (p. 145. 14 to p. 146. 17). This raises the further question whether some at least of the *Cerne* prayers enumerated above as having affinity with that in Harl. MS 3060 may not have come into England from Spain almost as they stand in *Cerne*.[2]

(*f*) Many years ago M. Manitius[3] called attention to the use which Aldhelm, in his grammatical work entitled 'Epistola ad Acircium' (first printed by Mai *Class. auctt.* v 501–599), made of the 'Ars grammatica' of Julian, bishop of Toledo (680–690). But here it seems necessary to proceed with caution, for H. Hagen has shewn[4] that Julian made use of an earlier anonymous treatise found in Cod. Bern. 207. It would remain then to enquire whether Aldhelm used this

years later; I have therefore thought it best not to include the Spanish material in this Table, which will, I think, be found useful in any conjectural reconstruction of the Spanish burial service of the eighth century.]

[1] This rich collection consists of no less than eleven masses (nos. 5 to 13, 17, 18, of the list at c. xliv). I suspect that the collection, as well as the composition of the individual masses, represents (like so much else in the *Lib. Ord.*) a late phase of Mozarabic liturgy. The origination of the priest's 'mass for himself' seems to be due, on the one hand, to the anniversary mass of a bishop's or priest's ordination (*Leon*, *Gelas*), and on the other, to the spirit which created and developed the special 'Praeparatio Sacerdotis' found in liturgy-books as early as the seventh century (see above, pp. 137–138). No mass 'pro seipso' is found in the Gallican Missals designated *Gothicum*, *Gallicanum*, *Francorum*. The Bobbio Missal of a slightly earlier date has one mass of this kind, 'Missa quomodo sacerdos pro se orare debet' (ed. Mab. p. 357). I have not been able to trace its prayers earlier than this MS; in the prayer 'ad pacem' occurs the characteristic Irish expression 'inter sanctos et electos', and it also shews familiarity with the Roman Canon.

[2] On a comparison of the extracts from *Cerne*, nos. 21, 24, 49, given pp. 278, 279 of that volume, with the Spanish text in *Lib. Ord.* (which runs as follows: 'Parce anime mee, parce malis meis, parce peccatis meis, parce factis meis atque criminibus') it will be seen that the text in *Lib. Ord.* covers all the varying forms of the corresponding passage in those *Cerne* prayers, except one, viz. 'parce hereticis meis' (no. 24 p. 122. 20); the absence of which from the Spanish supports the suggestion already made (ibid. p. 278 n. 4) that this curious expression is an Irish addition.

[3] 'Zu Aldhelm und Baeda' in *Sitzungsber. der phil.-hist. Classe* of the Vienna Academy, Bd. cxii, 1886, pp. 597–599.

[4] *Anecdota Helvetica* (1870), see pp. xxi, xxiii, cciv, ccvi–ccviii, ccxi, ccxviii–ccxix.

treatise directly as found in the Berne MS, or only indirectly through Julian's work.[1] But Manitius also pointed out (p. 611) that Aldhelm had in his metrical riddles made use of those of Eugenius of Toledo,[2] and states (p. 535) that L. Müller had already called attention to the fact that in his 'Epistola ad Acircium' Aldhelm cites a verse of the Visigothic king Sisebut (died 621).[3]

Each of the cases above enumerated, taken by itself, may seem a slight matter; but their cumulative force is considerable. Although the liturgical and devotional documents noticed under (*a*)–(*e*) afford no evidence as to date, the facts set out under (*f*) would go to shew that some sort of communications, or relations, or influence, or call the phenomenon what we will, direct or indirect, existed as between England and Spain already in the second half of the seventh century.

II

Extrinsic considerations tend also to shew that such communication would be more likely in that period, or quite in the beginning of the eighth century, than at the end of the eighth or early in the ninth. By this latter date Hispanism and Irishry, in religion and devotion as

[1] I do not know whether this has already been done; Manitius at any rate says nothing on the subject. Julian's grammatical work is not reprinted by Migne. It is curious to observe how, on the one hand, Lorenzana could find no MS of Julian's *Prognosticon futuri saeculi libri iii* in Spain and could refer to the existence of one only, that seen by Ambr. Morales, in the sixteenth century, but in the interval burnt; and how, on the other hand, this work (the subject of which is the intermediate state of souls) occurs commonly in the earliest library catalogues, but always and only in repositories with 'Celtic' attachments; and, when by and by in the tenth century it occurs in other libraries also, this is first at Cremona close to Bobbio, and at Lorsch not far from Fulda. See G. Becker's *Catalogi Bibliothecarum antiqui* (here cited by number of Library and of item): 8 (32); 10 (5); 11 (142); 15 (242); 22 (235); 32 (543, 568); 36 (76); 37 (368); Fulda MSS in F. Falk *Beiträge zur Rekonstruktion der alten Bibliotheca fuldensis* (Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1902) vi 4 15 p. 100 and vii 4 15 p. 102 (a viii 1 18 p. 103 is a copy of Julian of Toledo's 'Ars grammatica').

[2] Aldhelm *Aen. tetrast.* xi 1–3 [see Ehwald's edition of Aldhelm, *Mon. Germ. Auctt. antiquiss.* xv p. 103, *tetrast.* 16], cf. Eugenius carm. lxii ed. Vollmer, *Mon. Germ. Auctt. antiquiss.* xiv p. 261 and V.'s note; xvi 3–4, Eugen. xlviii, ibid. p. 259 and note; *Aen. pentast.* viii 1–3 [Ehwald's edition p. 108], Eugen. lx, ibid. p. 261 and note. I do not understand Vollmer's note 8, p. xliii of his Preface, as in any way affecting these three cases.

[3] The case stands thus. The verse in question is cited by Aldhelm as Isidore's (ed. Giles p. 232 ll. 4–5, [see Ehwald's edition of Aldhelm, p. 80]), and is drawn from the metrical piece 'de eclipsibus solis et lunae' commonly in the ancient MSS appended to Isidore's treatise 'de astronomia', although it certainly is not Isidore's and comes from the pen of a man not of peace but of war, of a layman not a priest. The Leyden MS Voss 4° 33, embodying much early grammatical material of 'English or Irish' origin, contains a tract 'which (says L. Müller) comes from a compatriot of Aldhelm' and attributes the 'de eclips.' to Sisebut by name: 'et in hoc Sisebuti regis'. See *Rheinisches Museum* xxii pp. 86–87.

well as in other respects, had fallen into disrepute. Moreover, in the seventh century, whilst the Church of Gaul was the most debased in Western Europe, and promise or hope of better things lay not in native but in foreign and imported elements, Irish, Roman, and by and by English, the Visigothic Church of Spain, a convert Church, was in the full course of its short-lived glory. Strong and self-centred, it was animated by an intense, indeed an intolerant, spirit of nationalism. The English Church was still weak, but it was receptive. There remains the Irish, the most interesting, the most pervasive, of them all. So things stood at the beginning of the eighth century. By its close the situation had completely changed. The foreign elements at work in Gaul had been reinforced and their action had issued in the reformed Church of Charlemagne, with a strongly marked individuality of its own, in which reaction against Celtic, Irish, influences is unmistakeable, especially among the 'cultured'. And this Church, whilst antipathetic in regard to other elements which had once enjoyed consideration, was, in spite of the noisy trouble as to Images, Roman through and through. It was not the mere repulsion of self-conscious orthodoxy to obstinate and decadent misbelief that in the Adoptionist controversy inspired the letter of the bishops of France (794) in answer to Elipandus, bishop of Toledo, speaking in the name of the Spanish Church. Elipandus had written, with some touch of ancient pride, 'our confession is in accord with the teaching of the holy venerable fathers Hilary, &c., &c., Fulgentius, Isidore, Eugenius, Hildefonsus, Julian, and the rest of the orthodox and catholic.' The reply, in which Alcuin had the main hand, breathes the scorn of a master of the newest learning for the great representatives and glories of a fallen Church and a learning now no longer the mode; in the words '*our* Gregory' the actual writer betrays himself. He thus writes as to the liturgical evidence which Elipandus had brought forward from the Toledan Missal. 'It is better to give credit (he says) to the testimony of God the Father as to His own Son than to your Hildefonsus, who composed such prayers for you in your mass as the holy and universal Church of God knows not. Nor do we think God listens to you when you say them. And if your Hildefonsus in the prayers he wrote called Christ "adoptive", our Gregory, Pope of the Roman See and Doctor renowned throughout all the world, in his prayers never hesitated always to call Him the Sole-begotten One.'[1] Who could better know, or

[1] See *Mon. Germ. Concil.* ii pp. 111, 145; Migne *P. L.* 101. 1333-1334. Alcuin goes over this liturgical ground a few years later in his 'Adversus Elipandum' (lib. ii capp. 7–9, Migne *P. L.* 101. 264-267) written for Leidradus and his companions on the occasion of their journey to Spain to try and patch up matters.

better express, the temper of the English Church of his age than Alcuin?[1]

But there was at this time a like recoil from Irishry. On the Continent in ecclesiastical circles inconvenience from the presence of the Irish was felt rather in the sphere of discipline and order. In the last year of Charles's reign, after long intermission, councils were held (813, 814) by superior command in various parts of his dominions. The canons against wandering clerics had Irish priests doubtless in view among the rest.[2] But one only of these councils, that of Chalon-sur-Saône, mentions the 'Scotti' by name, and then only to declare that orders received from Scottic bishops, as wanderers and unattached, are to be treated as null and void. Under the rule of the great Offa and the Mercian hegemony England was in thorough sympathy with the policy and sentiment of Charlemagne, in whose administration, even of educational affairs, the Irish no more than the Goths could find a place; and they, or the former at least, were left to obscurity in peace. But the contemporary English synod deals with the Scottic question in a different spirit and quite another temper from that of the councils held on the Continent. The synod of Celchyth of July 27, 816, was composed of bishops from all Southern England, and Kenulf, king of the Mercians, was 'in person present, with his princes and dukes and nobles'. This synod by its fifth canon simply excluded the Scottic clergymen from all sacred ministrations whatever, and warned the people against having anything to do with them. The canon runs not as if coming from those whose preoccupation it is to correct irregularities and set them right; it is passion that speaks in this decree, which is a sentence of ostracism and an expression of racial antipathy.[3]

Alcuin makes an effort to be civil and is even flattering as regards Isidore; but his aversion to the 'Toledan Fathers' he cannot suppress; one work, however, among their productions he specially mentions as at least not unorthodox, the *Prognostica* of Julian.

[1] [Cf. already Aldhelm, in the prose treatise *De virginitate*, cap. 55: 'Unde Gregorius pervigil pastor et pedagogus noster—noster inquam, qui nostris parentibus errorem tetrae gentilitatis abstulit, et regenerantis gratiae normam tradidit'... (ed. Ehwald p. 314).]

[2] See as to 'clerici vagi' Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, can. 22, Conc. Cabillon. cc. 41, 43 (this is the canon as to the 'Scotti'), 44, 45, Conc. Turon. c. 13 (*Mon. Germ. Concil.* ii pp. 267, 282, 288). Cf. the 'Annotatio capitulorum synodalium', nos. 42, 58, 104, 105 (ibid. pp. 304, 306).

[3] This canon is so important in its bearings that I give it here, dividing and italicizing it for easier apprehension. The text as it came from the synod was probably in much the same state as now, since the difficulties are inherent in its drafting and construction. 'Ut Scoti non admittendi sacra ministrare. Kap. quinta interdictum est: Ut nullus permittatur de genere Scottorum (*a*) in alicuius diocesi sacram sibi ministeria usurpare, (*b*) neque ei *consentire* liceat ex sacro ordine aliquot attingere, (*c*) vel ab eis *accipere* in baptismo, aut in celebratione missarum, (*d*) vel etiam Eucharistiam populo praebere: (*e*) quia incertum est nobis unde *en* [= *an*] *ab aliquo* ordinentur. Scimus quomodo in canonis praecipitur ut nullus

The Irishman and the Goth, their piety and their learning, are in this period at a discount in England as well as on the Continent. A day of revived influence for the Goth is at hand, and on the Continent at least, for the Irishman too. But if we find in England at the end of the eighth century or in the early decades of the ninth, religious or devotional pieces bearing marked evidence of a piety Spanish or Irish in character, the actual composition of these may, on general grounds, be attributed with greater probability to the turn of the seventh and eighth centuries than to that of the eighth and ninth.

But this Hispano-Hibernian character is notably evident in the MS known as the *Book of Cerne*; we must turn aside for a moment to consider so curious a phenomenon; for the actual MS is of the first half of the ninth century, it has come down to us with entries apparently in the Mercian dialect, it contains an acrostic with the name of a bishop Ethelwold, and an Ethelwold occupies the great Mercian see of Lichfield (818–830). It is tempting to settle, without more ado, on Ethelwold, bishop of Lichfield, as the only begetter of this book and so finish with the matter. But I cannot induce myself to think that in doing so we are really getting to the bottom of it. In the catalogue of the then sadly dilapidated Fulda library drawn up about the middle of the sixteenth century, several books dating from St Boniface's days can still be recognized. There is one MS, of what date we know not, described as 'Ymnarius Edilwaldi'.[1] Dr Traube has remarked on this entry: 'I do not think I can go far wrong if I take this manuscript of Edilwald to be a copy of the *Book of Cerne*.'[2] Dr Traube is one of the very last scholars from whose judgement I should care to dissent in matters concerning these early times. But in face of the entry in the Fulda catalogue I ask myself whether, whilst unduly emphasizing line 10 of the acrostic:—

En omnipotenti deo *libellum hanc* ad laudem scribere fecit

episcoporum, presbiterorum invadere temptaverit alius parrochiam nisi cum consensu proprie episcopi. Tanto magis (*f*) *respuendum est* ab alienis nationibus sacra ministeria *percipere*, cum quibus nullo ordo metropolitanis, nec honor aliquis habeatur' (Haddan and Stubbs iii p. 581). From the title and from (*a*) and (*e*) it appears that a general exclusion of Scotti from performing acts of the sacred ministry among the people is intended. From (*b*) it appears that licence by the bishop for private acts is forbidden; whilst the prohibitions (*c*), (*d*), and (*f*) are aimed at the reception of baptism or holy communion at their hands, and are a warning against even hearing their masses. I do not see how, when the terms of the canon are fully considered and weighed, it is possible to avoid the conclusion that the whole ground is meant to be covered, and that the canon of this English synod is indeed a sentence of ecclesiastical ostracism.

[1] See F. Falk *Beiträge* p. 102.

[2] *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum* (Supplement to *Zeitschrift*) xxix, October, 1903, p. 1.

we[1] may not have allowed lines 12, 13 to pass without due attention:—

> In domum gredi domini cum fiducia huic uolumini oracul texti
> Solum deum castis *carminibus* indesinenter diligenter pulsate.

It is true the *Book of Cerne* contains more matter in verse than appears from the print or the titles; but the question arises whether the acrostic was written to apply to the contents of the MS now in the Cambridge University Library, or for a hymnar now lost; some items of which, however, may still be preserved in that MS.[2]

Moreover, may not that MS itself, an evidence of reviving or active Irishry, perhaps throw some light on the causes of canon 5 of the Council of Celchyth of 816?

III

Among the prayers of the *Book of Cerne* those addressed to the Blessed Virgin, nos. 56–58, have appeared to some persons among the most notable. Nos. 57, 58 read to me as if somewhat commonplace but genuine.[3] No. 56 was one of the small number of prayers printed from this MS by the late Mr F. A. Paley in his article on 'Liturgical Manuscripts at Cambridge' in the *Home and Foreign Review* in 1862. As a prayer to the Blessed Virgin it certainly has some noteworthy features: the accumulation on the one appellative 'Dei genetrix semper uirgo' of eleven adjectives, besides three adjectival clauses; the triple 'exaudi'; the very confident expression 'we trust and know for certain you can obtain from your Son everything that you wish'. These three items make up, it may be said, the whole prayer, which may read to some as betraying a mind overstrung, to others only as if evidencing a desire to outdo a forerunner. It has been remarked that the 'advanced' character of this prayer is a sign of its late origin, an origin as late, say, as the actual manuscript; that is, the first decades of the ninth century. But this seems subject to a good deal of doubt, and may be due rather to imperfect acquaintance with the details of

[1] [I should like to say that in my manuscript and in the last proofs that passed through my hands the word printed *J. T. S.* p. 287 l. 17 as 'he' was 'we'. I restore above the original text.]

[2] [See Supplementary Note B for a treatment of the case of the *Book of Cerne*.]

[3] The word 'saluatrix' in no. 58, p. 155. 16 must not be looked at through modern developments any more than Hildefonsus's 'administratrix Dei' (Migne *P. L.* 96. 65 C). It is characteristic of a certain class of devout minds in all ages to incline to expressions that are extravagant or of ambiguous import or interpretation.

the history of Marian devotion. I will make an attempt to view the particular case in the light that may be thrown upon it by a consideration of some of our early documents relating to Marian cultus in the West.

In the *Book of Cerne* (p. 280 n. 1) those of the seventh century were briefly indicated.[1] The most important western documents are the mass of the Assumption in the great Gallican Missal known as the *Missale Gothicum* and the treatise *De virginitate perpetua sanctae Mariae* of Hildefonsus, bishop of Toledo (657–667). This latter, short as it is, is one of the most characteristic productions of the Visigothic Church of Spain in the days of its splendour. On the death in 636 of that great inheritor and representative of the older learning, Isidore of Seville, predominance and influence, the literary no less than the ecclesiastical, passed to the city of Toledo, long the seat of the civil power. Braulio of Saragossa (who died in 646), the friend and literary correspondent of Isidore, was still left to speak for the old school. But Braulio's successor at Saragossa, Taius (who once calls himself 'cognomento Samuel'[2]), begins the new; and this is continued in the series of great bishops of Toledo, Eugenius, a native of that city and sister's son of Braulio, Hildefonsus, nephew of Eugenius, and by and by Julian, also a Toledan, and a devoted pupil of Eugenius and admirer of Hildefonsus. It would almost seem as if Braulio anticipated but did not appreciate the advent of the new school of learning. When Taius sent Braulio his *Libri quinque Sententiarum*, largely a compilation from Gregory, whose works, wanting in Spain, Taius had gone to Rome to copy with his own hand, Braulio frankly told him that 'except for what was stolen, or rather corrupted, from Gregory, his book was only good to be thrown aside and trodden under foot'.[3] Taius's letter dedicating this book to Eugenius is a specimen of the style carried to such perfection in Hildefonsus's treatise *De virginitate perpetua*, which certainly confirms Julian's recollection of Hildefonsus as 'disserendi ingenio clarus,

[1] [To the pieces there mentioned should be added the very lengthy and remarkable *Triodium* of Sophronius of Jerusalem first printed by Cardinal Mai (Migne *P. Gr.* 87 iii coll. 3840–3981). See in particular coll. 3865–8, 3884–5, 3889, 3925 and 3928, 3964; but the whole document is saturated, so to speak, with Marian devotion.]

[2] Migne *P. L.* 80. 727.

[3] He writes: 'Paradigma tuum illud in armatura compositum, quam mihi erat pervium et pede, ut aiunt, conterere, excepto illud pace (? papae) Gregorii quod peculatum, immo corruptum, vidi' (*P. L.* 80. 657). The following illustrates another kind of difference between the old school and the new. Taius writes to Braulio about a relic of our Lord's blood, and thus comments: 'Pia quidem talis est religio, sed mihi fateor dubia.' Braulio replies: Why trouble about things of doubtful quality like this when we have our Lord's *sanguinem verum* every day on the altar? (ibid. coll. 686, 690).

eloquendi facultate praecipuus, linguae flumine copiosus', &c. Though perhaps more cultured and certainly of a freer and less artificial vocabulary, the *De virginitate perpetua* shews the same sort of florid elocution, in which triads and quaternions are the soberest forms, that meets us so often in early Irish Latinity.[1] In chapters i and xii Hildefonsus pours himself out in prayers to and appreciations of the Blessed Virgin. Indeed it is difficult to see how a sermon addressed, for instance, in the seventeenth century to the highly patronized confraternity of the Slavery of Mary, then flourishing in various parts of the Spanish dominions, could well be conceived in terms more precise or words more fervent than those used in his twelfth chapter by this seventh-century bishop of Toledo. But Hildefonsus spoke of the Blessed Virgin as yet by way of piety and devotion, not of doctrine, which was to follow later.

The treatise *De virginitate perpetua* does not stand alone. In the year 1577 the Franciscan, F. Feuardent, printed at Paris along with that treatise, and the tract *De partu*, now recognized as a work of Paschase Radbert, eleven sermons. The manuscript from which he drew all these pieces is described by him as 'an ancient codex that had been brought out of Spain by Gotiscalc, a bishop of Aquitaine'.[2] Feuardent's ascription of the sermons to St Hildefonsus was accepted until some theologians began to find traces of unsoundness in them, in representing the bodily Assumption of the Blessed Virgin into heaven as a pious opinion but not to be certainly affirmed, &c. The sermons then fell into discredit, and so into neglect. Cardinal Lorenzana in reprinting them as an appendix to the works of Hildefonsus, thinks he sees in them traces of differing authorship, and he sorts them accordingly. Of sermon ix, however, he says nothing but this in a footnote: 'almost wholly from sermon viii'; but sermon vii is also closely connected with these two; and so vii, viii, and ix form a group. It is

[1] The book itself must be read to get any adequate idea of the author's facility in words and economy in thought. The following which has relation to the present subject may give some notion of this: 'O domina mea, dominatrix mea, dominans mihi, mater Domini mei, ancilla Filii tui, genetrix Factoris mundi, te rogo, te oro, te quaeso, habeam spiritum Domini tui, habeam spiritum Filii tui, habeam spiritum Redemptoris mei, ut de te vera et digna sapiam, de te vera et digna loquar, de te vera et digna quaecumque dicenda sunt dicam. Tu enim es electa a Deo, assumpta a Deo', &c., &c. (there follow twelve other clauses of the same kind) (*De virg. perpet.* cap. 1).

[2] Cardinal Lorenzana for his edition of Hildefonsus's *De virg. perp.* used three MSS, all then at Toledo, one of the year 1067, one of the twelfth to thirteenth century, and a third which was a copy of that of the Aquitanian bishop Gotiscalc, made in the fourteenth century by order of a certain Cardinal Amelii and brought back by him from France. Lorenzana found this last the most correct of the three; which raises the presumption that the MS of Hildefonsus and the sermons from which Gotiscalc's MS was copied was a good and early Visigothic codex (Migne *P. L.* 96. 54 and 235-240).

precisely of sermon ix that there must be question here, for it contains a passage which is to be found utilized in the Contestatio (or, as we now say, Preface) of the very noteworthy Assumption mass, already mentioned, of the *Missale Gothicum* (a MS written about A.D. 700). This Contestatio also appears, though in a somewhat shorter form, in one of the two masses of the Assumption in the Bobbio Missal, a manuscript which is to be assigned to the seventh century.

The following is a print of the relative passages of the sermon and the Contestatio, the variants of the Bobbio text being given in square brackets :—

Sermon ix (Migne *P. L.* 96. 272)	Contestatio (Mabillon *Lit. Gall.* p. 212 ; Migne *P. L.* 72. 245)
O quam venerandum et *prae caeteris honorandum hunc diem,*	Dignum et iustum . . . nos tibi magnas merito gratias agere tempore celeberrimo *die prae caeteris honorando,* quo fidelis Israel egressus est de Aegypto,
in *quo Dei genetrix virgo Maria de mundo migravit ad Christum, quae*	*quo virgo Dei genitrix* [*Maria* Bo] *de mundo migravit ad Christum. Quae* nec de corruptione suscepit contagium nec resolutionem pertulit in sepulchro, pollutione libera, germine gloriosa, assumptione secura, paradiso dote praelata, [1] nesciens damna de coitu, sumens vota de fructu, *non subdita dolori* per *partum, non labori* per *transitum,* nec vita voluntate nec funus solvitur vi naturae. *Speciosus thalamus, de quo* dignus [decorus Bo] *prodit* [procedit Bo] *sponsus, lux gentium, spes fidelium,* praedo daemonum, confusio Iudaeorum, vasculum vitae, *tabernaculum gloriae, templum caeleste.* [The Contestatio then goes off to develop a contrast between Eve and Mary.]
dolori non subiacuit post *partum, non labori* post *transitum.*	
O admirabilem *thalamum, de quo speciosus* forma *prodiit sponsus.*	
O lux gentium, spes fidelium,	
tabernaculum gloriae, templum caeleste, [2] cui apostoli sacrum reddunt obsequium . . .	

I imagine that no one with the texts before him will doubt that it

[1] With the words immediately following compare serm. ix 'haec est *immaculata coitu, fecunda partu, virgo'* &c. (coll. 271-272); and the same words in serm. vii (col. 268 A); and also in the first address to the people of the same mass of the *Missale Gothicum* : 'quae *foecunda virgo, beata de partu*'.

[2] The address to the people mentioned in the preceding note has the following words, perhaps suggested by the sermon : 'quo beatam matrem Mariam famulantibus apostolis transtulit ad honorem.'

was the sermon that inspired the writer of the Contestatio, or will suggest that the writer of the sermon made, in the passage quoted, a choice of bits from the Contestatio. I would add from my experience of the Gallic seventh- and eighth-century liturgical texts that in Gaul there were past masters in the art of such embroidery as the Contestatio when compared with the sermon exhibits.[1] Yet if this be so our two Missals throw sermon ix back to a date that cannot be much later than the middle of the seventh century; we must remember too that the earliest manuscript we know of came from Spain, and is a copy of an earlier Spanish codex. As the sermon is anonymous so it may well remain. But it seems not too much to say that its origin in all probability lies in the circle who were gathered around the author of the *De virginitate perpetua* at Toledo. And if so, we must recognize in the Assumption mass of the *Missale Gothicum* and the Bobbio Missal another 'Spanish Symptom'.[2] Whether the *Cerne* prayer no. 56 be a 'Spanish Symptom' also must remain, I think, matter of mere subjective appreciation as to the character of the devotion it displays, especially when compared with nos. 57, 58.[3]

IV

In what goes before, the Bobbio Missal has not been specially dealt with. But I am not able to understand the readiness at the present day to view that book as 'Gallican', or Milanese; or the difficulty in regarding it as (what the place of its origin seems naturally to suggest) an 'Irish' production—that is, proceeding from circles, from a com-

[1] See a modest specimen of this sort of work from the *Missale Gothicum* in the 'Liturgical Note to the Book of Cerne' p. 260 No. 47.

[2] [See further as to sermon vii, one of this group of three, the closing part of Supplementary Note C appended to this paper, below pp. 200-201.]

[3] It is more than twenty years since the late Professor Scheffer-Boichorst printed in the (Austrian) *Mittheilungen des Instituts* vi (1885) pp. 521-550 his article on the Syrians in Western Europe. It attracted (so far as I have observed) little attention, certainly none from the liturgists. M. Bréhier's recent article in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* on the same subject has been more fortunate. I still think (cf. *Book of Cerne* p. 278) that one of the first matters to be investigated, if we would understand the outburst of the cultus of the Blessed Virgin in the West in the seventh century, at least in Spain, is the early translation of pieces by St Ephrem or other Syriac writers into Latin. Canon 12 of the council of Seville in 618 gives an account of the conversion to orthodoxy of a Syrian Jacobite bishop seemingly settled in Spain. On the general question of East Syrian devotion and piety in the West see pp. 161-163 above.

munity, still Scottic in religious spirit, and in some measure also doubtless in *personnel*.[1] Its strongly marked 'Spanish' character points in the same direction. It is to be remembered too that the Bobbio Missal is but one item to be considered in this connexion. It is surely not by accident that the inestimable 'Orationale Hispano-Gothicum' (one of the two MSS at least) is found in the Verona Library. But I readily leave such questions for another hand[2] altogether better qualified to deal with these continental matters than I who speak only as insular. But it must be added that our insular material too is not exhausted; a systematic examination of *Cerne* in the light of the *Liber Ordinum* would doubtless yield interesting results; the investigation of its congener, MS Reg. 2 A xx, is almost untouched; and probably more English and Irish devotional material of as early a date has yet to be printed.

The three centuries that elapsed between Caesarius of Arles and Alcuin are the darkest of West European history. Evil though it was beyond compare for the particular See and City of Rome, the case of the 'leaden' tenth century was in no way so desperate. Yet it is precisely in those three centuries that took place the evolution definitely fixing the religion of mediaeval and a large part of modern Europe. The stage then passed through was that one, so particularly decisive, when popular piety, which has listened to the word of the preachers, makes the ideas they express, even if but rhetorically at times, its own; and piety in its slow and silent workings generates by and by a common and accepted belief. Thereafter, by steps natural and easy enough, come the reflection or reasoning of the more educated on what is so believed, its formulation, consequent disputes, heresy, dogma. It is this consideration which gives value, indeed importance, trivial looking as they may seem or sometimes almost grotesque, to the records coming from this darkest period of the history of the Church. It is too late to begin our knowledge of the post-patristic age with the ninth century, with the Carolingian renaissance, or with Bede who is

[1] [I would be more precise, and say that, when all the relative phenomena are reviewed, the probability is that the Bobbio Missal was written at Bobbio. I am not forgetful of the Note which Traube has devoted to this MS considered from the palaeographical point of view (in Dr Burn's *Facsimiles of the Creeds*, 1909, pp. 44–47). It is a veritable model of balance and *Vorsichtigkeit*, worthy of this consummate scholar. But the palaeographical is only one side of the problem to be dealt with; and I have good reason to believe that it was only a short time before his death that Traube came actually to realize the complexity and the ramifications of the questions involved in 'Spanish Symptoms'.]

[2] [Alas! a hand now for ever still. I have been reduced therefore to bring together such items of 'Spanish Symptoms' in North Italy in the seventh and earlier eighth centuries as are within my ken. See Supplementary Note C, pp. 197–202 below.]

a figure apart. It is not only in the fixation of the biblical text and the palaeographical declension of 'noster',[1] but in all the great range of items that lie between such extremes, that the ninth century presents us already with a completed work. If we wish to know how the result came about we must look to and penetrate into the years 500–800. The liturgist is better off perhaps than most other kinds of enquirers for this period; but I venture to think that if he wishes his study to be fruitful it must not be divorced from the history of popular religion and current beliefs.

[One question still remains to be raised, namely, whether the religious influence of the Visigothic Church on the Irish, and so on the English, was direct, or whether it was exercised only mediately through the Church of Gaul. Dom Gougaud (*Dictionnaire de Liturgie et d'Archéologie* ii 2, 1910, under 'Liturgies celtiques' col. 2992) writes as follows:

> D'un autre côté M. Edmund Bishop a reconnu dans la liturgie irlandaise et dans le Livre de Cerne qui en est issu, des accointances avec la liturgie mozarabe. (*a*) Il croit pouvoir expliquer historiquement ces traits de parenté par l'établissement des Celtes chrétiens de Grande-Bretagne en Galice au vi^e^ siècle; mais rien ne prouve que cette colonie celtique ait entretenu des relations avec l'Irlande ni même avec la Bretagne. Je ne discute pas la présence d'éléments mozarabes dans la liturgie irlandaise, je conteste simplement le mode de transmission proposé: il n'est fondé sur aucune donnée historique.
>
> (*b*) Tout compte fait, à apprécier ces questions d'origines liturgiques du point de vue extrinsèque, qui est présentement le nôtre, *il semble bien que ce soit la Gaule qui ait exercé la principale influence sur la formation des liturgies bretonnes et irlandaises, et que l'Église bretonne a dû agir, à son tour, par surcroît, assez puissamment sur le développement des rites irlandais.*[2]

Two points call for separate consideration here. I have rubricked them (*a*) and (*b*). Each must be dealt with separately and on its own account. But I must premise that Dom Gougaud's formulation of what he has to say in (*b*) is to me so vague, obscure, and embarrassed that (except on the one point which matters) I can draw no clear idea of what he means. It is the more incumbent on me, therefore, to be so clear in the formulation of what I have to say that no reader can be under any misapprehension as to my meaning.

As to (*a*). In *Book of Cerne* p. 280, returning for a second time to the presence of Spanish material in insular liturgical and devotional documents, I said:

[1] See Traube *Perrona Scottorum* p. 527.
[2] My italics.

> So far as the case under consideration is concerned, the 'Celtic' see of Bretoña, in communion in its earliest period with the Catholic Suevi under the metropolitan see of Braga, and later with the converted Visigoths under the primacy of Toledo, suggests itself as a means of communication with the Irish Church. However this may have been, &c., &c

I take this opportunity of absolutely withdrawing this suggestion and requesting that it be treated as though it had never been written; and I am grateful to Dom Gougaud for thus giving me an opportunity of doing so. My reason is simple: The whole field of liturgy, eastern and western, has in the course of time, and never more actively than within the last generation or so, been so greatly littered with baseless theories and impertinent suggestions that I gladly retract this one and, following at a humble distance the example of a great scholar lately taken from us, say simply, 'I was wrong'.

As to (*b*) the case is different.

In *Book of Cerne*, in answer to the question (p. 277) 'By what means, through what channel, did prayers and characteristic devotional expressions of the Spanish Church find their way into England? Was it through Ireland, or through France?' I said, pp. 277–278, that when the three Gallican Missals, *Goth.*, *Gall.*, *Franc.*, are examined

> but little can be shewn to be common to these books and *Moz.* If Merovingian Gaul be assumed to be the channel by which 'Mozarabic' material found its way into Irish or English compositions of the seventh century or the eighth, the assumption of 'lost sources' also is necessary,—a body of prayers and masses which have disappeared, the existence of which [i. e. in Gaul] has to be inferred from the prayers in *Cerne*, &c., that have to be accounted for.

I added that the 'facts that can at present be ascertained . . . point rather to a direct draft by the early Irish on the Spanish Church'.

If I rightly understand the passage italicized in (*b*) above, Dom Gougaud is of opinion that there was not a direct draft by the Irish on Spanish liturgical and devotional documents, but that the traces of Hispanism found in the productions of Irish and English circles are to be explained by the fact that they came to our insulars not directly from Spanish circles and sources but only mediately through 'la Gaule'.

It is on this point—that Gaul is the intermediary by which Hispanism, liturgical and devotional, found its way into early Irish and English documents—that I would in any case join issue, and that in the clearest and most emphatic way. I believe this idea to be no more than a fiction.

I shall be happy to see, and give my best consideration to, any reasoned and detailed argument in favour of Dom Gougaud's view. I think even that I could make up a plausible sort of general historical case myself—by the aid of Spanish Matches, say, and the like. But I would observe that presentments of this kind are not to the point and that it is the evidence of the religious and ecclesiastical documents themselves that alone will answer the purpose. As the result of experience I have no hesitation in saying that the more the relative data accumulate the clearer and more evident become the indications that the presence in Irish (and English) documents of Spanish liturgical or devotional elements is due to 'a direct draft by the early Irish on the Spanish Church'.]

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

(See p. 167 note 5)

NOTE A

Burial Services of the Eighth Century.

[The following Table shews the details of the Burial Services given in five sacramentaries of the eighth century: the first column, that of the *Gelasianum*; the next columns, the services in three copies of the *Gelasianum* of the eighth century, namely, that in the Sacramentary of Gellone as yet inedited, that in the Rheinau MS 30 at Zurich, printed by Gerbert, and that in the Reims MS of Godelgaudus, printed by Ménard; finally, in the fifth column, the service drawn up by Alcuin in the *Gregorianum* of Charles the Great. A glance at the Table is sufficient to shew how thorough and radical is Alcuin's reform.

A burial service is found in four other manuscripts of '*Gelas* saec. viii', the details of which have been communicated to me by a friend; three are of late date, and shew merely fragments or rather remains of the original scheme; one, an early and genuine manuscript, gives it in full. But as in its details this last closely approximates to the Order in Gellone, and has no additional prayers, I think it unnecessary to complicate the Table by giving a special column to this manuscript. Only two remarks in regard to it need be made here: first, that it

does not contain item 21, the *Proficiscere*, of which Gellone gives us the earliest attestation; secondly, that in the order of its prayers it shews by another example (what, indeed, is obvious throughout the manuscripts of the eighth-century *Gelas*) that each copyist of this book—or, to speak perhaps more accurately, each church in which it was adopted—varied the order, choice, and arrangement of prayers at discretion. In a word the whole body of the extant manuscripts of this sacramentary, which I have above (p. 152 n. 1) called 'the Roman Sacramentary of King Pippin', evidences in the most speaking way the existence of that 'liturgical anarchy' mentioned p. 15 above, to which Pippin's son Charles, by the introduction of the *Gregorianum*, meant to, and in practice did, for a time, put an end.

There remain the burial services in the Bobbio Missal, in Pope Hadrian's *Gregorianum*, and in the Spanish *Liber Ordinum*. In the observations following the Table something will be said as to the first two; the third, an immense and varied collection, coll. 107–149 of Férotin's *Liber Ordinum*, is of too late a date to call for attention here, although references in the Table will shew how it has affinities with the eighth-century Orders.

For reasons on which there is no call to dwell, the prayers 'in exitu animae', for the immediately departing soul, are treated as if a part of the burial service.

In explanation of the Table following, it should be observed (*a*) that each column shews the order of *the whole* of the service as found in the manuscript mentioned at the head of the column; thus the service in *Gelas* consists of 20 items; (*b*) the numbers up to 20 in columns 2–5 denote the prayers bearing the same numbers in column 1; (*c*) numbers beyond 20 in columns 2–5 shew additional prayers not found in *Gelas*; (*d*) the explicit of each prayer is given as well as the incipit.

Gelas iii 91 (Mur. i 747–752).

Orationes post obitum hominis.

1 Pio recordationis affectu | sua compenset. [*Bo* No. 1, *see* Mur. ii 952]
2 Diri vulneris | aggregari praecipias.
3 Tu nobis Domine auxilium | viventium evadat. [*Bo* No. 2]
4 Suscipe Domine animam . . . de Aegypti partibus | omnia adoravit. [*Moz. Lib. Ord.* col. 110]
5 Suscipe Domine animam . . . vestem | aeternam possideat. [Cf. *Moz. Lib. Ord.* 110–111; *Moz. Missal ed. Lesley* p. 462. 5–13; *St Gall fragment MS.* 1395 *in Warren*, p. 183]
6 Antiqui memores chirographi | repraesentet. [*Bo* No. 4]

Gellone (Paris B. N. MS Lat. 12048 ff. 246ᵇ–249ᵇ).

Orationes super defunctum vel Commendatio animae.

21 Proficiscere anima | in bonis celestibus.
22 Deus ante cuius conspectum defertur | cum electis tuis.

20

3

Deinde dicis capitulum In memoria aeterna erit iustus.
Item alia Ne tradas Domine bestiis animam confitentem tibi.
Item alia Exultent iusti in conspectu Dei.
Item alia Pretiosa in conspectu Domini.
Item alia Exultabunt sancti in gloria.
5 (*to* 'sonum exaudiat')

Oratio post obitum super defunctum.

1

Orationes ad lavandum.

5 (*from* Suscipe . . . habitaculum *to end*)

2

5 (*from* Suscipe . . . habitaculum *to* collocare digneris *revised*)

4

23 Suscipe . . . et mitte ei | recipiatur tabernacula.

6

[*Then follows the mass; cf. Rheinau after* 11 *and* 9]

Godelgaudus of Reims (in Ménard's Notes pp. 260–261; Migne *P. L.* 78. 467–468).

Incipit officium pro defunctis.

In primis cantatur psalmus In exitu Israel *cum antiphona vel* Alleluia.

Deinde has orationes cantat presbyter.

1

collecta sequitur 2
collecta sequitur 3
Item alia 4 [*Ménard after the first three lines has* &c.]
Praefatio defunctorum 6
Collecta nunc sequitur 7
Dicuntur capitula In memoria *et rel.* Ne tradas bestiis *et rel.* Exultent sancti *et rel.* Pretiosa est *et rel.* Exultabunt sancti *et rel.*

Zurich Rheinau MS 30 (in Gerbert *Mon.* i 312–315).

Ordo ad commendationem animae.

21

20

3

Carolingian Supplement to *Greg* (Mur. ii 213–218).

Orationes in agenda mortuorum quando anima egreditur de corpore.

1

24 Deus cui omnia vivunt | indulgendo. [*Brev. Moz.* p. cliv]

25 Suscipe . . . de ergastulo | resuscitari mereatur. [Ibid.]

26 Non intres in iudicium | signaculo Trinitatis. [Ibid.]

27 Fac quaesumus Domine hanc | angelicis choris. [*Brev. Moz.* p. clii]

28 Inclina Domine aurem tuam | esse consortem. [*Greg in* Mur. ii 270]

29 Absolve Domine animam | resuscitatus respiret. [Ibid.]

30 Annue nobis Domine | peccatorum. [Ibid.]

Ad lavandum corpus.

5

6

7

Et incipit psalm. canere et lavare corpus, et ponitur in feretro, et antequam de domo egrediatur dicit antiphonam Ad aeterna formasti me. *Psal.* Dominus regit me.

7 (*a second time; so in Gerbert's print; but?*)

Post haec continuatim canantur psalmi, et postea dicantur capitula

In memoria aeterna erit iustus.

Ne tradas bestiis animas confitentium tibi.

Pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius.

Non intres in iudicium cum servo tuo Domine.

Requiem aeternam dona ei Domine.

Gelas iii 91	*Gellone* (Paris B. N. MS)	Godelgaudus of Reims
7 Deus qui iustis supplicationibus | muneris portionem. [*Bo* No. 3]		
8 *Dic cap*[*itul.*] In memoria aeterna.		
Item orationes antequam ad sepulchrum deferatur.	**Item orationes ante sepulchrum priusquam sepeliatur.**	**Item oratio antequam ad sepulchrum deferatur.**
9 Deum iudicem universitatis | resuscitet. [*Miss. Goth.* Mass 33]	7 11 9	*Praefatio* 9 *Collecta sequitur* 10
10 Te Domine Sancte, Pater | consequatur aeternum. [*Bo* No. 5; *Moz. Lib. Ord.* coll. 124–125]	12 10	*Item nunc praefatio* 11 *Collecta sequitur* 12
11 Omnipotentis Dei misericordiam dilectissimi fratres | collocare dignetur.		
12 Deus qui universorum | praesentari. [*Bo post nom. of Missa sacerd. defuncti*, Mur. ii 949]		
Item orationes ad sepulchrum priusquam sepeliatur		**Oratio ad sepulchrum priusquam sepeliatur.**
13 Oremus fratres carissimi pro | orantibus sanctis.	13	13 (*but ending* orantibus nobis)
14 Opus misericordiae tuae est | Abrahae.		*Collecta eiusdem sequitur* 14
15 Redemptor animarum Deus | morte patiaris.		
Item orationes post sepulturam.	**Or. post sepul[tu]r[am].**	**Praefatio post sepulturam.**
16 Debitum humani corporis | perfrui concedas.	16	16

[1] I have not been able to find this prayer in its entirety as it is found in the Supplement. The first part 'Obsecramus . . . misericorditer suscipias' is *Moz.* Lesley p. 459. 64–70; for the second part 'Non ei dominentur . . . caligo' see *Moz. Lib. Ord.* col. 134 ll. 5–6; the words 'in sinu . . . iubeas' look like a rewrite of *Gelas* iii 105 p. comm., cf. *Lib. Ord.* 134. 7–9. But, though Alcuin will carefully revise an existing text, he does not indulge in this sort of patchwork stuff. I cannot but think that the prayer lay before him in the form in which it is found in the Supplement. Its second part contains the expression 'cum sanctis et electis' which (as pointed out *Book of Cerne* pp. 243–245) is characteristically Irish. It occurs twice in *Lib. Ord.*, 'cum sanctis omnibus et electis', col. 126. 3–4, col. 423. 34 (but the texts of the *Lib. Ord.* seem to me, speaking generally, as if they had undergone late revision and to be so far of a value inferior to those of the Missal and Breviary of Cardinals Ximenes and Lorenzana); it also occurs in the letter of Idalius, bishop

Zurich Rheinau MS

Carolingian Supplement to *Greg*

Postea portatur in ecclesiam canentibus interim antiph. cum psalm. Ant. Tu iussisti nasci me Domine *Psal.* Quemadmodum *Ant.* Audi vocem de caelo *Psal.* Dilexi quoniam.

℣ In memoria aeterna *Al.* Redemit Dominus *Al.* Ne tradas Domine *Al.* Exaudi nos Deus *Al.* Exaudi orationem ad te *Al. ant.* Non derelinquas me Deus *Al.* Delicta iuventutis meae. *Et can.* Miserere mei Deus.

11

9

Postea deputandi sunt qui ibidem sine intermissione usque dum ipsum corpus sepel. psallant psalmos vel respons. permixta, et ipsum corpus semper in ecclesia debet [sic] *usque pro anima missa celebratur; cum vero ipsa expleta fuerit, antequam, etc.*

12

Levatur ipsum corpus, procedentes ante (illud) cum cereis vel turibulum cum incensis, cantibus, antiphonis cum psalm. An. In Paradisum deducant

Incipiunt orationes post lavationem corporis.

31 Deus vitae dator | confoveri iubeas. [*Moz.* Lesley p. 459, 52–62]

32 Deus qui humanarum animarum | consortiis. [*Brev. Moz.* p. clii]

Orationes ante sepulchrum priusquam sepeliatur.

33 Obsecramus misericordiam tuam | resuscitari iubeas.[1]

34 Deus apud quem mortuorum | gaudia repromissa. [*Brev. Moz.* p. cxlix-cl; *Férotin's Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* col. 757 *from Toledo MS* 35. 7 *saec.* ix or x]

Oratio post sepultum corpus.

13[2]

of Barcelona (Migne *P. L.* 96. 459) to Julian of Toledo acknowledging the latter's *Prognosticon lib. iii* (see p. 170 n. 1 above), but nowhere in Julian's own work.

[2] This prayer (*Oremus fratres carissimi pro spiritu cari nostri*, &c.) does not appear to be in the Mozarabic books; but the Gallican expression 'cari nostri' as applied to the dead, and the Irish 'inter sanctos et electos' would lead us to expect that it is not from a Spanish source. As to the Spanish use of 'carus' for the living, not as in Gaul for the dead, see *Book of Cerne* p. 263 note 4; see also Julian of Toledo's *Prognost.* lib. ii capp. 26, 27, 'carorum viventium', 'carorum superstitum' (Migne *P. L.* 96. 487 D, 488 A, C); in lib. i cap. 19 it is used of the dead 'ubi sepultum sit charissimi corpus' and then immediately after 'a fidelibus carissimis' of the deceased person's living relatives (ibid. 474 B); 'cari' for the living in the Bobbio Missal (ed. Mabillon, p. 325); for the

Gelas iii 91	*Gellone* (Paris B. N. MS)	Godelgaudus of Reims
17 Omnipotens aet. Ds. qui humano | sociari.	17	
18 Obsequiis autem rite | in regno vivorum.	18 (*ending* careat ignis aeterni) *Item alia* (18: Adepturis *to end*) 15	
Commendatio animae.	**Commendatio animae.**	
19 Commendamus tibi | Salvator mundi.	19	19
20 Deus apud quem omnia morientia | ablue indulgendo. [*Moz. Lib. Ord.* col. 122]		

This Table suggests many 'observations'. I must make a selection, and deal with each item by way of indication, sufficient to set any reader in the way, if he please, to follow up enquiries for himself.

(1) First, the Table will enable any one to recognize the original elements of the Offices of prayer for deceased persons and of burial in any mediaeval Rituale, Manuale, &c., from the tenth to the sixteenth century, home or foreign, to observe how these are utilized, and to see at once what are the later accretions; with very little trouble, to see too what is the nature, character, tone, spirit of these latter compared with the early elements.

(2) The Rheinau Order is particularly interesting in this respect; it is not merely that the rubrics are more detailed, but it is as if an 'early anticipation' of those interesting and picturesque details of later rites, the censings and aspersions and the rest.

(3) There is another point which calls for attention in this Rheinau Order, namely, its last prayer, which is nothing else than the last prayer of Alcuin's Order, and derived, like nearly all the rest of that Order, from a Spanish source. I do not know how it may strike others; but to me, all circumstances considered, it appears very unlikely that the compiler of the Rheinau book drew the prayer from any other source than the Carolingian Supplement to Hadrian's *Gregorianum*, i. e. Alcuin. If this be allowed, it is, I would add, the earliest trace of the existence of this Supplement known to me in contemporary documents; and (if the palaeographers be right as to the

dead only once so far as I see in *Lib. Ord.* 399. 34; and once in *Moz. Psalter*, 'et omnes patrum fratrum carorumque animas', p. 347. But, as may sufficiently appear from this last quoted book alone, 'cari' is not a characteristic word for the dead in the Spanish as it is in the Gallican documents.

Zurich Rheinau MS	Carolingian Supplement to *Greg*
te *Psal.* Ad te Domine levavi *Ant.* Ingrediar in locum tabernaculi *Psal.* Quemadmodum desiderat. *Et ponunt in sarcophago, et antequam cooperiant orant omnes pariter pro ipsa anima et cantant* Miserere mei Deus. *Et sacerdos dicit praefationem sepulturae.*	7[1] 16[2]
16 *Postea cooperitur, cant. interim antiph.* Aperite mihi portas *Psal* Confitemini D.	
Commendatio animae.	35 Temeritatis quidem est | coronandus. [*Moz. Lib. Ord.* col. 125 ll. 25–42]
36	36 Tibi Domine commendamus | absterge. [*Brev. Moz.* p. cli]

date of the Rheinau MS) would shew that the Supplement was already in circulation in the latest years of the eighth century.

(4) It is to be observed that Alcuin's Order is the only one which contains the all-familiar *Requiem aeternam*, &c., and it is the earliest attestation known to me, though not, I think, the earliest trace of its use. The very elaborate canon 27 of the Council of Cloveshoe of 747 'De sanctae psalmodiae utilitate' has these words: '... sive etiam pro aliis viventibus seu mortuis cum expleta quantalibet psalmodia, genu flectentes in orationem, et lingua Latina vel qui eam non didicerunt sua Saxonica dicunt (for the living, so and so) ... sive id pro mortuis, "Domine secundum magnam misericordiam tuam *da requiem animae illius, atque ei,* pro tua immensa pietate, gaudia *lucis aeternae donare* cum tuis sanctis dignare"' (Haddan and Stubbs iii 373). I do not mean to imply that the *Requiem aeternam* was in official use in the church service in England at the time of the Council of Cloveshoe; quite the contrary. But in view of its occurrence in Alcuin's Order it seems to me not improbable that the verse was in use in England, even in its present form, in private devotions during the eighth century. Whether by the end of that century it was in use in the service in England *non liquet.*

(5) In none of these Orders is there trace of anything that can be identified with the present Office of the Dead—vespers, matins, lauds. Their evidence goes to shew that as yet (except for a small portion of the psalm-singing in the Rheinau Order) the choice and number of

[1] I cannot find this prayer in the Mozarabic books, but it contains the characteristic Irish 'cum sanctis et electis'.

[2] Not in the Mozarabic books; it has the expression 'sanctis ac fidelibus'.

psalms was left entirely free. The earliest indications that I can find of an Office like our present one are in Benedict of Aniane (see below, 'Origin of the Prymer' p. 217); and earlier still in Angilbert, cap. xvi of the Order printed below, p. 327. The part of Angilbert's Order which was to give the details of this Office ('ut in sequentibus declaratur') has unfortunately not been preserved. It is to be noticed that the Office of the Dead was to be said not in the main church where the regular Office had been said, but in an oratory (St Maurice's). In any case what is contemplated by Angilbert is the *daily* recital of an Office for the Dead, with vespers, matins and lauds, and this is, to my knowledge, the earliest witness to the practice.

Mgr Batiffol tells us that 'ce pathétique office de la vigile des morts' was 'créé à Rome au commencement du VIII^e^ siècle au plus tard', and that it was 'véritablement l'office romain dans son état le plus pur'. But then I venture to think that this assertion has about the same value as Mgr Duchesne's assurance of the true Roman purity of his Ordo of St-Amand. There seems not the least reason for considering that the origin of our modern Office of the Dead is in Rome, or for doubting that it originated in the Frankish Church, and this is the case too as regards the mass for the dead now in use, which bears on its face the clearest marks of its Franco-Gallic origin.

(6) It will be noticed that whilst Alcuin keeps but four of the prayers hitherto in use in Gaul, and newly adds ten which (so far as my knowledge goes) are found only in Spanish books (and one of the ten in the Bobbio Missal also), he incorporates bodily the three prayers (Nos. 28, 29, 30 of the Table) prescribed in Hadrian's *Gregorianum* 'in agenda mortuorum' (Muratori ii 270). I would suggest—and I do not see what reasonable objection can be urged against this view—that in these three prayers we have the Roman burial service corresponding to the prayers of the burial services set forth in the Table.

It may be asked: but where is the mass? In such case I would in my turn ask: when the specific mentions of the bishop are removed (that is to say, when the words 'et sacerdotis tui episcopi'—'sacerdotum'—'episcopi' are removed) from the prayers composing the mass Mur. ii 269–270, what is there in this mass which renders it anything but perfectly suitable for any or all Christians? Rome is not Gaul; the religious sense and feeling of the two is widely different; why should Rome be required or expected to have a dozen or more different formulae of mass for different classes of dead persons because they had such a dozen or more in Gaul (see *Book of Cerne*, pp. 270–272) and in Spain?

(7) As to the burial srevice of the Bobbio Missal: it consists of five prayers found in *Gelas* iii 91, namely Nos. 1, 3, 7, 6 and 10 in the

first column of the Table, and in this order. The Bobbio texts shew variants and in the case of the last prayer, No. 10 (which is also found in Spain in a text akin to that in *Bo* rather than that in *Gelas*), a curtailment. Are we to infer that the Order of *Gelas* iii 91 existed and was in use in Gaul in the seventh century, and that the compiler of the Bobbio Missal made a selection from it? I simply raise the question; to discuss it properly would entail the raising of other questions as to *Gelas* in the form in which this book appears in the unique MS Vat. 316. This would be out of place here, and the time for such an enquiry is, I venture to think, not yet come. So far as I can form an opinion I think that *Bo* is the derived text.

(8) As seen above, the Gellone Order and that of the Zurich MS afford the first attestation of the prayer *Proficiscere anima Christiana*, and this prayer, in these two MSS, embodies the prayer *Suscipe* with its subsequent *Libera* invocations, now found in the *Rituale Romanum* as a separate prayer divided from the *Proficiscere* by the lengthy prayer *Commendo te*. The late M. Edmond Le Blant, from the archaeological and liturgical point of view, has written at length on these *Libera* invocations, making many interesting *rapprochements*, in order to illustrate the connexion of early Gaulish piety with early Eastern (Greek) prayers (see *Sarcophages d'Arles*, 1878, pp. xxiii, xxvi, xxx–xxxvii). It was perhaps unfortunate that he and other recent writers did not know how recent is the first attestation (or, as I should say, origin) of the *Proficiscere*, and of the *Libera* invocations which originally formed an integral part of it, namely, the middle of the eighth century.

There is more to be said. Not merely is the origin of the prayer late, but when it appeared it did not spread; on the contrary, there is a gap of more than two centuries, which I have been unable to bridge over, before it again makes its appearance in church rituals. The following are the only instances of its occurrence earlier than the twelfth century known to me: (1) in a Jumièges ritual written before 1032 (Martene, *de ant. eccl. rit.* lib. iii cap. 15 Ordo vii); (2) in a ritual of Remiremont in Lorraine of *c.* 1100 (ibid. Ordo iv); (3) in the so-called 'Breviarium' of Monte Cassino written in the time of abbat Oderisius, now MS Paris, Bibl. Mazarine No. 364 (ibid. §§ 5, 6); (4) in a missal of the eleventh century written at Norcia (Ebner, p. 199); (5) in another written in the region of Aquileia (ibid. p. 21); (6) in a ritual of the eleventh century of the monks of S. Ambrogio at Milan (Magistretti *Manuale Ambros.* i p. 83).

Except No. (5) (as to which *non liquet*) all these are monastic; moreover, (1) and (2) have a connecting link in the reforming monk St William of Dijon, who was a native of Northern Italy and founded the monastery of Fructuaria there. These facts seem suffi-

ciently to tell their own tale; though it is proper to observe that there is no mention of the *Proficiscere* in William's 'Consuetudines Fructuarienses' recently edited for the first time by Dom Bruno Albers (*Consuetudines monasticae* iv, 1911, pp. 182–189).]

Note B

(See p. 174 note 2.)

The Book of Cerne.

[As there seems but little chance at present that an attempt will be made to investigate those very important documents for the early history of religion in England, MS Reg. 2 A xx and the *Book of Cerne*, I have thought it well to put on record some at least of the circumstances, facts, and conditions under which discussion of the question of the age and *provenance* of the second of these books will have to be conducted. What follows is to be taken as of the nature of indication and *aide-mémoire*. But I shall not end without a statement of my own ideas as to the origin of the *Book of Cerne*, and as to what that book really is.

(1) Let the first place be for the reviewers:—

(*a*) In the *Guardian* (11 Feb. 1903) the writer of the review considers that there can be no reasonable doubt who is the bishop Aedeluald of the acrostic in the *Book of Cerne*; namely, Aedeluald bishop of Lichfield 818–830; and he thinks the editor's suggestion that it may be Aedeluald, bishop of Lindisfarne 721–740, not merely 'seems unwarranted' but 'is, surely, conjecture run wild'. The grounds are these: 'you have a Mercian ninth-century MS referring by name to a bishop Aedelwald, and a bishop of that name is known to have existed in Mercia at that date.' It will be seen that hardly anything can be more simple.

(*b*) In the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Oct. 1902, vol. iv pp. 148–149 is a notice by the Rev. F. E. Brightman, who simply says: 'The editor identifies "Aedeluald the bishop" . . . with Aethelwold of Lichfield 818–830'. This, however, is not the case.

(*b*) The reviewer in the *Athenaeum*, Nov. 8, 1902, is much more guarded; he says: 'If, then, the bishop Aethelwold of this MS was living when it was written, it follows that he must be identified with the Lichfield bishop . . . and the date of the book is confined to

a period of about twelve years.' It would seem as if the writer knew by experience that early MSS have sometimes revelations to make that are apt to be disconcerting to critics in a hurry.

So much for our reviewers at home. There is also a foreign reviewer—a German this time—of whom mention must be made here, for in fact he it was who first set me, as did Traube later, on the present enquiry. The late Dr Paul Drews, in a review in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* of Leipzig, 17 Jan. 1903, among other interesting things observed: There is no ground for calling the MS *Book of Cerne*; but what ground is there for calling it the *Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop*? This is only an assumption; this bishop is twice mentioned in the book . . . but must therefore the book itself as it stands be his? This is possible; but does the fact that a collection of poetry contains poems by Goethe justify us in bringing the collection into intimate and personal relation to Goethe? These remarks struck me the more inasmuch as, so far as my observation of his work goes, when Professor P. Drews goes on wrong lines, it is lines that were suggested to him by somebody else; but when he strikes out a line for himself he commonly shews more than common acumen, good sense, and judgement. Having no answer ready for his questions I simply stored them in memory, waiting for the time, if it might be, when there might come 'more light'.

(2) When the late Ludwig Traube brought into notice the fact that the library of Fulda once contained a MS called 'The Hymnar of Edilwald', it seemed to me that here was a first gleam. Turning at once to the acrostic I saw, as stated above, what I had not observed before—that the writer of the acrostic describes the nature of what he calls 'this volume', and that that description comprises two items: (*a*) '*oracula* [so I would read: '*oraculum*' Henry Bradshaw: and '*oraculo*' F. A. Paley] *texti*'; and (*b*) '*carmina*'. On then turning to the contents of the book there could be no doubt that it does contain two items that come precisely under (*a*), namely, the Breviate Psalter compiled by 'oeðelwald the bishop' (pp. 174–195) and introductory excerpts from the four gospels (pp. 5–79).

(3) But the 'carmina' of course baffled me; I naturally could recognize only a very few; we have no Wilhelm Meyer, Ludwig Traube, Paul von Winterfeld in England; and the *Book of Cerne* was not Professor Atkinson's concern. F. Clemens Blume's *Hymnodia Hiberno-Celtica saeculi v–xi* (*Pars altera* of vol. li of the *Analecta Hymnica*, 1908) brought some light on the question. Of the 51 hymns[1]

[1] Blume's Nos. 245 and 248 comprise, each, two hymns.

of which the collection consists, twenty-seven come from single MSS; thus:

four MSS contribute, each, one hymn (Nos. 232, 241, 255, 257);
two „ „ „ two hymns (Nos. 242, 246 and 250, 251);
one MS contributes three hymns (Nos. 238, 249, 254).

On the other hand, the single *Bangor Antiphonar* preserves no less than nine, and the *Book of Cerne* seven, not found elsewhere. This is not all; so far as the last-named MS is concerned, account has to be taken of Nos. 224 and 227, which are preserved only in the *Book of Cerne* and in the two English MSS (one hymn in each) 2 A xx and the Nunnaminster Book (Harl. MS 2965), thus practically bringing the *Cerne* number up to nine; for, as both these MSS are by their contents closely related to the *Book of Cerne*, is it not possible, is it not likely—now that we know of the existence of a 'Hymnar of Edilwald'—that the seven hymns preserved in *Cerne* alone, and the two common to *Cerne* and the MSS 2 A xx and the Nunnaminster Book, may, all the nine pieces, be drawn from 'Edilwald's Hymnar'? Moreover, it is to the point to note that there is a marked difference in character between the hymns of the *Bangor Antiphonar* and those of the *Book of Cerne*; the hymns in the former are (except one or two) evidently hymns for the Church Services; those in *Cerne* are all of a personal cast.

I do not know how it may be with any reader who may have followed me so far, but I must own for myself that, helped by lines 12–13 of the acrostic, in which 'Aedeluald episcopus' or some friend of his gives an account of his work, I seem to begin to see daylight piercing through the obscurities surrounding this question of the *Book of Cerne*, and am led to think that, as Paul Drews had divined, the Cambridge manuscript as little deserves the title of *Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop* as it does the title of *Book of Cerne*.

(4) Before stating my own view as to the character and origin of this manuscript I think it desirable to point out two or three of the questions which will have to be considered before the authorship of the Cambridge manuscript can be assigned to Aedeluald bishop of Lichfield 818–830.

On this supposition it would have to be contended either that the Fulda 'Hymnar of Edilwald' and the work described in ll. 12–13 of the acrostic are two different books; or that the work of bishop Aedeluald of Lichfield came to Fulda in the course of the ninth century or later.—The first is a thesis which would, I think, be difficult to prove, or even make probable; I wait to see this done; and proceed to observations on the second.

(*a*) It is easy to understand how books of English and insular origin

like the Hymnar of Edilwald (if he be considered Edilwald of Lindisfarne), and the Irish Missal that we call by the name of 'Stowe', could come to Fulda in its English period, that is to say within the first twenty or thirty years of its foundation. If it be contended that the Hymnar of the Fulda catalogue is the work of the bishop of Lichfield, it would have to be shewn that Fulda in the ninth century was in such communication with England that there was commerce of books between the one and the other. Facts on this point are wanted; nothing else—not general considerations for instance—will do.

(*b*) Further, it is to be observed that the 'carmina' in the *Book of Cerne* are of the Irish, the non-metric,[1] type. The Latin verse which comes from English pens, even from the earliest period, the verse of Aldhelm, Boniface, Bede, Aedelwulf, Alcuin, is almost entirely metrical. The Irish non-metric type of Latin versification early died out in England, and in England it was never favoured. We can understand how such compositions might still come from the pen of Aedeluald bishop of Lindisfarne 721–740 and men of his generation, men trained and formed whilst Irishry was still a living though declining force in England. But if these pieces are by the Mercian Aedeluald of Lichfield, it would have to be explained how it came about that he should revert to the Irish form of verse, long *démodé* in England and at no time popular with writers of English birth. Nor will the case be mended if it be said that this Aedeluald only collected but did not write the 'carmina', which formed with Holy Scripture (so says the acrostic) the substance of his book.

(*c*) There is another difficulty—the Breviate Psalter of bishop Oeðelwald included in the volume. I do not know where to refer for a competent account of this class of document, and must therefore fall back on my own resources. I know six of these Psalters, five in print and one in manuscript; that in the Irish *Liber hymnorum* from Jerome's 'Gallican' text; two from his 'Roman text'; and one (Bede's[2]) from his 'Hebrew' text. One is of a late date, that of Prudentius of Troyes, written about the year 833 for the comfort and consolation of the Empress Judith in those direful days; it is rather a personal composition than a psalter-text. Finally, the MS Breviate may probably be by Eginhard, and is 'Gallican'. After a detailed consideration and investigation of the extant specimens of 'Breviate

[1] Here, to avoid misconception, I must explain that by 'metric' I mean to designate the metric of Latin classical poetry; and by 'non-metric' the specifically Irish form of versification whether dependent on rhythm, or rhyme, or alliteration, or assonance, &c.

[2] The Bede's Psalter edited by Martene and reprinted in Migne *P. L.* 94. 515–527 is the same document as that incorporated by Alcuin in his *Officia per ferias* (*P. L.* 101. 569–579) under the title 'Collectio Psalterii Bedae'.

Psalter', it appears to me to be historically a devotion of Irish origin and propagation, and to have been cultivated in England only while the Irish influence was still, from old associations at any rate, a living force. If the Breviate Psalter in the *Book of Cerne* be by Aedeluald of Lichfield 818–830 some reasonable explanation would have to be given, as in the case of the Irish non-metric versification, of the revival in Mercia by this prelate of this form of devotion. A reference to Alcuin's incorporation in his *Officia per ferias* of Bede's Breviate will, for several reasons, not be enough.

(5) And now as to what the *Book of Cerne* really is. The following is an outline of the case of the Cambridge manuscript as it presents itself to me:

(*a*) Paul Drews was quite right in rejecting the title of 'The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop' as unauthorized, unsupported, and without foundation. There never was such a Prayer Book.

(*b*) What did exist was a 'Hymnar of Edilwald the Bishop'. It was the book in the Fulda library.

(*c*) This book was the work of Aedeluald, bishop of Lindisfarne 721–740; and consisted of Scripture excerpts (among which the Breviate Psalter of his own making) and 'carmina': hymns, verse-pieces. There is nothing to shew that the versifications contained in it were anything else than pieces of his own composition; or that it contained any mere prose prayers at all; and there is no positive reason either why he may not have included 'carmina' written by others.

(*d*) This Hymnar of bishop Aedeluald was in the hands of the compiler of the Cambridge manuscript, who excerpted from it what he thought proper for his own design, namely, certain 'hymns', the Breviate Psalter, and not improbably some, if not all, of the Gospel extracts at the beginning of the manuscript.[1] If so, this would easily explain how the acrostic, which occurs between the extracts from St Mark and those from St Luke, came into the Cambridge MS.

(*e*) Dr Drews was also quite right in insisting that the Cambridge manuscript shews, so far as the prayers are concerned, 'eine sicher beabsichtigte Ordnung'. In connexion with this should be taken the remark of Dom Kuypers in his Introduction p. xviii, 'that the *Book of Cerne* is not an original or homogeneous collection of prayers, but was derived directly or indirectly from more than one

[1] This remark is made of course subject to revision and control by the competent expert. So far as I understand the case I gather from the Notes on the Biblical Text of the Gospel Extracts in *Book of Cerne* pp. 226–231 that there is nothing in this Biblical Text which would not agree with the supposition that they were the excerpts made by this bishop of Lindisfarne; but that is a point as to which we must desire a clear and express opinion from the expert.

source'; and his pointing to the probability that it 'was made up from different booklets'.]

Note C

(See p. 179 note 2.)

'Spanish Symptoms' in North Italy.

[Considering the question of 'Spanish Symptoms' in North Italy from a point of view other than the palaeographical, I would add a few notes of my own.

The MS of the Spanish *Orationale* at Verona is by some stated to be of the eighth century, or even the seventh (so Dom Férotin, *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* col. 947; I gather that this must also be the opinion of Don A. Spagnolo, the present librarian). If so, it would not be the only copy of a Spanish MS of so early a date even in the Verona Library itself, for MS LXI (59) is a MS saec. vii–viii of the Spanish Epitome (see Maassen, *Gesch. d. Quellen d. canonischen Rechts* p. 646) compiled some time between 598 and 633 (ibid. p. 661), of which the existing MSS are to be found only outside Spain (ibid.). The extreme corruption of the text of this MS noted by Maassen (p. 647) also deserves notice.

In connexion with it the Novara MS LXXXIV (54) deserves attention, though this is of so late a date as the ninth century (Maassen, p. 717). It too is a canonical collection, the origin of which there is good ground for assigning to Spain; it contains no document later than the Council of Toledo of 638 and it is independent of the Hispana; moreover, as is the case with the Verona MS mentioned above, no copy of the collection exists in Spain, but it survives only in North Italian libraries (Novara, Brescia, Monza, Lucca; see Maassen, pp. 719–720, cf. p. 717).

Again, quite recently Dom Wilmart has printed (in the *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes* of Fribourg, number of 15 July 1914, pp. 176–187) a Bobbio MS fragment, barbarously corrupt in text, of the seventh century. On examination the prayers it contains prove themselves to be of Spanish origin. But there is more: the Verona *Leonianum* is more famous than any of the MSS just mentioned; it is clearly not a *unicum*, for the Gallican Missals —the *Gothicum*, *Gallicanum*, *Francorum*—all draw, and draw freely, from this collection, which, it is evident, must have been, as a document or collection, once widely spread on this side of the Alps; and it is probable that, whilst all manuscripts embodied the original

Roman nucleus, all and each may have received later additions which have nothing to do with that nucleus. In the 'Liturgical Note on the Book of Cerne' I called attention, for an item here or there, to 'Spanish Symptoms' in the Verona MS of the *Leonianum*.[1]

It is now possible to go a step further. In his *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters* (vol. ii of *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, 1911) Traube (p. 28 and note 5) pointed out that the Verona MS XL (38) is of '*scriptura Luxoviensis*'; already in vol. i (1909) p. 162 he had pointed out Bobbio as the 'Bibliotheksheimat' of this (now) Verona MS. It would already appear then that we must not assume that 'Spanish' MSS now at Verona were necessarily written there any more than this one.

Dr Rudolf Beer's recent 'Bemerkungen über den ältesten Handschriftenbestand des Klosters Bobbio' (*Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, *philos.-hist. Classe*, 1911, No. 11) carries the matter yet further forward. His object is to shew that Cassiodorus's library at Vivarium, or a considerable portion of it, came to Bobbio. At pp. 89–90 he says that in his view there is no evidence for the existence of a native writing school at Verona in the seventh century, whilst the Verona MSS of about that age can be shewn to have come to Verona from elsewhere, and the Sulpicius Severus of 517, Verona MS XXXVIII (36), certainly written at Verona, stands, he considers, alone. Be that as it may, he also calls attention to the Bobbio origin of other Verona MSS besides that mentioned by Traube as above: the Didascalia fragments edited by Hauler, Verona MS LV (53) (p. 82, cf. p. 90); the Verona MS XXXIX (37), Cassiodorus's 'Complexiones in Epist. Apostolorum' (p. 99). His paper indeed raises the question whether the whole of the early 'Spanish' MSS—i. e. copies of Spanish originals—now at Verona did not come there from Bobbio; just as Traube (*Vorlesungen* ii p. 131 cf. p. 126) says it is 'certain' that we can shew that some portions of the Bobbio MSS were 'written in Spain and Africa'. 'Perhaps (he adds) there were monks who came to Bobbio directly from Spain, and through Spain from Africa. That was already in the seventh century.'

There remains yet one more item to be noticed. It will take some time to develop the case; but the time must be given.

In October 1910 Dom Germain Morin delivered at Oxford four lectures on 'The Origin of the Athanasian Creed'; these were printed, in the form of two articles, in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for

[1] In his review of that volume in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, t. vii, 1902, pp. 556–564, abbé Paul Lejay, in this matter (p. 560) as in other points, understood what I was driving at in these occasional indications scattered through the 'annotation touffue' of that 'Note', namely traces of Hispanism (through Irish handiwork) in the Verona MS of the *Leonianum*.

January and April 1911. His conclusion is that it is a Spanish production dating from soon after the middle, or at all events from the second half, of the sixth century. Those acquainted with the hot, and I think I may say distinctly tendentious, disputes over this document in England in the last two generations will not expect that such a conclusion will be either accepted or acceptable in many quarters; but there seems to have supervened at any rate a certain *accalmie* in the ranks of convinced disputants. The first of the two articles in the *J. T. S.* was devoted to criticism of the methods hitherto commonly employed to solve the difficult question, and to explaining the hopelessness of arriving at a result that will carry conviction to reasonable minds so long as those methods are persisted in. His remarks on this subject, in view of past attempts, seem to me, I may say in passing, singularly pertinent. The second article, arguing for a Spanish origin, seemed to recall to my mind how (if his preconceived notion of a late, ninth century, origin of the Creed be eliminated) the idea of a Spanish origin naturally suggests itself to the reader of the late Dr Swainson in his volume on the Creeds published in 1875, which still remains a record of pioneer work and of original research honourable to English scholarship, in spite of all its weaknesses and defects, and in spite too of what has been done since. True that it is to-day almost painful to read pp. 313–322, where Dr Swainson deals with what is now universally recognized as the oldest MS of the Athanasian Creed, the Cod. Ambros. O 212, from Bobbio, of about the year 700.[1]

The Athanasian Creed, then, so far as documentary evidence goes, is first discovered in the great Irish centre in North Italy. But how did it come there?

Dom Morin (p. 342) points, so far as concerns the Creed, to the 'Spanish Symptoms' of the Ambrosian MS: the *Fides* of Bachiarius,[2]

[1] Still, the difficulties on the side of palaeography, in which Dr Swainson was not an 'expert', ought to be remembered. Muratori attributed the MS to 700, or a little earlier; Montfaucon, after inspection, said 'Codex viii saeculi charactere Langobardico'; Dr Ceriani in August 1871 in reply to Dr Swainson's enquiry as to his opinion of its date, with the MS before him, 'assured me that he considered it to be of the eighth century' (p. 317); thirty years later Dr Ceriani had reverted to Muratori's opinion (*J. T. S.* vol. xii p. 161 note 3). These little but highly embarrassing difficulties are inevitable so long as people will trust to general expressions of opinion on the part of the 'expert' without detailed and clear reasons given; and the palaeographical expert continues the practice of settling technical questions in this authoritative manner.

[2] Dom Morin (p. 242) speaks of the MSS of the *Bachiarii Fides* being 'relativement rares'; should it not be 'excessively rare'? Is any other MS extant besides that now at Milan? Montfaucon in his *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum MSS* could record no other copy (so Florio, *Bachiarii monachi Opuscula*, p. lxiv as regards the mediaeval period, only one library among those in G. Becker's *Catalogi* possessed it—Fulda, in the twelfth century. It is not improbable that

a Spanish writer of the fourth and fifth centuries, immediately preceding the Creed; then, with the intervention of a sermon on the Ascension, the *Libellus Fidei* of Gregory of Elvira, also a Spanish writer of the fourth century. But there is a 'Symptom' much more significant than these, and one that is of singular interest for the purpose of the present Note.

Muratori (*Anecdota* vol. ii, 1698) points out (p. 226) that immediately after the closing words of the Creed, 'salvus esse non poterit', in the same line, the script continues thus:

'Lacta, mater, eum qui fecit te, quia talem fecit te, ut ipse fieret in te. Lacta eum qui fructum foecunditatis tibi dedit conceptus, et decus virginitatis non abstulit natus.'[1]

At p. 227 he remarks on this: 'I do not know to what writer these words are to be ascribed. Would that I knew! for perhaps then we might hold a clue to guide us to the author of the Creed' ('fortassis enim nobis coniectura esset qua Symboli auctorem cognosceremus').

The words in question are to be found textually (with the exception of the word 'ergo' for 'mater' and 'qui' for 'quia') in the seventh of the Hildefonsine collection of sermons on the Blessed Virgin which has been spoken of at length in the preceding paper (pp. 176–178); which sermon I have said forms with viii and ix a special sub-group. That the sermon vii is the source from which the piece of text in the Ambrosian MS has been drawn is clear when the texts of the various ancient sermons containing the 'Lacta' *motif* are reviewed. It occurs, to my knowledge, in the following sermons:

(1) A sermon attributed to St Augustine embodied by Arnobius Junior (*c.* 450) in the *Arnobii et Serapionis conflictus* lib. ii cap. 31 (see Migne *P. L.* 53. 317 A). This sermon is, with some modifications of its text, printed from other MSS by the Benedictine editors of St Augustine among the 'sermones dubii' (serm. 369); Augustine's authorship is dismissed by them with contempt (see *P. L.* 39. 1655).

(2) Sermon 128 'In Natali Domini xii' in the Benedictines' Appendix to the sermons of St Augustine (see *P. L.* 39. 1998).

(3) Same Appendix, sermon 119, 'In Natali Domini iii' (see ibid. col. 1984).

(4) Sermon viii of the Hildefonsine collection (see *P. L.* 96. 271).

(5) Sermon vii of the same collection (see ibid. col. 268 B).

this copy may still have existed at Fulda in the middle of the sixteenth century (see F. Falk *Beiträge* iv 1 23 at p. 95 'Liber S. Baccharii'; iv 4 15 p. 97 is a copy of Bachiarius's other tract *De reparatione lapsi*).

[1] See plate xxiv lines 4–6 in Dr A. E. Burn's *Facsimiles of the Creeds*, Henry Bradshaw Society vol. xxxvi, 1909.

The following Table shews these five texts corresponding to the scrap in the Ambrosian MS O 212 immediately after, and in the same hand as, the Athanasian Creed.

Cod. Ambros. O 212	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Lacta mater eum qui fecit te,	L. e.	L. e.	L. Maria creatorem tuum,	L. e.	L. ergo e. q. f. t.,
quia talem fecit te ut ipse fieret[2] in te.	qui t. f. t. u. i. f. i. t.,	qui t. f. t. u. et i. f. i. t.,		qui t. f. t. u. i. f. i. t.,	qui[1] t. f. t. u. i. f. i. t.
Lacta eum qui fructum foecunditatis tibi dedit conceptus,	q. tibi et munus f. attulit c.,	q. tibi et munus f. attulit c.,	l. panem caeli, pretium mundi, (etc.)	q. tibi munus f. attulit c.,	L. e. q. fr. foec. t. d. c.,
et decus virginitatis non abstulit natus.	e. d. v. n. a. n.	e. donum v. n. a. n.		e. d. v. n. a. n.	e. d. v. n. a. n.

In view of this Table it is not, I conceive, open to doubt that the sermon vii of the Hildefonsine collection is the source whence the writer of the Athanasian Creed in Cod. Ambros. O 212 drew his scrap, since in that sermon only does the text exist in the particular form in which it is found in the Bobbio (now Ambrosian) MS immediately at the end of the earliest known copy of the Athanasian Creed.

I have no intention of putting my finger into the burning controversy which has raged round that document,[3] and, what is more,

[1] 'qui': so the print; but ? if 'quia' be not the true reading.

[2] In Dr Burn's *Facsimiles*, transcript of plate xxiv: 'ut ip[ ]'. Turning to the facsimile itself I read quite clearly each letter of the script as Muratori had read it two centuries and more ago. I am here not to be understood as criticizing; but I would take this opportunity of extending to passages grown dim by age or wear in ancient MSS the remark made above at p. 135 n. 1 as to erased script.

[3] Nevertheless I would venture to observe that, on the assumption of a Spanish origin for the Athanasian Creed, the so-called 'damnatory clauses', upon which so much ingenuity has been expended to accommodate them to the *communis sensus* of modern days, will appear self-explicable in their obvious meaning to any one who has really studied the character of Spanish religion and orthodoxy in the original documents, ecclesiastical and civil, of the sixth and seventh centuries. Dom H. Leclercq, in pointing out how this intolerant spirit is characteristic of that orthodoxy of Spain in all the Christian ages, certainly handled the subject with a rudeness of touch which may explain or excuse the almost fierce resentment of the veteran scholar the late M. Menéndez y Pelayo in the Introduction pp. 27–29 to the new edition of his *Historia de los heterodoxos Españoles*; but there can be no doubt that Dom Leclercq is right, and I cannot but think that to the informed mind the 'damnatory clauses' of the Athanasian Creed will appear as, in themselves, a genuine indication of that Spanish origin of the document on which Dom Morin insists.

I need not. It suffices for my purpose to remark that we have here yet another 'Spanish Symptom' in Northern Italy, again at Bobbio; and one surely that is not the least significant of the series.[1]]

[1] Those who would wish fully to inform themselves must examine the context also of the Bobbio scrap in the sermons mentioned; and they will be rewarded, I think, for their pains, since all this is a not unimportant element in the *Vorgeschichte* of Marian cult and devotion in the West as found in documents of the seventh century. I may here do no more than give the hint to 'those who will'; adding that, curiously enough, the roots of this devotion and the direction originally given to its earliest growth are found in St Augustine, not in St Ambrose, and (naturally enough) not in St Leo. The starting-point is the emphasis laid on the accessories of the Birth and Infancy, the crib, the swaddling clothes, &c. I trust, if circumstances be favourable, that all this may be duly brought out one day by a young friend already started on the enquiry. Here I will only mention that the context in sermon vii of the Hildefonsine collection draws largely for its ideas on (3), which, however, by a singular exception, does not contain our Bobbio MS scrap at all. The context in 'St Augustine's sermon' found in Arnobius Junior, 'Merito . . . praeputium', is embodied in the Preface of *Gelas* i 9, one of the two masses for New Year's day in that Sacramentary; which I should view as a Hiberno-Gallican interpolation.

VIII A

MORE 'SPANISH SYMPTOMS'[1]

By Mgr G. Mercati.

The Date of some Prayers in the Mozarabic Missal—The Revision of the Toledan Missal in the Seventh Century—A supposed *Liber Officiorum* of Hilary of Poitiers.

Mr Edmund Bishop, in his most valuable *Liturgical Note in illustration of the Book of Cerne* (1902) p. 270, has called attention to the great importance of a prayer for the dead which is not found in the ordinary Mozarabic missal, but was in the Toledo missal that has come down to us through the extracts made from it by the adoptionist Elipandus.[2] This prayer must have been known to and made use of by the composers of the *postcommunio* (95), and the *Hanc igitur* (96) of the third book of the Gelasian sacramentary, and of the preface *pro mortuis plurimis* of the Stowe missal. Hence it is in the Spanish Visigothic books that we must look for the origin, hitherto quite unsuspected, of certain parts of those celebrated missals. How far the liturgical and literary history of the West is affected will be clear to those who read Mr Bishop's Note.

A passage of the same prayer is referred to in the letter of the Spanish adoptionist bishops to their colleagues of Gaul, Aquitania, and Neustria,[3] and it is there attributed to St Julian, bishop of Toledo,

[1] From the *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1907.—[In the *Revue Bénédictine* Oct. 1913 pp. 421–436 is an article by Dom Donatien de Bruyne entitled 'De l'origine de quelques textes liturgiques mozarabes', in which he covers much of the same ground as Mgr Mercati had done six years before. On my calling his attention to this paper, Dom de Bruyne wrote me: 'Je ne connaissais pas l'article excellent de Mgr Mercati. Si je l'avais connu je n'aurais pas écrit le mien'. Dom de Bruyne's paper was, however, called forth (and indeed called for) by the articles of the eminent Professor of Göttingen, Dr Wilhelm Meyer, on rhythms of the Mozarabic liturgical books, in which, he says, Dr Meyer proposes 'des conclusions qui risquent de fausser l'histoire de cette poésie liturgique'. This is true; but it is due also to the veteran scholar to observe that, so far as these conclusions are false, he has been led into error by the palaeographer and the liturgist; and it is from them, and not from the philologist of Göttingen, that a reckoning has to be demanded.—E. B.]

[2] Ep. iv, ad Alcuinum, in Migne *P. L.* 96. 874, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Epist.* iv 305.

[3] Migne *P. L.* 101. 1321–1331, and the appendix to Helfferich *Der westgothische Arianismus*, quoted in Hefele *Conciliengeschichte* iii² 650 n. 2. On the letter, which

who died in 690. As the date of the prayer is thus fairly known, and consequently the earliest date at which the formulas in question could have been added to the Gelasian and Stowe Missals, and as this letter gives us the names of the authors of two other *missae* of the Mozarabic Missal, it is worth while giving the passages of the letter referred to.[1]

Item praedecessores nostri Eugenius, Ildephonsus, Iulianus, Toletanae sedis antistites, in suis dogmatibus[2] ita dixerunt in missam de caena Domini: 'Qui per adoptivi hominis passionem dum suo non indulsit corpori, nostro demum, id est, iterum non pepercit.'[3] Et alibi:[4] 'Qui pietati tuae per adoptivi[5] hominis passionem quasi quasdam in praesentis populi acquisitione manubias cum non exhibuerit[6] e caelo, exhibuerit e triumpho; et cum non habuerit divinitas immutabilis pugnam, habuerit fragilitas assumpta victoriam.'[7] Item in missa de ascensione Domini: 'Hodie Salvator noster post adoptionem[8] carnis sedem repetit[8] deitatis.' Item in missam defunctorum: 'Quos fecisti adoptionis participes, iubeas haereditati tuae esse consortes.' Ecce quos in adoptione participes esse non dubitat, consortes fieri in haereditate exoptat (*P. L.* 101. 1324 B). And further on Credimus igitur et confitemur unigenitum Dei filium . . . conformem humano generi . . . secundum naturam adoptionis . . . secundum Eugenium qui dicit: 'Qui per adoptivi hominis passionem dum suo non indulxit [*sic*] corpori, nostro demum, id est, iterum non pepercit'; secundum Ildephonsum qui dicit: 'Hodie post adoptionem carnis sedem repetit deitatis"; secundum Iulianum qui dicit: 'Quos fecisti adoptioni participes, iubeas haereditati tuae esse consortes'[9] (ibid. 1328 B–1329 A).

is of the year 793 or the beginning of 794, cf. Hefele ibid. 676 sqq., and A. Hauck *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* ii[2] 296. [Though Hefele pointed out that the prayers cited from the Toledan Missal by the Spanish adoptionist bishops were printed from a Toledo MS by Helfferich in 1860, this fact passed unobserved by liturgists until Mgr Mercati called attention to it in the present paper. I do not see that Hauck ii[2] mentions it either. These prayers are now for a second time printed from the Toledo MS by the late Dom Férotin, *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* pp. xxx–xxxii. It is a pity, however, that he failed to mention that Helfferich had printed them fifty years before. Cf. *J. T. S.* x, 1909, pp. 602–603.—E. B.]

[1] The fathers of the Council of Frankfort, A.D. 794, in their reply (Mansi, xiii 886, *P. L.* 101. 1333 D sqq.) quote the words: 'Item praedecessores nostri . . . indulsit corpori' and 'Item in missa de ascensione . . . deitatis', but refer them to Hildefonsus only.

[2] 'In missarum oraculis' *Elip.*

[3] So in Elipandus, who has *indulget.* This sentence does not occur in the *Missale Mixtum* pp. 163–164 (*P. L.* 85. 415, 416), but it was found exactly as above in the old Mozarabic Missal of Toledo by Helfferich, quoted by Hefele, p. 651 n. 1.

[4] 'In missa de quinta feria Paschae' *Elip.* Cf. *Missale Mixt.* 209 Inlatio (*P. L.* 85. 507).

[5] 'Adsumpti' *Miss.*

[6] 'Exegerit' *Miss.*: 'exierit' *Elip.*

[7] 'Et cum . . . victoriam' om. in *Elip.*

[8] 'Per adopt.' *Concil. Francf.*: 'post assumptionem' *Miss. Mixt.* 251 Missa (*P. L.* 85. 602): 'repetivit' *Elip.*

[9] [In a later communication to me Mgr Mercati pointed out how this last cited passage (which is preserved in a genuine form in *Gelas* iii. 95 and in the Stowe Missal) has been utilized in the Reichenau Irish fragment printed by Dr H. M.

Hence the Spanish episcopate or the writer of the letter attributes to :—

(1) St Eugenius (II ? † 657) the 'missa' of Holy Thursday, suppressed or mutilated in the printed missal, but found in the old manuscript of Toledo seen by Helfferich ;

(2) St Hildefonsus († 669) the 'missa de ascensione domini' which begins : 'Placeat dilectissimi fratres' (*Miss. Mixt.* 251; *P.L.* 85. 602);

(3) St Julian († 690) a 'missa defunctorum', suppressed when the Mozarabic liturgical books were expurged after the adoptionist controversy (cf. Bishop, p. 270, Hauck ii[2] 288 n. 2).[1]

The question arises : Did the compiler of the letter make a capricious and not disinterested division[2] of certain *missae* of the old Toledan missal among the former bishops, 'praedecessores nostri', or did he follow some written tradition, something more precise than a merely oral one ? Either literary-historical, so to speak ; or one quasi-liturgical, such as e. g. is found above the canons of the Menaia and the lessons and (formerly) the hymns of the breviary, and as would have been handed on in the eighth-century Toledo missal itself, if its rubrics occasionally indicated the true or supposed authors of the various prayers. The idea of a mere fancy assignment of the masses seems wholly inadmissible, not only on account of the nature and seriousness of the episcopal document (quite apart from its doctrine) and the quiet but emphatic way in which the authorship is attributed to Eugenius, Hildefonsus and Julian, but also because we know, on the authority of their contemporary biographers,[3] that these bishops did compose some new masses.

Bannister in *J. T. S.* (Oct. 1903, p. 58 ll. 18–19) : 'et quos fecisti *ad oblationem* participes iubeas hereditatis tuae esse consortes'. On the supposition that this is a redaction of the later eighth century or of the ninth, I would observe how St Paul's idea of 'the adoption of sons' is turned into one which, in view of the then state of things as regards Holy Communion, very well may mean no more than the modern phrase 'assisting at mass'.—E. B.]

[1] One can well understand why the bishops and Elipandus quote the passages in the general terms : 'Item praedecessores nostri . . . iterum testimonia sanctorum patrum venerabilium Toleto deservientium in missarum oraculis sic edita.'

[2] It is of course easy to suggest a falsification, but we have to deal with another similar expression of the *Missale Mixtum* cited by Bishop o. c. 270 n. 3 (cf. Hauck 288 n. 6). It is true that a large number of the quotations from the fathers by Elipandus are spurious or falsified (cf. Hauck 288 n. 1), but even if we suppose that the simple old man was incapable of detecting the mistakes in such passages as his friends brought to his notice, it does not seem that he could possibly make a mistake when quoting from the Missal he had used all his life. If he deliberately acted in bad faith, it would remain to explain why he should have fathered his inventions on quite recent authors.

[3] Cf. § II below. A similar indication can be seen in the letter of Elipandus to Alcuin p. 305 (cf. Bishop o. c. 270 n. 2) : 'Nam et ipsi canimus in vigilia Paschae beato Isidoro dicente : "Induit carnem sed non exuit maiestatem, nostram substantiam expetens, sed propriam non relinquens"' (*P. L.* 96. 875 B) ; hence it is

Here we are bound to take into serious consideration the evidence given by this letter, which was written at Toledo about a century after St Julian, by one who had access to documents or traditions now lost, and we must test it by carefully enquiring whether the style of the *missae* at all corresponds with the extant writings of the Toledan fathers who are asserted to have composed them. In this investigation, which the present note is written to suggest, the possibility should be borne in mind, nay more the fact, of later and important *retouches*; and also, though this is less probable, the possibility of the composition being more official than personal, as is frequently the case with public documents.

Whatever result this investigation may have, it is now clear that :—

(1) The liturgical formulas used by the Spanish adoptionist bishops were, if we may accept their statement, all of the seventh century, and the work of writers who, in correctness of judgement and in taste, differ considerably from St Isidore, 'that great inheritor and representative of the older learning';[1]

(2) These bishops attribute to the middle of the seventh century and later the *missae* of such important days in the ecclesiastical year as the 'caena domini', a day in Easter week, and the Ascension.

If this be so, it will have to be carefully considered whether we may venture to assign to an earlier date many other *missae* of less important days.

II

To get a fair idea of the development of the Mozarabic liturgy in Toledo, under the government of Eugenius, in the middle, and of his successors until the end, of the seventh century, it will be useful to gather information from contemporary writers whose truthfulness has never been questioned. The present small contribution and most of the notes attached are the result of a correspondence with Mr Bishop; it will suffice for our purpose to produce them in a rough form, and not as he would have published them. . . .[2] It is desirable that other small notices should be collected by others, in order to get, if not a clear light, at least some enlightenment on that dark but most important period in the developement of the Western liturgies.

clear that it was known or believed that Isidore was the author of the 'benedictio lucernae' of Holy Saturday which is preserved in the *Missale Mixtum* pp. 176–177.

[1] Cf. Edm. Bishop, 'Spanish Symptoms', in the *Journal of Theological Studies* viii p. 288 [*supra* p. 175] – full of hints worthy of being carefully treasured, and capable of fruitful application.

[2] [I omit a few words which Mgr Mercati was kind enough to add here, but which, though I am grateful to him for them, I cannot comfortably include in a volume of my own.—E. B.]

(1) St Eugenius II (*a*) '. . . cantus pessimis usibus vitiatos melodiae cognitione correxit, officiorum omissos ordines curamque discrevit' Hildefonsus *de viris ill.* 14 (*P. L.* 96. 204); 'therefore a general work of putting the Toledan liturgical books to rights' (Edm. Bishop).[1] (*b*) Eugenius himself writes to bishop Protasius 'missam sancti Hippolyti vel orationes, si nobis oratu vestro vita comes adfuerit, ut potuero pro vestra iussione patrabo; missam vero votivam ideo non scripsi quia in hac patria tam accurati sermonis habentur atque sententiae ut simile non possim excudere, et superfluum iudico inde me aliquid dicere unde meliores recolo iam dixisse'[2] (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Auctt. Antiquiss.* xiv 287).

(2) St Hildefonsus, (*a*) according to the testimony of St Julian, divided his numerous writings into four parts or classes, 'Partem sane tertiam missarum esse voluit, hymnorum, atque sermonum' (*P. L.* 96. 44 A). 'From the account of Julian it would seem that each part was of some extent.' 'So far as the masses written by St Hildefonsus are concerned, it would thus seem that there was a *literary* record.' (*b*) Cixilanus, in his life of Hildefonsus, relates that when still a deacon administering the suburban church of SS Cosmas and Damian, Hildefonsus 'duas missas in laudem ipsorum dominorum suorum quas in festivitate sua psallerent, miro modulationis modo perfecit; quas missas infra annotatas invenietis' (*P. L.* 96. 44 C, and cf. *Moz.* 385 sqq.); that (apparently when he was a bishop) he wrote a canticum and a 'missa quae subter est adnotata' in honour of St Leucadia (45 C–46 A; cf. *Moz.* 415 sqq.); and that for the 'dies sanctae et semper Virginis Mariae'—the feast day of the Blessed Virgin—'ante tres dies letanias peregit et missam super (? subter) scriptam, quae in eius laude decantaretur perfecit, quae est septima' (96. 46 B).[3] 'The last three words are not clear, but they seem to imply that Hildefonsus composed at least three other masses besides the four already men-

[1] The amount of liberty a corrector of the Toledan school at that time allowed himself can be seen by the words used by Eugenius II when describing his recension of the poetry of Dracontius: '. . . pro tenuitate mei sensuli subcorrexi, hoc videlicet moderamine custodito, quo superflua demerem, semiplena supplerem, fracta constabilirem, et crebrius repetita mutarem.' *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auctt. Antiquiss.* xiv 27. Cf. below at (3) similar words of Felix on the liturgical revision of St Julian.

[2] 'The mass of Hippolytus is not proper in *Moz.* It appears there were more votive masses than one in use. Of these earlier votive masses the "missa omnimoda", pp. 441 sqq., I certainly believe to be one; and it strikes me, having analysed it carefully, as one of the older kind of masses of *Moz.* It is used in the Bobbio missal.'

[3] 'And this must evidently be the occasion to which the first canon of the tenth council of Toledo (A.D. 656) refers, and therefore the mass of the (Annunciation) feast of 18 December is in question. But is the mass which was composed by Hildefonsus the one now found in *Moz.* pp. 32 sqq. (cf. p. 34 ll. 38, 39: "Non adoptione sed genere, nec gratia sed natura"); or is this Hildefonsus's mass revised?'

tioned—perhaps those for the "tres dies" of litanies—and that the collection of masses at the end of Cixilanus's Life of him comprised at all events seven numbers' (cf. N. Antonio in *P. L.* 96. 19–20). It is curious that the reply of the council of Frankfort to the Spanish bishops speaks only of 'Ildefonsi vestri qui tales vobis composuit preces in missarum solemniis, quales universalis et sancta Dei non habet . . . ecclesia. Nec vos in illis exaudiri putamus', as if Hildefonsus alone, and not Eugenius and Julian as well, had been quoted by the advocates of adoptionism.

(3) St Julian too, (*a*) on the witness of his biographer and successor Felix († *c* 700), wrote 'librum missarum de toto circulo anni in quatuor partes divisum in quibus aliquas vetustatis incuria vitiatas ac semiplenas emendavit atque complevit, aliquas vero ex toto composuit; item librum orationum de festivitatibus, quas Toletana ecclesia per totum circulum anni est solita celebrare, partim stylo sui ingenii depromptum, partim etiam inolita antiquitate vitiatum studiose correctum in unum congessit, atque Ecclesiae Dei usibus ob amorem reliquit sanctae religionis' (*P. L.* 95. 450 No. 11). Besides this, (*b*) St Julian (so says a rubric in the newly edited *Liber ordinum*) in a council confirmed the 'oratio' which St Felix had once recited 'per ordinationem sancti Iuliani', and this council ordered all Spanish priests to recite it from memory at every mass after the names of the 'offerentes': 'Haec oratio recitata est per ordinationem sancti Iuliani a domno Felice metropolitano Toletane sedis episcopo, et confirmata est in concilio a suprafato pie memorie sancto Iuliano iam dicte civitatis episcopo. Et praeceptum omni Hispanie conciliariter fuit, ut ab omnibus sacerdotibus memoriter in omni missa post nomina offerentium recenseretur.' This is the rubric prefixed to the long 'oratio post nomina offerentium dicenda in quacumque missa' in *Le Liber ordinum en usage dans l'Église Wisigothique et Mozarabe*, ed. Férotin, 331–334; a rubric, in substance it may be, though perhaps not in form, taken from the lost Acta of this Toledan council under St Julian. This 'oratio', divided into separate prayers with the addition of a line or two of introduction adapted to the various parts of the missa ('alia' prayer 'ad pacem', &c.), is repeated in its entirety in the 'missa votiva quam sacerdos pro se et amicis vel domesticis dicere debeat', ibid. 299–302. That the author of the 'missa votiva' derived his material from the prayer, and not vice versa, seems to me the more probable supposition, if we are to trust the account given in the rubric of the recitation and subsequent confirmation of the prayer.

From these sources (and they must certainly be not the only ones) and from the letter of the Spanish bishops, it appears:—

(1) That the Mozarabic missal was considerably enlarged at Toledo

between 640 and 690, and it then underwent more than one revision; as occurred also in the ninth and eleventh centuries;

(2) That this was chiefly the work of those 'Toledan fathers' who, in other respects, appear to have been renovators.

Hence it would well repay any one who will collate the historical notices and the surviving works of Toledan writers as well as Spanish manuscript missals, and endeavour to separate, as far as is possible, the Toledan and even the later additions from the older parts, noting their characteristic differences of conception and form, and ascertaining what parts were known, and how far they were imitated in the Gallican and the Irish Churches in the seventh and eighth centuries, say up to 750 (cf. Bishop *Spanish Symptoms* pp. 170 sqq. above).

It is only by this means that we shall gain a less confused idea of the character, the developement, and the influence of the Mozarabic rite, and in some way of the Spanish Visigothic church and its literature; only thus shall we be qualified to apply with discretion and less risk the Mozarabic formulas to the very difficult and delicate questions of the connexion between this rite and some of the most ancient and important documents of the liturgy of the West.

III[1]

Berno of Reichenau († 1048), to prove that 'tres tantum hebdomadae observentur in adventu domini', cites a work of St Hilary of Poitiers; neither the fragment nor its title is given even among the *spuria* in any edition of the works or life of the saint which I have seen, although the editor of Berno, B. Pez (*Patr. Lat.* 142. 1053 B), has called special attention to it. I reproduce the short passage here because, whether genuine or not, it is of liturgical interest.

Est autem et alia eiusdem negotii ratio haudquaquam vilipendenda, qua gloriosus ecclesiae auctor et doctor eximius Hilarius in *libro* utitur *Officiorum*, 'Sicut', inquiens, 'pater familias in evangelio trino adventu infructuosam ficulneam visitavit, sic sancta mater Ecclesia salvatoris adventum annuo recursu per trium septimanarum secretum spatium sibi incitavit [*sic*]. Venit enim Filius hominis quaerere et salvum facere quod perierat: venit ante legem, quia per naturalem intellectum quid unicuique agendum quidve sequendum sit innotuit; venit sub lege, quia patriarcharum exemplis et prophetarum praeconiis Abrahae legalia confirmavit decreta; venit tertio post legem per gratiam ad [*sic*; ac?] vocationem gentium, ut a solis ortu usque ad occasum

[1] [Although this has nothing to do with 'Spanish Symptoms' yet, as the origins of Advent are often misapprehended, I think readers will be glad to have this Note of Mgr Mercati made accessible here as well as in the long and miscellaneous series of the *J. T. S.*—E. B.]

laudare discerent pueri nomen Domini, quo usque ad finem mundi ad suae maiestatis cultum exhortari non desinit.' Haec sunt quae apud Gallos positus ex libro Officiorum sancti Hilarii non inutiliter mihi corrasi.[1]

Doubtless the worthy Berno saw in Gaul a *liber officiorum S. Hilarii*, and took it for a work of the holy doctor of Poitiers: still it must be evident to any one who knows the history of the advent season that it is impossible to carry back to that saint and the fourth century the origin of its three weeks' duration.[2] The book cited by Berno must be either a spurious work due to another and much later Hilary; or it may even be a *liber officiorum* of some church of St Hilary, a title misunderstood by Berno and perhaps by others before him.[3]

[1] *Ratio generalis de initio adventus domini secundum auctoritatem Hilarii ep.* (*P. L.* 142. 1086–1087; also found in *Lib. de quibusdam rebus ad missae officium pertinentibus*, ibid. 1066 A, omitting the final note *Haec sunt*).

[2] Cf. Caspari in *Realenc. f. prot. Theol. u. Kirche* i³ 188 sqq.

[3] If Hilary *in Matth.* xxi 6–8 had not explained otherwise the parable of the fig-tree (*P. L.* 9. 1037 sq.) one might suspect a mistake caused by a marginal citation bearing the name of Hilary. [As to recent discussion in regard to this presumed extract from Hilary of Poitiers and the historical origins of the present liturgical season of Advent, see Dom P. Blanchard's article 'Notes sur les œuvres attribuées à Bernon de Reichenau' in *Rev. Bénéd.* xxix (1912) pp. 102–107. The sum is, that the famous passage of Hilary was neither cited by nor known to Berno.—E. B.]

IX

ON THE

ORIGIN OF THE PRYMER[1]

THE questions I propose to examine in the following pages are:—

(1) What was the relation of this favourite layfolks' prayer book, called the *Prymer*, to the authorized and official service books used in the public worship of the Church? Or, as Dr Furnivall writes: 'The point I want to know is—if a man took the *Prymer* to church, would he hear the same service or set of services in Latin? Is the *Prymer* a translation of a public service book, or one of private devotion, or partly of both?'

(2) Since the *Prymer* presents certain practically unvarying elements —viz. the Office of the Blessed Virgin, the Office of the Dead, the Penitential and Gradual Psalms, the Litany, and Commendations— which may be considered as substantially *the* Prymer, how came precisely these elements to be brought together? Is there any historical reason which accounts for this particular selection? I think that there is; and that the case will be found plain enough if we proceed by the simple method of a historical inquiry into the origin and use of each item of which the *Prymer* is made up. This point of origins in detail once elucidated, the relation of the *Prymer* as a whole to the public services of the Church can be seen without difficulty. It may seem a far cry from the English *Prymer* to St Benedict of Aniane, from a book the product of the fourteenth century to the practice of the close of the eighth or beginning of the ninth; but to begin at the beginning will save trouble in the end;

[1] From the *Early English Text Society's publications*: Original Series No. 109 (1897).—[In the *Revue du clergé français* of 15 Sept. 1904 is an article by abbé Paul Lejay entitled 'Les accroissements de l'office quotidien'. Taking the present paper for a start M. Lejay (as will be naturally expected by those acquainted with his wonderful bibliographical papers, 'Ancienne philologie chrétienne', in the successive volumes of the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*) gives new *aperçus* and makes contributions of his own to the subject. I would call the attention of those interested in the history of the Divine Office to M. Lejay's paper, as, unless this be done, it may easily pass unnoticed in the very voluminous periodical in which it appeared.]

and it is only thus that a clear understanding of the whole question can be arrived at.

St Benedict of Aniane[1] was of Gothic race, but the son of a firm and distinguished adherent of the royal house of the Franks, which had absorbed into its dominions the old Gothic kingdom of Aquitaine. He was born in the middle of the eighth century in that quarter of France which borders on the Mediterranean and the Spanish frontier. In early manhood he became a monk far from his home at the monastery of Saint-Seine near Dijon, and soon made himself remarked for his austerities: though professing the Rule of St Benedict, it was a common and almost contemptuous saying with him that such a Rule was fit for the tyro and the weakling only, and he turned with special satisfaction to the more rigid or fervent monastic teaching of the East, the words of St Basil, the discipline of St Pachomius.[2] After some years he returned to the country of his birth, and gathering around him some kindred spirits, adopted a mode of life resembling in many respects the first Cistercian austerity of later times. He would have no chalice but of wood, later of glass, then tin; nor tolerate mass vestments of silk.[3] As time went on, he mitigated his severity, and, in building and fitting the church of the abbey of Aniane which he had founded, he admitted all the splendour and costliness then usually shewn in edifices of this kind.[4] But his singularity appears in a point of detail: anticipating a devotion which spread in the later middle ages, but was alien to the mind and feeling of those earlier times, he dedicated his church, not under the title of a saint, but under that of the Holy Trinity.[5] It is unnecessary to follow the spread of his reputation, his foundation of new monasteries, and reform of older houses. In this work he came before long under the personal notice of Lewis, son of Charles the Great, constituted by his father King of Aquitaine, and Benedict soon acquired over him an ascendancy which only grew stronger as years went on. Lewis committed to him the visitation of all the monasteries of Aquitaine. On succeeding to the empire in 814, Lewis summoned Benedict to his palace, and from that time forward Benedict was, till his death in 821, the most influential person at the court of the new Emperor. But he was no mere minister or courtier; he remained, first and before all, a monk. One of Lewis's first measures was to build a monastery for thirty monks close to his own palace at Aachen, with a double object: first, that he might have

[1] The following is from his life by his friend Ardo, in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptt.* xv.

[2] 'Regulam quoque beati Benedicti tironibus seu infirmis positam fore contestans, ad beati Basilii dicta necnon et beati Pacomii regulam scandere nitens, quamvis exiguis possibilia gereret, iugiter impossibiliora rimabat' (p. 202).

[3] p. 204. [4] p. 207. [5] p. 206.

Benedict as counsellor always at hand; secondly, this monastery of Inde or Cornelimünster was to serve as a model according to which others were to be reformed. And to compass the desired end, Lewis now gave him those general powers over the monasteries of his Frankish dominions which as king he had granted him for the reform of those of his realm of Aquitaine. The general scheme was this: all houses were to be reduced to an absolute uniformity of discipline, observance, even of habit, according to the pattern of Inde;[1] visitors were to be appointed to see that the constitutions were strictly observed. The new scheme was to be launched at a meeting of all abbats to be held at Aachen in 817. But to plan is one thing, to carry into effect another. It is clear that, in the general assembly of abbats, Benedict, backed as he was by the Emperor, had to give up for the sake of peace, and in order to carry through substantial reforms, many details of observance by which he set great store. His biographer and friend Ardo, too, who knew everything by personal observation and at first hand, in a roundabout way and darkly gives this to be understood.[2] But the decrees of this meeting of Aachen, of which Benedict was as well the author as the life and soul, were a turning-point in the history of the Benedictines, forming the basis of later legislation and practice. After the great founder himself, Benedict of Nursia, no man has more widely affected Western monachism than did the second Benedict, he of Aniane.

We may now turn to the points which are of direct interest for the history of the *Prymer*. And first it is well to advert to a broad fact of general experience which may be said to constitute a law in the developement of devotional forms and practices: the source of new forms of private devotion, which become by and by popularized, is in the religious orders. This holds good in regard to the monks of earlier days, the mendicants of the high tide of the Middle Ages, or the various institutes of clerks regular of modern times. It has been very rightly said that the *Prymer* is the outcome not of the Divine Office, in its strict sense, but of these 'supplementary devotions'. It will be readily conceived that such devotional additions and accretions will not easily have found their origin with the secular clergy engaged in the active duties of the ministry, and generally dispersed, or at most but loosely organized; whilst, on the other hand, such additions to the prescribed divine service almost inevitably must ensue upon the decrease of manual labour in the monasteries, such as had already taken place by the ninth century; and any revival or reform of monastic discipline would in such circumstances be naturally accompanied, as

[1] pp. 215, 216, 217.

[2] p. 216.

a dictate of piety, by the adoption of novel and extraordinary devotional practices in addition to the traditional Office. And this was, in fact, the case with St Benedict of Aniane in settling the practice of his pattern monastery of Inde. His biographer Ardo gives a detailed account of these additions. On going to the church for matins, he prescribed that the brethren should first visit all the altars, saying the Lord's Prayer and Creed at each altar; and then, going to their places in the choir, each should privately recite fifteen psalms, divided into three sets of five, each set to be followed by a short prayer or collect relative to the intention for which the five preceding psalms had been said: the first five for all the faithful living; the second five for all the faithful dead; the third five for all recently deceased. And then only, on the arrival of the officiant or hebdomadar, were matins to begin. He prescribed a second visit to the altars before prime, and a third after complin. At these two latter visits the brethren were free to say either the Lord's Prayer or to make acts of contrition.[1]

The devotional recital of the fifteen psalms before the Church office of matins, thus introduced, obtained a permanent footing in monasteries, and in the following century, the tenth, it was of universal observance among monks. The biographer of Benedict does not say in express words that these fifteen psalms were the fifteen gradual psalms (cxix to cxxxiii; or cxx to cxxxiv according to the Authorized Version), but in view of the invariable later practice, from the very first occurrence of definite statements on the subject, there can be no doubt that these were the fifteen actually prescribed, and said at Inde from the first institution of the devotion.

It is to be understood that what now follows has reference exclusively to practice in monasteries, and among monks. By the second half of the tenth century, as has been observed, the testimony of monastic custom-books is uniform, that the recitation of the fifteen gradual psalms before matins obtained everywhere. By what steps this uniformity was brought about there is, however, no evidence to shew. But it seems certain that as late as the middle of the ninth century, two distinct and sharply antagonistic schools existed, the one favouring, the other opposed to, Benedict's innovation in this point. These schools are represented by two commentators on 'the Rule' of 'the Great Benedict' of Nursia, Smaragdus and Hildemar. The divergence between the two writers, and their different tendencies, come out clearly in their observations on the apparently simple direction of the eighth chapter of the Rule, that the monks 'in winter should rise at the eighth hour'. The case is not so simple as it at

[1] p. 216; and p. 217, 'His tribus per diem vicibus', &c.

first sight might appear to us who are accustomed all the year round to 'hours' of equal length, and fixed as to time, both night and day; whilst the length of the 'hour' in the Rule varied continually throughout the year, according to the Roman reckoning, as the nights or days were longer or shorter. But this difficulty was not the point which divided Smaragdus and Hildemar; the discussion was only the opportunity for the former to make room for the new practice, and by a little prudent manipulation of terms to enable him to shew that 'eight' may conveniently mean 'half-past seven'.[1] Hildemar, whose book is a series of notes of lectures on the text of the Rule rather than a formal commentary, comes down on this artificial method with the sledge-hammer of common sense: '*Rise at eight o'clock of the night.* What is it, *rise at eight o'clock?* It is as if he said, "neither before eight, nor after eight, but at eight precisely."'[2] But, for all that, the party represented by Smaragdus carried the day; a devotional current had set in which was to flow in increasing volume in the immediately succeeding centuries.

There is ground for supposing that the visits to the altars and the fifteen psalms were not the only additions which Benedict of Aniane had adopted and had desired to impose generally, although in face of opposition he was unable to carry out his design. It seems not improbable that among the additions thus dropped was the regular recital of the office for the dead, which forms so important a part of the *Prymer*. The origins of this office are obscure; a recent writer has declared it to be purely Roman, and a creation of the beginning of the eighth century.[3] Extant testimonies by no means warrant so

[1] Migne *P. L.* 102. 829, 830.

[2] *Vita et Regula SS. P. Benedicti*, ed. Mittermüller (Ratisbonae, 1880), pp. 277, 278. The differences between the two schools were by no means confined to this point. A much more important matter, the partial substitution of the office of the clergy for the office prescribed by the Rule, seems to have been evidently favoured in practice by Benedict of Aniane. See Herrgott *Vetus disciplina monastica* (Parisiis 1726) pp. xxxvi sqq. Hildemar, as might be expected, took the conservative view, and enforced it with no little vigour (pp. 310 sqq.). The commentary which has been printed under the name of Paul Warnefrid, an earlier writer, but which is probably of a somewhat later date (*Bibliotheca Casinensis* t. iv, *Florilegium* p. 94), runs on the same lines. These two writers represent the Italian conservative ideas, as opposed to Ultramontane innovations, taking up just the position of Monte Cassino towards Cluny a century or two later. The *Memoriale qualiter in Monasterio conversari debemus* represents the same conservative party, and it is not easy to see how it can have St Benedict of Aniane for its author (as is assumed in the *Winchester Obedientiaries' Rolls* p. 196).

[3] Batiffol *Hist. du Bréviaire romain* pp. 188–190. The author's best argument appears to lie in his personal and subjective appreciation of what the Roman office must have been 'dans son état le plus pur' when 'dégagé de toute influence monastique'. The reference 'Amalar. *De ord. antiph.* 65 et 79' settles nothing. So far as mere testimonies are concerned, it would not be difficult to make out a stronger case in favour of non-Roman than in favour of Roman origin. This is not the place to discuss the question; it is necessary, however only too frequently to

confident a tone. A document seemingly of the second half of the eighth century, detailing the observances of Monte Cassino, states that on the burial of a monk, the brethren after vespers (of the day, that is) recited for him the seven penitential psalms with litanies.[1] A document of the year 811 or 812, drawn up by the monks of Fulda and presented to Charles the Great, gives the following account of the offices for the dead as said in that monastery: (1) for deceased brethren, a commemoration twice a day, after lauds and vespers, consisting of the antiphon *Requiem eternam*, the 'first part' of the psalm *Te decet hymnus Deus* (lxiv), a verse and collect; (2) on the first day of every month for the first abbat, Sturm, and the founders of the house, 'a vigil and fifty psalms'; (3) on the anniversary of abbat Sturm, 'a vigil and the whole psalter.'[2] As the object of this petition of the Fulda monks to the Emperor was the maintenance of the discipline introduced by the first abbat, and he had drawn the observance prescribed by him from the monasteries of Rome and the neighbourhood, including the recently re-established Monte Cassino,[3] it is probable that these offices of the dead, at least in a general way, represent practices prevailing in Italian monasteries also; although it is open to question what is here precisely meant by the word 'vigil'.[4]

But it is certain that Benedict of Aniane had determined to introduce uniformity (a matter on which he laid the strongest stress)[5] in

warn the reader against the positive tone of this writer on matters as to which either nothing is known or the evidence is of a doubtful and uncertain character. [The earliest certain mention of an office for the dead, in our present sense as vespers, matins, and lauds, is contained in Angilbert's Ritual Order for St-Riquier c. xvi, printed in no. XV p. 328 below.]

[1] 'Cum frater ad exitum propinquaverit, omnis congregatio ante eum psalmos decantet: illoque sepulto, post vesperum septem psalmos cum litaniis omni corpore in terram prostrati decantent' (Herrgott *Vet. disciplina mon.* p. 3).

[2] J. G. Eckhart *De rebus Franciae Orientalis* ii 72.

[3] See the tenth article of the petition (p. 73), compared with Eigil's Life of Sturm (*M. G. SS.* ii 371).

[4] [Canon 10 of the English Council of Celchyth of 816 describes the office to be said on the death of a bishop; there is nothing as to an 'office of the dead' but only of so many 'psalters' and so many 'paternosters' (Haddan and Stubbs iii 583-584).—A convention, with the same object, of the bishops and abbats of Bavaria, of a date earlier than 774 and probably of 770, besides masses, prescribes in the same way only so many 'psalters' to be said (*M. G. Concil.* ii p. 97).—A later Bavarian convention, of May 805, prescribes only a hundred psalms, a 'psalter' and masses (ibid. p. 233).—So far as France with the bordering German region is concerned, a like (and very widespread) convention at the Council of Attigny, 760-762, prescribes, besides masses, a hundred psalms; and, by monks, 'psalters' (Labbe-Coleti *Concil.* viii 461). It would, then, seem practically certain that no 'office of the dead' in our modern sense was known in these regions.]

[5] Ardo repeatedly returns to this point: 'Ut autem sicut una omnium erat professio fieret quoque omnium monasteriorum salubris una consuetudo' (*M. G. SS.* xv 215). 'Perfectum itaque prosperatumque est opus [the Council of Aachen] . . . et una cunctis generaliter posita observatur regula, cunctaque monasteria ita ad formam unitatis redacta sunt, ac si ab uno magistro et in uno imbuerentur loco. Uniformis mensura in potu, in cibo, in vigiliis, in modulationibus cunctis observanda

this detail also of the office of the dead, or the mode of its recital. On the accession of Lewis the Pious to the empire, it was very soon understood on all hands that Benedict would now have a free field and full powers for carrying out generally his own long-cherished plans. One abbat at least, though distant from the seat of government, the abbat of Reichenau, an island on the Lake of Constance, had the wisdom to take time by the forelock, and set his house in order before the measures which he saw would be taken were promulgated and the great scheme launched; lest the monastic visitors coming from Benedict with imperial command to settle the houses on the new model should find him unprepared. He accordingly sent two of his monks to Inde, to stay there, ascertain by practical experience the custom of that monastery, and report to him the chief points of observance that were to be insisted on, and changed in the old foundations. Their report[1] was drawn up certainly before 817, perhaps a year or so earlier. Of the twelve points of practice given in this report, there is one describing 'how the vigil of the dead is celebrated' by St Benedict of Aniane and his monks in the pattern monastery. 'As soon as vespers of the day are over' (runs the document) 'they immediately say vespers of the dead, with antiphons, and after complin, matins of the dead with antiphons and responsories, sung with full and sonorous voice and with great sweetness (*plenissime atque suavissime*); next morning, after matins of the day, lauds of the dead.'[2] Martene, without any ado, takes it for granted that this means a *daily* recital of the office of the dead, after the regular Divine office.[3] When the document

est tradita' (ibid.). 'In abitu quoque dissimiles fecerat multorum consuetudo. . . . Quam ob rem vir Dei uniformem cunctis tenendum monachis instituit modum', &c. (p. 217). The 'Goths' had been 'the outs' in the time of Charles the Great; they had their day gloriously under his son, and for the time were masters all along the line.

[1] Printed in Herrgott pp. 19–21.

[2] 'Undecimo, ut defunctorum vigilia hoc modo ab eis celebratur. Vespera . . . finita, statim vesperam cum antiphonis celebrant pro defunctis, et post completorium vigiliam cum antiphonis vel responsoriis plenissime atque suavissime canunt; et post nocturnos intervallo matutinos pro mortuis faciunt. Facto autem primo mane . . . missam celebrant pro defunctis publicam. . . . Qua percelebrata statim cantant primam, si fuerit tempus, aut certe tertiam' (p. 21). On 'intervallo' Herrgott remarks: 'that is, in the interval between matins and lauds of the day.' As to this 'interval', see the *Disciplina Farfensis* (Herrgott pp. 49–50), and the English *Concordia regularis* (in Reyner *Apostolatus* Append. p. 81 l. 8). But this interpretation seems by no means sure; it might be the interval between lauds of the day and prime (see *Capitula monachorum Sangallensium* cap. xxxi, in Herrgott p. 36); or, if we may judge from a later practice, both, according to the season of the year, as will be explained below.

[3] *De ant. Mon. rit.* lib. i c. 2 § 19 and c. 10 § 28. [The whole question of the history of the office of the dead has since been dealt with in an exhaustive manner by the late Mgr Ceriani in a Consultation for the Roman Congregation of Rites dated 25 May 1897, entitled '*Mediolanen. Circa obligationem recitationis officii defunctorum*'.]

is read as a whole, the general terms in which it is couched make this interpretation a possible one. And it is to be remembered that these monks of Reichenau are reporting to their abbat points of importance in which observance usual amongst them is to be altered. Still, the words as they stand by no means require such general interpretation to be put upon them; it is possible, for instance, that the novelty consisted in the mode of recitation. But if the devotional addition of the office of the dead daily was any part of Benedict's programme, it is certainly one of the items insistence on which he saw fit to give up when he met his brother abbats in general assembly at the great meeting held by order of the Emperor at Aachen in 817. This assembly passed some eighty resolutions, which were confirmed by imperial authority, prescribing points of discipline to be inviolably observed in all monasteries. It is worthy of note that more than one seems to be aimed at novelties favoured by Benedict. The fiftieth resolution relates to prayer for the dead, and is couched in these curiously impatient terms: 'that, doing away with piecings up of the Psalter, the *psalmi speciales* be said for benefactors and the dead.'[1] The 'psalmi speciales' here mentioned are nothing else than the seven penitential psalms, which, it will be remembered, are specified in the Monte Cassino observance a few decades earlier. Another resolution of the meeting evidently contemplates the recital of some 'office of the dead' after complin; it may be matins, as specified in the report of the two monks of Reichenau; but this recital is here certainly contemplated as only an occasional occurrence.[2]

A few years later, Amalar, a writer deeply concerned in the then fashionable liturgical movement, and admitted into the Emperor's confidence in this matter, tells us that an office of the dead was recited on the third, seventh, and thirtieth days after decease, but explains that different practices were followed in different places: (1) in some places, a commemoration was made for the dead at lauds and vespers, except in Eastertide and on feast days; he evidently here has in view the practice explained in the Fulda memorial; (2) elsewhere there was a daily mass for the dead; (3) in some places, at the beginning of the month, 'nine psalms and nine lessons and as

[1] 'De specialibus psalmis pro eleemosynariis et defunctis cantandis. Ut praetermissis partitionibus psalterii, psalmi speciales pro eleemosynariis et defunctis cantentur' (Herrgott p. 29). *Speciales psalmi* are the seven penitential psalms; besides Ducange, see *Concordia regularis* (Reyner Append. p. 84 l. 24), and the Verdun St-Vannes Customs in Martene *De ant. Mon. rit.* (folio editions) 297 *b* l. 20.

[2] 'Ut si necessitas poposcerit ob operis laborem, post refectionem vespertinam, etiam et in quadragesima pari modo, et quando officium mortuorum celebratur, priusquam lectio completorii legatur, bibant' (Herrgott p. 25).

many responsories are said for them.'[1] Here nothing is said of either lauds or vespers of the dead, although he mentions them elsewhere;[2] nor does he apparently know, or at least think fit to mention, any addition daily of the devotional office of the dead to the traditional Divine Office of the day. Of course it will be understood that this office of the dead, which afterwards came to form part of the *Prymer*, is not a *Burial Service*; as indeed may sufficiently appear from what has been already said, and will be said in the sequel, as to its use. It is what its name calls it, an office of the dead and nothing more.

Still, in spite of the silence on this point of documents, it is, after all, not improbable that Martene is right that Benedict of Aniane may actually have introduced and himself practised at Inde the devotion of a daily recital of the office of the dead;[3] and for this reason. Some hundred and twenty or thirty years later, all extant testimony goes to shew that the daily recital of the office of the dead as a supplement to the Divine Office was universally admitted among Benedictine monks; and there seems to be no other reasonable way of accounting for such a general observance, except on the assumption that it was in fact recommended by the example of a person of most widely reaching influence and authority (and no such person but the greatly revered Benedict of Aniane occurs in that age); and that it was introduced in several and widely distant quarters simultaneously, so that it could spread gradually from many centres, as might well have happened after the Aachen meeting in 817.

But certain it is that the idea of these devotional accretions to the daily Divine Office started by Benedict of Aniane took deep root, and became imitatively expressed in ways of which he could have had no anticipation. It is not uncommon in a vague and general fashion to attribute the origin and spread of such accretions to the example of Cluny, the great prestige attaching to that name being doubtless a sort of convenient and handy means of solving any difficulty of the kind.[4] But in the present case this is to attribute to Cluny an

[1] Amalar *De ecclesiasticis officiis* lib. iv c. 42 (in Hittorp *De divin. eccl. offic.* ed. 1610 col. 499, 500). Any obscurity of expression in this passage is cleared up by lib. iii c. 44 (ibid. col. 439). Amalar is of opinion that the office of the dead is framed on the pattern of the office of the last days of Holy Week (i.e. of the office of our Lord's passion and death).

[2] *De eccl. offic.* lib. iv c. 4 (Hittorp col. 452 D).

[3] [M. Lejay (p. 121) thinks not: he points out that the resolutions of Aix-la-Chapelle present the recitation of the office of the dead as only occasional, '*quando* officium mortuorum celebratur'; and, moreover, how this recitation 'est mise sur le même pied que les féries de carême'. He concludes (and I expect rightly) that 'dès cette époque l'office des morts avait sa place normale (among monks, that is) à certaines féries déterminées'.]

[4] Much as 'Fleury' is a name to conjure with among our modern writers who would account for the English monastic customs of the tenth century; though they

influence which it obtained only at a later date ; the practices are too widely observed to admit of such an explanation ; and that monastery, in this matter, only went along with the prevalent current. Not merely do we everywhere find daily said in the monasteries, in the second half of the tenth century, the so-called *trina oratio*, or fifteen (gradual) psalms introduced by Benedict before matins, as well as the matins, lauds, and vespers of the dead, but also a new devotional office, evidently imitated from this latter, viz. the vespers and lauds of All Saints, said in connexion with vespers and lauds of the day ; and the seven penitential psalms and litany introduced after prime. In fact by this date, say 950–1000, with the exception of the office of the Blessed Virgin and the 'commendations', the whole groundwork of the *Prymer* (and something more, the office of All Saints) forms in the monasteries a series of supplemental daily prayers in addition to the old authorized, and still the only official service, the Divine Office of the day. The monks were not even content with this, but added after each of the hours certain psalms, two, three, or even more, for the lay benefactors and friends, *familiares*, of the monastic family, the abbey (which from their object came to bear the name *psalmi familiares*), besides a series of commemorations or suffrages of particular saints, the Holy Cross, or for peace, &c. But with these further accretions, especially as the last-named have come in time to form a part of the Divine Office itself, we are not here concerned.

Still more: as if the recital of the fifteen gradual psalms before matins were not enough, in many monasteries thirty were now said during the winter half of the year with its long nights, viz. in addition to the fifteen gradual psalms those immediately following, Psalm cxxxiv to the end of the Psalter.[1] The *Concordia regularis*, representing the practice of English monasteries of about the middle of the tenth century, adopted another devotional expedient, viz. prefixing to the older *trina oratio*—the fifteen gradual psalms which were daily said—another, a preliminary, *trina orátio*. This was accomplished by dividing the seven penitential psalms, in imitation of the division of the gradual, into three sections, each section being followed by the Lord's Prayer and a Collect ; the first three psalms being said *pro se ipso* ; the next two, for the king and queen, and 'familiars', and *pro se ipso* ; and the last two, for the faithful departed.

would find some difficulty in giving a description from originals of the discipline of Fleury in that age apart from the English documents, the peculiarities of which the name of 'Fleury' is invoked to explain.

[1] Psalms cxlviii–cl were counted as one psalm ; and indeed they are still so said at lauds. [This, of course, was written before the reform of the Breviary Psalter by the late Pope Pius X. The old arrangement is still retained in the Benedictine Psalter.]

Of all extant monastic consuetudinaries of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the *Concordia regularis* gives the clearest view of the way in which these devotional accretions were woven into the traditional Divine Office proper. The order varied according to the time of the year, and the varying length of day and night; consequently there is a winter and a summer practice. The winter half begins universally with 1st November. The time of change from winter to summer practice varied in different localities; in the *Concordia*, that is in England in the tenth century, the change was fixed at the beginning of Lent. In the following table the devotional accretions are printed in italics, so that it is possible to distinguish at once the Church's office from these voluntary, supererogatory additions. The day hours, terce, sext, none, and the evening complin, and the *psalmi familiares* are omitted, as they do not affect the question immediately under discussion, and would only serve to complicate matters already obscure enough, and so far hard to be understood that it is 'scientific' method to disburden the subject of unnecessary technicalities, and reduce it, for non-specialists, to its simplest possible expression.

TABLE OF THE MORNING AND EVENING OFFICES

ACCORDING TO THE *CONCORDIA REGULARIS*[1]

SUMMER.	WINTER.
(from caput Quadragesimae to 1 November.)	(1 November to caput Quadragesimae.)
MORNING.	MORNING.
1. *Preliminaries* (*viz. the new 'trina oratio', i. e. the seven penitential psalms divided into three sections, as explained above; and the older 'trina oratio', the fifteen gradual psalms also divided into three sections*).	1. *Preliminaries* (*as in Summer*).

[1] SUMMER; *morning offices*: 'Sic ad oratorium festinando . . cum summa reverentia et cautela intrans ut alios orantes non impediat, ac tunc [1] flexis genibus in loco congruo et consueto, . . effundat preces magis corde quam ore. . . . In prima itaque oratione decantet tres primos poenitentiae psalmos (in the second prayer, the next two; in the third prayer, the last two; then) residentibus cunctis in sedibus suis ordinatim, atque canentibus quindecim psalmos graduum singillatim, trina partitione . . . atque finitis eisdem psalmis [2] incipiant nocturnum (followed by *psalmi familiares*). Post hos psalmos [3] parvissimum, uti regula praecipit et tota aestate convenit, fiat intervallum. [4] Post hoc, sequantur diei laudes (and *psalmi familiares* after, with commemorations or suffrages). Post quas [5, 6] eundum est ad matutinales laudes de omnibus sanctis, decantando antiphonam ad venerationem sancti cui porticus, ad quam itur, dedicata est. Post quas [7] laudes pro

SUMMER.	WINTER.
MORNING.	MORNING.
2. Matins of the day.	2. Matins of the day.
[3. Short interval.]	3. *Matins of the dead.*
4. Lauds of the day.	4. *Lauds of the dead.*
5. *Lauds of All Saints.*	5. *Lauds of All Saints.*
[6. They go to another oratory.]	[6. Interval.]
7. *Lauds of the dead.*	7. *Private prayer* (*detail not specified*).
[8. Interval, if not yet daylight.]	8. Lauds of the day.
9. Prime.	9. Prime.
10. *Seven penitential psalms.*	10. *Seven penitential psalms.*
11. *Litany.*	11. *Litany.*
EVENING.	EVENING.
12. *Preliminary private prayer* (*detail not specified*).	12. *Preliminary private prayer* (*detail not specified*).
13. Vespers of the day.	13. Vespers of the day.
14. *Vespers of All Saints.*	14. *Vespers of All Saints.*
15. *Vespers of the dead.*	15. *Vespers of the dead.*
16. *Matins of the dead.*	

The points of difference between summer and winter in the foregoing table, and their rationale, seem to be:

(1) In the long nights, matins of the dead were thrown into the night; in the long days, into the day.

(2) In summer, lauds of the dead and of All Saints, instead of being said before the lauds of the day, were thrown after them, and a procession was made to another oratory—a change of place reasonably enough avoided in the cold winter nights.[1]

defunctis. Quod si luce diei, ut oportet, finitum fuerit officium, incipiant primam, absque tintinnabuli signo; [8] sin autem, expectent lucem et pulsato signo congregentur ad [9] primam. (More *psalmi familiares* after prime; and then) more solito [10] poenitentiae psalmos percurrant. . . . His vero finitis [11] subsequatur laetania, quam universi more solito prostrati humiliter, nullo excepto, signo pulsato, compleant (with the usual appendices). Quibus finitis vacent fratres lectioni', &c. &c. (Reyner Append. pp. 80, 81, compared with the print in *Anglia* xiii 378–382).

Evening offices: 'Temperius agatur vespera, cuius signa dum sonant fratres post [12] orationem in choro . . . sedeant. [13] Vesperam vero cantantes, (thereafter two *psalmi familiares* are said). (Vespers said with their suffrages, there follow) [14] vesperae de omnibus sanctis; [15] et mortuorum; [16] et vigilia usque ad Calendas Novembris' (ibid. p. 83, and *Anglia* p. 392).

WINTER; *morning offices*: [1] as above in summer; [2] 'nocturnali peracto officio, et psalmis supradictis, [3] ac vigiliâ pro defunctis [4] cum laudibus suis, [5] atque matutinis de omnibus sanctis expletis, [6] fratribus psalmodiae deditis vel lectioni . . . intervallum usquequo lucescat cum magna vigilantia custodiatur. In lucis crepusculo, dum edituus signum pulsaverit, ad ecclesiam universi conveniant, [7] factaque oratione [8] laudes psallant matutinales (and the suffrages or commemorations); quas sequatur [9] prima, [10] et speciales psalmi, [11] et letania. Post haec egrediantur ecclesiam' (ibid. p. 84, and *Anglia* p. 398).

Evening offices: As Nos. [12] to [15] in summer, above.

[1] The practice of saying the close of lauds and vespers in another oratory is of

(3) The order of these supplementary lauds was different in summer and winter; the reason for this is probably one of the mysteries of 'the Pye', or rather the secret of its compiler.

Of the other printed monastic custom-books of the tenth and eleventh centuries that of Udalric of Cluny, which dates more than a century later than the *Concordia*, is the only one which gives a fairly clear and connected account of the order of these services. It would not be easy to construct from the others, taken as they stand, a scheme with any certainty of being correct; the notices are merely incidental, and generally assume in the persons for whom they were written a practical knowledge of existing custom. But by the help of the Table drawn from the *Concordia*, the interpretation of these consuetudinaries, in the matter in question, is easy enough; and their examination gives as a result that they all show a practically uniform observance in regard to the details under consideration.

Two points should, however, be observed:

(1) The devotional accretions whereby the Divine Office was so greatly lengthened were not said in full in Eastertide or on feast days of a high grade; or speaking technically, they were only said in full on ferial days. It is to be remembered, however, that in the tenth and eleventh centuries the feast days of a high grade were comparatively of rare occurrence.

(2) These accretions were not assigned to special seasons, or portions of the year, or treated as preparations for the great feasts, but were said on non-festal, i. e. ferial days throughout the year.

great antiquity. It is prescribed in section 69 of the rule of St Caesarius for nuns as printed by the Bollandists in connexion with the life of St Caesaria, 12 Jan.; a document which in any circumstances must represent a practice of the sixth and seventh century. The foundation of Pope Gregory III at St Peter's (Duchesne *Lib. pont.* i 422, 423, cf. 417) is another version of the same custom, though restricted to the evening office. In the *Concordia* it is reserved for the morning, and for only half the year. Cluny maintained it at both lauds and vespers, and all the year round, as may be gathered from a comparison of the various eleventh-century customs of that house. The 'porticus' at Cluny was the chapel of the Blessed Virgin (see Udalric, lib. i c. 3 and 41, in Migne *P. L.* 149. 646, 686). Bernard of Cluny once incidentally mentions the custom (in Herrgott p. 410, 'Sed sciendum', &c.). A century before these writers it was adopted from Cluny by Farfa (see the *Disciplina Farfensis* in Herrgott pp. 50, 51, 60, 79, 80). As on the way the antiphon sung was 'de sancta Maria' (p. 50), the 'alius Chorus' at Farfa was doubtless the 'Oratorium sanctae Mariae', described p. 87.—The Constitutions of William of Hirschau, drawn up after he had adopted the Cluny discipline, give the most detailed description (Herrgott pp. 545, 547, 548), and shew how extremely uncomfortable this following of the practices of venerable fathers of antiquity must have been for the sick monks: their chapel was the 'other oratory', and on the approach of the community in long procession, the *infirmi* were simply cleared out of it, to find refuge elsewhere as best they could (see also statute 61 of Peter the Venerable, Migne *P. L.* 189. 1042).

It is well to recall at this point the items which up to this time have come before us:

(*a*) The fifteen gradual psalms before matins (in some places increased to thirty during the winter, i. e. the long nights).
(*b*) The penitential psalms and litany after prime.
(*c*) The office of the dead, vespers, matins and lauds.
(*d*) The office of All Saints, vespers and lauds.
(*e*) The *psalmi familiares*, said after all the hours.

All these before the close, perhaps by the middle, of the tenth century, obtained throughout the Benedictine monasteries of England, France, Germany, and doubtless Italy.[1] Themselves an imitation of the original Divine Office, or *cursus*, as it was from long tradition called, such offices as those of the dead and of All Saints, once fairly established, were in the then temper of men's minds sure to call forth imitations. And in fact ingenious piety invented many a new *cursus*; those of the Blessed Virgin and of the Holy Cross[2] are the first to appear; to which by and by were added those of the Incarnation, of the Holy Trinity, of the Holy Ghost. Each represented a special devotional attraction of some individual, and each was said in the same way that the customary recitation of the office of the dead and of All Saints had made familiar, viz. as a private daily devotional addition to the Divine Office itself, in strict imitation of it, and, like the Office, as a *daily* exercise throughout the year.[3]

Of these numerous later products of an exuberant piety only one—the office of the Blessed Virgin—was destined to take its place, as an additional *cursus* to the Divine Office, alongside of the office of the dead, and like it secure public recitation in the church, eventually

[1] Even where only a portion of these accretions is mentioned in any particular document in the tenth century, it is not safe to conclude from silence that the items not mentioned were not also said. Thus the life of St John of Gorze (*M. G. SS.* iv 360) mentions only the 'ternae orationes' of fifteen (in winter thirty) psalms; and the seven penitential psalms and the litany after prime. The Verdun St-Vannes Customs say nothing of these, but give details as to the daily offices of the dead and All Saints (Martene *De ant. Mon. rit.* p. 300 b). Yet there can be no doubt they both represent, in these details, the same stage and practice of the same monastic movement in two of the episcopal cities of Lorraine. The compiler of the Verdun Customs, an interesting man, a physician, and an authority on diet, not to say on cookery, evidently looks back with pleasure, if not with regret, on the good old days before the 'movement' began.

[2] See note 1, p. 225 below.

[3] So Franco, abbat of Lobbes, about the middle of the twelfth century, 'nec enim communi horarum regularium vel cursuum debito contentus, Trinitatis insuper Incarnationisque . . . cotidianum devote cursum frequentabat' (*Gesta abb. Lob.* in *M. G. SS.* xxi 331). And at an earlier date St Stephen of Grandmont, 'exceptis etenim ecclesiastici officii regularibus debitis . . . a prima die qua venit in eremum (in 1076) usque ad ultimum diem vitae suae, ordinem de sancta Trinitate cum novem lectionibus et horis canonicis singulis diebus ac noctibus devotissime celebravit' (*Vita* § 20, Migne *P. L.* 204. 1017–1018).

ousting even in the monasteries the long-established older *cursus* of All Saints. It will be proper therefore to bring together here the scanty early notices of the office of the Blessed Virgin.

(1) The contemporary biographer of St Udalric, bishop of Augsburg, who was provost of the cathedral, and knew the saint well in his later days, writes that, finding himself able by the Emperor's permission to throw off on his nephew the burden of the secular duties attaching to his high station, Udalric threw himself almost unreservedly into prayer and acts of devotion; unless interrupted by necessary duties, it was his custom to say the Divine Office daily along with the chapter in the choir of his cathedral; he also added thereto, as an act of personal and private devotion, 'one *cursus* in honour of St Mary, Mother of God; another in honour of the Holy Cross; and a third in honour of All Saints, besides the whole psalter daily'.[1] This notice occurs almost at the beginning of the 'Life'; but the work is written without regard to chronology, and from later notices as to the appointment of the nephew,[2] it is clear that the passage just quoted must relate to quite the last years of Udalric's life, say about 970 or 971.

(2) In the chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny a story is told how it was the habit of Berengerius, bishop of Verdun (940–962), to go to the church to make long prayers before matins began, and how on one occasion in the darkness of the building, when entering the choir, he stumbled over Bernerius, the provost of the cathedral, who was lying prostrate on the ground reciting the matin office (*matutinarium cursum*) of the Blessed Virgin.[3] The same story is told much more briefly by the somewhat earlier author of the *Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium*, who uses the expression that Bernerius was saying the 'memory' of the Blessed Virgin (*Beatae Mariae memoriam celebrantem*).[4] But apart from the question that there can be hardly a doubt the same *thing* is meant, Hugh of Flavigny has more detailed and authentic sources of information (evidently the necrology of the monastery of St Peter, called later St Vannes, at Verdun, in which Bernerius became a monk).

(3) The Einsiedeln Customs, drawn up not long after the year

[1] 'Ille vero quantum secularibus curis se absolutiorem esse persensit, tantum se ipsum in Dei voluntate facere nitebatur obligatiorem. Cursus scilicet cottidianus cum matricularis in choro eiusdem matriculae ab eo caute observabatur, quandocumque ei domi manendum aliae occupationes consenserunt. Insuper autem unum cursum in honore sanctae Mariae genitricis Dei, et alterum de sancta Cruce, tertium de omnibus sanctis, et alios psalmos plurimos, totumque psalterium omni die explere solitus erat, nisi si eum impediret aliqua inevitabilis necessitas' (*Gerhardi Vita S. Oudalrici Ep.* in *M. G. SS.* iv 389).

[2] See the narrative, ibid. pp. 407 sqq.

[3] *M. G. SS.* viii 365.

[4] *M. G. SS.* iv 46.

970, as it would seem, and certainly before 990 or 995, not only confirm the existence and the spread of such a *cursus* of the Blessed Virgin in Germany at this time, but they also shew that the transition from the stage of a mere private devotion to an actual place in the public office in the church was already accomplished. They assign, for the period from the octave of Easter to Advent (provided the days were not occupied by a feast), a votive office (with three lessons) of the Holy Cross to Fridays, and one of the Blessed Virgin (also with three lessons) to Saturdays, apparently along with, and not in substitution of, the ordinary ferial office of those days.[1] Of course this is different from the daily recital, after the Divine Office, which obtained somewhat later; but a step forward at the least is taken.

Soon after the middle of the eleventh century, St Peter Damian gives ample evidence that a devotional and private daily recitation of the office of the B. V. must have been commonly practised amongst even the secular clergy in Italy. He moreover specially mentions a case where, in a monastery, the custom was, about the year 1053, introduced of saying the hours of this office in choir along with the regular office of the day.[2] From the terms which he uses (*novae adinventionis pondus*) it is clear that in northern Italy, at least, this must have been at the time a hitherto unheard-of novelty. But it does not seem open to doubt that about this time at the latest the practice must have been in vogue at Monte Cassino; for Peter the Deacon, the chronicler of that house, writing in the early years of the twelfth century a commentary on the Rule of St Benedict, narrates that Pope Zacharias (who died 752) imposed on the community of Monte Cassino a strict obligation always, as well in summer as in winter, to say before the night and day office, as soon as the brethren assembled in choir, the office of St Benedict; and after the regular office, the office of the Blessed Virgin Mary. And, as if to preclude all doubt as to the nature of these offices of St Benedict, and the B.V., he describes them as being 'offices of the seven hours' (*septem horarum*

[1] 'Per totam quinquagesimam paschalem (i.e. to the octave of Pentecost inclusive) infra ebdomadam fiant tres lectiones similiter; sexta quoque feria et septima, si sanctorum natalitia non affuerint, de sancta Cruce et sancta Maria tres eodem modo compleantur... Hoc quoque de sancta Cruce et sancta Maria non dimittatur usque in Adventum Domini' (O. Ringholz *Des Benediktinerstiftes Einsiedeln Thätigkeit für die Reform deutscher Klöster* p. 41).—The *Concordia regularis* (p. 82), and Aelfric's Eynsham Customs (in Kitchin's *Winchester Obedientiaries' Rolls* p. 177), say nothing of an office, but prescribe for these days that the principal mass shall be of the Holy Cross, and the Blessed Virgin, deriving the practice doubtless from Alcuin, whose own prescription, it can hardly be doubted, was based on the devotion of the Anglo-Saxon Church before his days.

[2] See Batiffol *Hist. du Brév. romain* pp. 185–186.

officia).[1] Whatever be thought of the account Peter gives of the origin of the 'custom', it is certain that that custom must, when he wrote, have been already of long standing at Monte Cassino: during a couple of generations at least. And if the stringent terms which he uses in regard to the obligation raise some suspicion that there were grumblers who did not eye the custom favourably, yet it must have existed long enough for all knowledge of the precise circumstances attending its introduction to die out; otherwise his fellow monks would have at once detected the error.

The schemes printed in No. 109 of the Early English Text Society's Publications (Original Series) pp. lxxv sqq.[2] are sufficient evidence that the office of the Blessed Virgin must have been used in England at even an earlier date, whether in the form of a daily addition to the Divine Office, or as a votive office on Saturday does not appear. Apart from the probable evidence of date afforded by the volumes in which they are found (always uncertain and unsatisfactory, however, as such evidence must be, where mere undated handwriting has to be depended on), the statutes of Lanfranc are clear proof that such an office was not introduced into English monasteries by Norman monks;[3] nay more, they are proof too that, if it had been in use in England previously, it was abolished by the new-comers, the men of model observance, as mere Englishry. There can be little doubt that the offices of which the schemes are here printed are to be brought into connexion with that spread of devotion to the Blessed Virgin which was so marked a feature of the English Church from the close of the tenth century to the Conquest; of which to this day the Feast of the Conception is speaking evidence, originating as it did (so far as the

[1] See Martene *De ant. Mon. rit.* lib. I c. 2 § 17. There can be no doubt as to the origin and source of Martene's passage. Ang. de Nuce (*Chron. Casinens.* 1668 app. p. 19) draws it from *Cod. Casinens.* 257, as to which see *Bibliotheca Casinensis* iv, *Florileg.* p. 5, 'Sub districto praecepto (writes Peter) Casinensi congregationi Zacharias papa observare praecepit, constituens ut omni tempore tam aestatis quam hiemis ante nocturnale vel diurnale officium mox ut fratres in choro convenerint incipiant officium de sancto Benedicto; et eo expleto inchoent officium quod regula praecipit; adiuncto etiam sanctae Dei genitricis et virginis Mariae officio.' Above he describes them as 'canonica septem horarum officia in commemoratione B. P. Benedicti salvo eo quod in honore S. Dei Genitricis persolvi consuetudo est.'—The author of the life of St Stephen of Grandmont, recounting how the Saint said daily the office of the Blessed Virgin from the year 1076 onwards, counts it with the office of the dead as already in that neighbourhood an integral part of the Divine Office: 'ecclesiastici officii *regularibus debitis*, agenda videlicet diei et beatae Mariae et fidelium defunctorum' (Migne *P. L.* 204. 1017).

[2] [These schemes are now published in facsimile in vol. xxi of the Publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1902.]

[3] The office of the Blessed Virgin is nowhere mentioned in Lanfranc's Statutes for Canterbury Cathedral for Benedictines, which in more than one particular prescribe the contrary of older English customs in a way so express as to shew that his directions are aimed at them in a prohibitory sense.

Western Church is concerned) in England, and spreading from thence over the rest of Europe: a devotion which was thrown into the background by the Norman Conquerors, but which, with the gradual recovery of Englishry, asserted itself again in the later Anglo-Norman days, and finally found its natural theological expression in the controversy between Nicholas, the monk of St Albans, and the great St Bernard.[1]

Cluny was somewhat late in admitting this office of the Blessed Virgin; and even when adopted, it did not enter into the round of daily devotion of the community. The fact is that Cluny had already overburdened itself with these accretions; worthy Udalric asseverates and vows that the monks bore it all with freshness, alacrity, and joy. That may be; but the reader who will have the patience to read him (and especially the eighteenth chaper of his first book) will be apt to think that he is himself very good evidence that the monks of Cluny monastery must have been pretty well breathless before they got to the end of the day.[2] The office of the B. V. was first introduced by abbat Hugh (1049–1109), but he prudently restricted its recitation to the monks who were in the infirmary, and to the chapel of sick monks only. Cluny in its then mind could hardly subtract itself from the practice of a devotion which, to use a plain term, had become fashionable; and the infirmary chapel, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, naturally recommended itself as a ground where, on the one hand, the need felt to be on a level with the times, and on the other the sheer impossibility of undertaking new devotional duties, could both be conveniently reckoned with. In the days of abbat Peter, some time before 1146 or 1147, the complin of the Blessed Virgin, which had not been hitherto said at Cluny, was added to the infirmary *cursus*.[3]

With the twelfth century, and the institution of the White Monks of the order of Citeaux, and the White Canons of the order of Prémontré, and the Black Canons of St Augustine, a new period opens in the history of these accretions to the Divine Office. The White Monks and White Canons, who were the expression of the most ardent piety of the time, resolutely struck out a new line for themselves. They began by simply sweeping aside all these novelties, in each case with one exception. They cleared them out of the way, and reduced the

[1] See as to the origins of the feast of the Conception the next paper, No. X.

[2] Migne *P. L.* 149. 668, and cap. 41, 686–688; cf. Stat. 31 of Peter the Venerable in Migne, 189. 1034.

[3] 'Quidquid dicit conventus dicunt (infirmi); et, ex praecepto domni abbatis Hugonis, insuper omnes horas de sancta Maria' (Bern. Clun., lib. i cap. 23, in Herrgott p. 189); see also the 60th Statute of Peter the Venerable, Migne 189. 1041.

Office to the early simplicity and straightforwardness[1] which from the time of St Benedict of Aniane it had gradually lost through the heaping upon it of productions of devotion, privately commendable doubtless, but not always publicly prudent.[2]

In their somewhat ruthless reform Cîteaux preserved the daily recital of the office of the dead;[3] Prémontré, of the office of the Blessed Virgin.[4] But as it has happened before and since, new and powerful religious orders, which seem at first glance to carry all before them with a rush, are found in fact, when the whole length and breadth of the situation is patiently considered, to have exercised a less absorbing influence than the trumpet of common fame gives out. Cîteaux and Prémontré were powerful no doubt, but the current was still set in the channel we have been following, and with a force they could not stem; with all their popularity and power, the direction of the future in this matter was not with them.

The Black Canons, as in their organization, so in their practice, adopted a directly contrary policy. The Cistercians and Premonstratensians, imitating Cluny, though with modifications, were a highly centralized organization, having a personal head, the abbat of Cîteaux or Prémontré, and a common centre, those abbeys themselves, wherewith the whole order was brought into continual and direct communication by means of frequent general chapters held in these mother-houses. The Black Canons adopted the older Benedictine system, with no necessary dependence on a central point, and no

[1] This is clear enough on a comparison of chapters 68 and 74 of the original Customs of Cîteaux (Ph. Guignard *Monuments primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne* pp. 161, 176) with the *Primaria instituta Canonicorum Praemonstratensium* dist. i c. 1, 2 in Martene *De ant. Eccl. rit.* (folio editions) iii p. 325.

[2] [Although it was but within late years—the space of a generation—that the Benedictine monasteries of northern France had allowed themselves to be carried away by fashion and had adopted Cluniac superfluities, already in the third decade of the twelfth century there developed what may be called a 'strike' against Cluniacensian observances and the sense of a need for return to the dictates of good sense in regard to church services. In his *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* (1894) Dom U. Berlière has printed letters on this subject that passed between the abbats of the first Benedictine provincial chapter ever held—that of Reims in 1131—and Matthew, cardinal bishop of Albano. Matthew was a thorough-going Cluniacensian of the most convinced and self-satisfied type. There is extremely plain speaking on both sides and no mincing of matters. It is a pity that these documents should be accessible only in this little-known collection, where too they lie buried away under a mass of very uninteresting matter. They are of the first importance for the understanding of the history of Benedictinism as contrasted with the pompous maximism of the Cluniacs on the one hand and the minimism of puritanic Cistercianism on the other. I must be content here to have called attention to their existence, and their value to those who love 'to know'. See them at pp. 94–110 of Berlière.]

[3] *Consuetudines* c. 50 in Guignard p. 137.

[4] 'Post missam dicitur prima de Sancta Maria' (*Primaria instituta* dist. i cap. 2 in Martene loc. cit.).

common head. Their houses assumed, therefore, more the character of diocesan institutions. And whilst Cîteaux and Prémontré each drew up a complete set of office books to be copied down to every jot and tittle, and followed with minute exactitude in every house of their respective orders,[1] the devotion and piety of the Black Canons in their early fervour imitated as far as possible the practices to be found in the monasteries and churches of best-established repute in their own neighbourhood. Thus in the constitutions for these canons regular drawn up by Peter de Honestis, of the monastery of St Mary de Portu near Ravenna, confirmed by Pope Paschal II in 1117, which were very soon widely observed in Italy and Germany, it is prescribed, in regard to diversity of hours and offices, on ferial days, Sundays, and feasts, &c., that as diversity of practice exists in different places, the local order and use of the more observant churches of the district should be followed.[2] He lays down the same practical rule, especially in regard to the various accretions to the Divine Office. As regards the three prayers,[3] before matins, in the morning before prime, and at night after complin; the gradual psalms; the lauds and vespers of All Saints; the hours of the Blessed Virgin, if the devotion of the brethren observes them (*si fraterna devotio habeat*); matins, lauds, mass, and vespers for the dead; the penitential psalms in the morning; and the *psalmi familiares* after the hours, and whatever other things are necessary, let the use, order, and custom of those who have gone before us inculcate what is to be done.[4]

Other constitutions were drawn up for the Black Canons about the same time by Manegold of Lautenbach, a man influential and revered, who had been deeply concerned in the ecclesiastical politics of the day, and so formed a contrast to 'Peter the sinner, clerk, with his brethren', who were the authors of the Ravennese code. Manegold's compilation was primarily designed for the monastery of Marbach in Alsace, which he had founded, but it soon obtained wide acceptance elsewhere. He

[1] For the condition of Cistercian office books in early days see *Vita S. Stephani Obazin.* in Baluze *Miscellanea* iv 120 (original edition). Cîteaux was more successful than Prémontré in securing uniformity; see the description of the 'manuscript-type' in Guignard, préf. pp. iii sqq. For Prémontré efforts, *M. G. SS.* xxiii 526, 585; xxiv 655, 672.

[2] 'Horarum autem et officiorum diversitas fit pro die, festo, hora et tempore. Aliter enim fiunt diebus ferialibus, aliter diebus dominicis', &c. 'Verum in aliquibus horum plurima quorumdam officiorum pro temporibus diversis et locis invenitur varietas, quam in singulis partibus maiorum ecclesiarum et rectiorum ordo et usus edoceat' (*Regula Portuensis* lib. iii c. 8; in Amort *Vetus disciplina Canonicorum* Venet., 1747, p. 369).

[3] That is, three preliminary short prayers often said before the fifteen psalms, corresponding to the seven penitential psalms with collects before matins in the *Concordia.* See such prayers in Herrgott pp. 593–4, from a Monte Cassino Breviary of the eleventh century.

[4] *Reg. Portuens.* lib. iii c. 17 in Amort p. 373.

mentions as of daily observance the *trina oratio*, to be followed by the fifteen gradual psalms, before matins ; the office of the dead ; the office of the Blessed Virgin, the hours of which were to be said after the relative hours of the ordinary office ; the seven penitential psalms and litany after prime.[1] In these German constitutions, the vespers and lauds of All Saints, mentioned in those of St Mary de Portu, have fallen out, and the office of the Blessed Virgin is assumed to be generally said ; whereas the Italian Peter de Honestis has, with regard to this latter, a limitation (*si fraterna*, &c.) shewing that in many monasteries, to say the least, it was not said in his neighbourhood.

So far the discussion has been concerned with the religious orders. It remains to consider briefly the adoption of these devotional accretions in their public service in the Church by the secular clergy, viz. those who may specifically and absolutely be called '*the clergy*' proper, i. e. all clerics who do not belong to a religious order.

It has been already pointed out, that the spread of 'devotional' practices is, as a general, if not universal, rule, from the religious orders to the clergy. Just as in earlier centuries, six and seven hundred years or more before, the clergy adopted matins from monks first as a matter of devotional imitation, and found them at length imposed as a duty and obligation, it was inevitable that the accretions to the Divine Office, which began from the time of Benedict of Aniane, should be taken up by the secular clergy and become at length a part of the daily *pensum*. In view of the unvarying tenor of the story, whether in ancient days or modern times, the wonder is that the clergy did not adopt these at an earlier date than that when they were actually received in non-monastic churches. The office of the dead seems to have been the first item of these offices of supererogation to make its way into the office as publicly said by the clergy.[2] It is, of course, to be understood that this item,

[1] In Amort pp. 386–387 ; see also §§ 12, 18, 24, 35, 37, 50, 52 ; less correctly from another manuscript in Martene *De ant. Eccl. rit.* iii 306 sqq.—St Stephen of Obazine and his companions used all these accretions (including both the hours of the Blessed Virgin and of All Saints) whilst they were still seculars, and before they had made up their minds to join themselves to a religious order (*Vita* in Baluze *Miscell.* iv 80–81 ; the passage does not occur in the abridged Life in the Bollandists). The compiler of the *Ordo divini officii* in Amort pp. 932 sqq. is a strong orthodox Romanizer, as appears from his frequent quotations from the Micrologus (i.e. Bernold of Constance), and he consequently has but small liking for these novel accretions ; he mentions, however (lib. viii c. 5 p. 1046), the fifteen gradual psalms, and (lib. vii c. 22 pp. 1042–1043) the daily office of the dead.

[2] Batiffol *Hist. du Brév. rom.* p. 190, quoting John of Avranches, who wrote between 1061 and 1067, and gives the custom at least in Normandy. In Germany the practice must have found its way into some cathedral churches a century earlier, e.g. Augsburg : 'aliis orationibus firmiter insistebat (sc. Udalr. episc. Augustens.) usque dum signum ad vigilias defunctorum sonaret ; quo audito statim surrexit et cum fratribus vigiliam celebravit et primam. Prima vero expleta, fratribus solito

as well as the rest later, was not imposed by some general order, but was adopted or not in particular churches according to the discretion or the zeal of individual bishop and individual chapter. When once, however, the current set in that direction, it was only a question of time that the whole of these additions would be publicly said, and become of obligation by and by from mere custom in the churches of the secular clergy no less than in those of monks and regular canons. The Black Canons, without design, but in practice, were just the means whereby these monastic observances might be expected to be the more quickly communicated to the cathedral and collegiate churches, and the secular clergy at large. For whilst now forming a religious order in the strict sense of the word, and adopting the devotional practices usual among the monks, they still remained themselves clerics, and professedly a part of the clerical, not the monastic body, and were designed by their very institute to take a share in the pastoral and other ministerial duties incumbent on the secular clergy. And, as an accident, the simple and unassuming character of their piety contributed to recommend their practices to the favourable notice of their clerical brethren.[1]

How, and by what steps, and when, in different localities they were in fact received, it would be possible to state only after an examination, impracticable at present for any individual, of the extant early cathedral statutes and ordinalia. But it was certainly in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, for the most part perhaps even in the twelfth, that the change took place.[2] And it was

more crucem portantibus, ipse remanens in aecclesia', &c. (*Vit. S. Oudalrici Augustens.* in *M. G. SS.* iv 391). The whole context shews that the *fratres* in question were the cathedral chapter, and the *ecclesia* the cathedral church.

[1] The writer of the history of the foundation of Llanthony might be considered a partial witness. But the highly critical 'Burnellus', who saw through the weaknesses of every order, and especially of the 'canons secular', cannot be gainsaid (see *Nigelli Speculum Stultorum* in Wright's *Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century* i 93; the author, Nigel 'Wireker', the Canterbury monk, was own brother to no less a personage than the powerful Chancellor, William Longchamp, bishop of Ely).

[2] A Reims Ordinale at the British Museum (MS Reg. 11 B. xiii), of the early thirteenth century, shews the devotional offices of the dead, of All Saints, and of the Blessed Virgin, as already established in that church. [The bulk of this Ordinale is now printed by Canon Ulysse Chevalier in vol. vii of his *Bibliothèque Liturgique* (pp. 261–305, cf. xxvi–xxxi).] A Trèves Ordinale of about the latter half of the same century (Harl. MS 2958) mentions none of these; only the fifteen gradual psalms after prime (apparently in Lent only). Also in Lent, besides many psalms and preces of no account here, the seven penitential psalms at prime; and during the whole year (including Lent) on ferias, one of the seven penitential psalms after each of the hours. Possibly also, in Lent, before prime, the matins of the dead: 'ante primam cantande sunt vigilie cum novem lectionibus per totam quadragesimam' (f. 22 b). These two ordinalia shew very well the different ways in which different secular churches approached the adoption of these devotional accretions as a whole.

It is to be observed that the vespers and lauds of All Saints never gained any general acceptance in secular churches, and indeed from this time forward gradually

thus coincident with the general settlement of cathedral chapters on the new model, and with the erection of new and more magnificent cathedral churches, an occasion which would be taken advantage of, there is every likelihood for expecting, to revise the Church books and ceremonies. By the end of the thirteenth century, at the very latest, the process must have been complete.

Unfortunately no formal directory or ordinal of so early a date exists for any English cathedral. But there are in various documents scattered indications, each one slight enough in itself, but in fact sufficient to make it reasonably sure that the accretions, even as a whole, may have formed part of the public office as said in our English cathedral churches as early as the first half of the thirteenth century. Thus an incidental notice in the Sarum tractate *de officiis*, dating at the latest about 1230, shews that the offices of the dead and of the Blessed Virgin were then daily said in the church of Salisbury.[1] The custumals of Lincoln cathedral, dating from the third quarter of the thirteenth century, shew that the daily recital of the office of the Blessed Virgin was the settled practice of that church.[2] Of devotional accretions to the office, the statutes of St Paul's, drawn up before the year 1305, mention the office of the dead, the fifteen psalms, and the commendations.[3] It is to be observed that these are mere chance notices; and seeing that the whole body of accretions are found at a later date in the Sarum books, there is little reason to doubt that all the items had here, as elsewhere, found admission by the beginning of the fourteenth century, although only some of them are specifically mentioned in the fragmentary records of that age which have survived to the present day.[4]

fell into disuse in the monasteries themselves. So that at the time of the formation of the *Prymer*, this office was not a commonly current devotion.

[1] Section 52 (in Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, 1853, iv 2 p. 36; *Registrum S. Osmundi* ed. Jones, i p. 90).

[2] H. Bradshaw and Chr. Wordsworth *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral* i 289, 290, 385. Office of B. V. at Wells in 1207 (C. M. Church *Early History* p. 173).

[3] Sparrow Simpson *Registrum Statutorum eccl. cathedr. S. Pauli Londinens.* pp. 47, 54-56.

[4] A reference to the so-called 'Antiphonar' of Hereford in the Cathedral library would be here desirable, as it seems to be of the thirteenth century. [This MS is made use of in foot-notes to the edition by Dr W. H. Frere of the Hereford Breviary in three volumes for the Henry Bradshaw Society.] It is unnecessary to cite later books, e.g. at Exeter, Hereford: the detail can be easily filled up. For York the sources seem curiously defective, on account especially of the paucity of interesting rubric in the York Breviary; but see vol. i col. 213. It will be enough for the present purpose to follow up Sarum. [Mgr Ceriani (see above, p. 217 note 3) remarks at this point: 'Bishop, quem nescio quomodo latuerint omnia Anglica documenta allata nn. 61-63', &c. (num. 64). The explanation, I am afraid, is only too easy to give. I pass on quickly to a simple enumeration of the 'Anglica documenta' cited by Ceriani as to the recital of the office of the dead. These are the following English episcopal or synodal statutes of the thirteenth century: (1) Richard de Marsh, bishop of Durham, of about 1220 (Wilkins i 579); (2) Richard

It does not, of course, follow that each item was assigned exactly to the same place as that in which it is found in the table from the tenth century *Concordia*, given above. With a general liturgical uniformity in the West during the middle ages, there existed an infinite variety in point of minute and indifferent detail. Thus a competent and well-informed liturgist of the second half of the fourteenth century was able to say that the daily recital of the offices of the Blessed Virgin and of the dead was now obligatory on all, and that by virtue of the general custom of all nations. By the laudable practice of many, other particular offices are also observed, as the penitential and gradual psalms, and so forth. The vespers and matins of the dead are (he says) generally said in the evening, and lauds next morning, after lauds of the day. The office of the Blessed Virgin was usually said before each hour of the regular office, except complin; but the Franciscans say matins, lauds and vespers before matins and vespers of the day, and the other hours after the relative hour of the day. Some religious and seculars said the fifteen psalms, according to the original institution, before matins; others divided them into five groups of three, and said them after the five lesser hours of the office of the Blessed Virgin; some said the penitential psalms after prime; others omitted them; others said them after prime, but only in Lent, a restriction first introduced into the Papal Chapel by Innocent III, and adopted by the Franciscans, although this practice is designated as exceptional.[1]

The following table will shew the Salisbury custom and accommodation of these devotional additions to the regular and traditional Divine Office proper.[2] The gradual and penitential psalms were

Poore, bishop of Salisbury (1217-1225, and Marsh's successor at Durham) of 1225 (ibid. p. 599); (3) Alexander de Stavenby, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, of *c.* 1237 (ibid. p. 642); (4) Walter de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester, of 1240 (ibid. p. 668); and (5) Peter Quivil, bishop of Exeter, of 1287 (ibid. ii p. 144). In sum, these bishops prescribe generally that *Placebo* (= vespers of the dead) and *Dirige* (= matins and lauds of the dead), with 'commendatio animae', be said every day except on feasts of nine lessons.]

[1] See Radulphus de Rivo *De Canonum observantia liber* in Hittorp (ed. 1610), coll. 1145-1146 (office of dead); 1146-1147 (office of B. V.); 1148, 1133 (the 15 and 7 pss., litany, &c.); 1137 (lenten additions).

[2] It is drawn up on the prints of Procter and Wordsworth (P.), and Seager (S.); the rubrics of the latter's 'MS. L.' are useful for clearing up some obscurities of the printed breviaries.

For the office of the dead, see P. fasc. i pp. xliv, xlv, xlvii, xlix, dxcii, dxciii, dxciv; S. fasc. i p. lv.

For the office of the Blessed Virgin, see S., fasc. ii § 115 (p. 174), 125 (p. 178); pp. xlv, xlvi, xlvii, xcvii, and p. xii of the third pagination. I do not understand the explanation given in the Index of fasc. i of P.: 'Mattins and Vespers of S. Mary were said in choir before those of the day; the other hours of the Virgin after the day hours' (p. mdxxi). According to Radulphus de Rivo, this was the use of the Franciscans, but it does not appear to be the practice described in the Sarum rubrics.

said on ferias in Lent only; the fifteen gradual psalms, followed by the Litany, after terce; the penitential psalms were divided over the hours of the day, and one each was said after lauds, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, complin.

FERIAS OUT OF LENT.

EVENING.

1. Vespers of the day.
2. *Vespers of B. V.*
3. *Vespers and matins of dead.*

MORNING.

4. Matins and lauds of the day.
5. *Matins and lauds of B. V.*
6. *Lauds of the dead.*

FERIAS IN LENT.

1. Matins and lauds of the day.
2. *Matins and lauds of B. V.*
3. *Lauds of the dead.*
4. Prime.
5. *First penitential psalm.*
6. Terce.
7. *Fifteen gradual psalms.*
8. *Litany.*
9. *Second penitential psalm. The rest of the penitential psalms distributed as explained above.* Sext and None said before mass of the day. After mass of the day—
10. *Vespers of the dead.*
11. Vespers of the day.
12. *Vespers of the B. V.*

IN THE EVENING.

13. *Matins of dead.*
14. Collation.
15. Complin of day.

The *other hours of the Blessed Virgin* were recited out of choir; prime, terce, sext, and none in the chapel of B. V. before the Lady Mass; complin was said by each one privately after complin of the day.

Having followed up the story of the particular items of which the *Prymer* in its groundwork is made up, we are now in a position to answer the question, What was the relation of this favourite lay-folks' prayer book to the authorized and official service books of the Church? The answer is that the *Prymer* consisted of those devotional accretions to the Divine Office itself, invented first by the piety of individuals for the use of monks in their monasteries, which accretions were gradually and voluntarily adopted in the course of two or three centuries by the secular clergy so generally, that by the fourteenth century they had, by virtue of custom, come to be regarded as obligatory, and practically a part of the public daily (or only lenten) office itself. These accretions, besides the Litany, fall into two classes: (1) mere special psalms, gradual, penitential, the commenda-

For the gradual psalms and litany: P. fasc. i pp. dlxxxix, dxc, dxci; fasc. iii p. 249.
For the penitential psalms: P. fasc. i pp. dlvii, dlxxxviii.
For the commendations: P. fasc. i pp. xlviii, xlix, dlxxxix.

tions; (2) offices (of dead, of B. V.) framed on, and following, the model of the hours of the Divine Office.

'If a man took the *Prymer* to church, would he hear the same service, or set of services, in Latin?' The foregoing table from the Sarum books gives a sufficient reply. So far as the items printed in italics are concerned, he would find them in the *Prymer*; but it is to be added, that he would hear them said with much less solemnity than those portions not in italics, which constitute the old office proper.

It may be further asked, How came precisely the accretions to be taken for the basis of the *Prymer*, and these only? Quite apart from a fact which experience shews to be true, viz. that the popular instinct always seizes on the devotional, and if possible the latest devotional, accessory, it seems easy to explain the original constitution of the *Prymer* on other grounds. There is a constant desire in a certain set of lay folk to imitate the clergy as far as they can; and this tendency is not restricted to any particular class or period. An observant foreigner travelling in England nearly four centuries ago, noted it among our own people. The instance he records aptly illustrates the very subject under discussion. 'Although they [i.e. the English] see and hear mass every day, and say many Paternosters in public (the women carrying long rosaries in their hands; and, if any can read, taking with them the office of our Lady, they recite it in the church verse by verse, in a low voice, after the manner of religious), they always hear mass on Sundays in their parish church,' &c.[1]

The perplexing intricacies of the Breviary, with its continually varying texts, apart from its size, put an adaptation of the old daily office for common use out of the question. But the accretions, now by this time popularly looked on as an integral part of the office, afforded just the material that was wanted. They were, with the exception of the office of the Blessed Virgin, invariable. This latter, in the Sarum (and other) books, does indeed vary with the season of the year; so that on referring to a Breviary, the enquirer must not expect to find this office exactly the same as that found in a *Prymer*. But the variants of the seasons are not so considerable as to have made it otherwise than easy for the compiler of the *Prymer* to frame, what was convenient for his purpose, an invariable office. Looking at the book as a whole, we cannot but be struck with its appropriateness for the end in view. What could appeal more directly to the devout and pious mind than these psalms of degrees,

[1] *Italian Relation of England* (Camden Society) p. 23.

these psalms of penitence, or that wonderful 118th psalm, which constituted not merely the Sarum 'commendations', but also the day hours, prime and terce, and sext and none, said in every secular church, said by every secular priest, day by day and all the year round throughout England? Or again, what more readily appealed to men in those days than the offices which were the expression of devout reverence to the Spotless Mother of our Divine Lord, of piety and duty towards those who have gone before, to rest, we would fain trust, in the sleep of peace?

There can be no need to add words of explanation why the *Prymer* in English makes its appearance in the fourteenth century—possibly in the second half rather than in the first.

X

ON THE ORIGINS OF THE FEAST OF THE CONCEPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY[1]

As is well known, the Provincial Council of Canterbury of the year 1328 attributes the institution of the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin to Saint Anselm, who thought fit, so runs the text, 'to add to the more ancient feasts of the Blessed Virgin the solemnity of the Conception'. Another document, professing to give a history of its establishment, states that it began at Ramsey, pursuant to a vision vouchsafed to Helsin, Elsi, or Aethelsige, abbat of that monastery, on his journey back from Denmark, whither he had been sent by William I soon after the Conquest. This narrative seems to have been known as early as 1140, or thereabouts, to Saint Bernard, who in his famous letter to the church of Lyons mentions a 'scriptum supernae revelationis', put forth by some persons in support of the new feast; it is also pointed out that in Domesday Book mention is made of the abbat's journey, the fact of which is indubitable. Some time in the twelfth or thirteenth century an attempt was made to reconcile the two accounts by adding a few words at the beginning and end of the narrative, whereby it is made to take the form of a letter addressed by Saint Anselm to the bishops of his province.

The spuriousness of the letter is commonly allowed, though some writers of authority are disposed to credit the narrative. It may be as well to say at once that I do not believe the reported institution of the feast by Saint Anselm, though it may be possible to explain how that idea got abroad, and that I attach no credence to the Helsin narrative so far as it relates to the matter in hand, for this reason, among others, that the feast was already established in England before the Conquest, and was in all probability known to Helsin at Canterbury during his abbacy at Saint Augustine's. (For his

[1] From the *Downside Review*, April 1886; reprinted by Messrs. Burns and Oates, 1904. [As to this Paper and its appended Note see Preface.]

perplexed history see Freeman *Norman Conquest* iv 135–138, and Appendix P.)

The following evidence of the observance of the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin in England in pre-Norman times has come under notice:—

1. In a calendar contained in Cotton MS Titus D xxvii is the entry, in the original hand, at 8th December: 'Conceptio sancte Dei genitricis Mariae.' The MS was written in the monastery of Newminster, at Winchester, during the abbacy of Aelfwin, whose obit occurs in another hand at 25th October. Its date, therefore, falls between 1034–1057.[1]

2. Another calendar of the Old Minster, or Cathedral Priory, at Winchester, in Cotton MS Vitellius E xviii, has the same entry. The MS is attributed by Wanley to about the year 1030. The handwriting and the character of the calendar itself fix its date, with all reasonable certainty, before the Conquest.[2]

3. Additional MS 28188 is a pontifical and benedictional of the eleventh century, of which the printed catalogue says: 'The name of Aegelfleda (as the only English saint occurring in the second litany) connects the volume with the abbey of Romsey'; in other words, this is a Winchester pontifical. The benediction for Saint Swithin's Day ('interventu tanti patroni') is not the only further point which might be brought forward in support of its Winchester origin. But I think that this book actually comes from Exeter. Stress, perhaps, must not be laid on the invocations of SS. Neot, Petrock, and Germanus in the first litany (fol. 3 a); but that of Saint Sativola, or Sidwell (fol. 4 a), seems decisive. At least, in the course of an examination of a large number of English service books, I have found traces of her cultus outside the diocese of Exeter only in a Norwich martyrology of the fifteenth century and in an addition, in a later hand, to that of Christ Church, Dublin; it is possible such cult may have existed at Sherborne at a late date (but not in the eleventh century). The Winchester cast of the book is easily explained. It is well known

[1] [I leave the text as it originally stood; but this paper was written on the basis of notes taken some years earlier than 1886 and without any intention of their being utilized as here. Since then I have carefully re-examined the Titus calendar; and I now think that though the entries of 21 Nov. and 8 Dec. seem to be in the same hand, or the same kind of hand, they were made at a later date than the first script. They do not occupy the space of ordinary entries, but begin further to the left among the numerals. It also appeared that the calendar was written not in the abbacy of Aelfwin as stated above, but in that of his predecessor, Alnoth (1021–1035), and whilst Aelfwin was still a private monk (say *c.* 1020–1030: *Bosworth Psalter*, 1908, p. 50 note 2; see the careful note in W. de G. Birch's *Fasti Monastici Saxonici*, 1872, pp. 28–29). The entries in the Vitellius calendar are part of the first script.]

[2] Both these calendars are printed by Hampson *Medii aevi Kalendarium* i 423, 435.

that copyists of church books often neglected to adapt the old text to changed circumstances. Bishop Leofric, in providing his new cathedral of Exeter with office books, is known to have used Winchester models, and in the additions to the so-called 'Leofric Missal' his scribe has actually left unaltered a text appropriate to Winchester (see *York Pontifical*, ed. Henderson, pp. xxiii–xxiv). What happened in the case of the missal may well have happened with the pontifical also. I am, therefore, disposed to recognize in Add. MS 28188 one of the books written for Bishop Leofric, and accordingly to assign it a date 1046–1072. At any rate its liturgical character is distinctly pre-Norman, and its original at least is of Winchester. At fol. 161 is the following:—

BENEDICTIO IN CONCEPTIONE SANCTE MARIE.

Sempiterna(m) a Deo benedictionem vobis beate Marie virginis pia deposcat supplicatio, quam concipiendam Omnipotens, ex qua eius conciperetur Unigenitus, angelico declaravit preconio, quam et vobis iugiter suffragari benigno, ut est benignissima, sentiatis auxilio. Amen.

Quique illam ante conceptum presignavit nomine[1] Spiritus Sancti obumbratione, vos divinam gratiam mente annuat concipere in sancte Trinitatis confessione, atque ab omni malo protectos deifica confirmet sanctificatione. Amen.

Sancta vero Dei genitrix Maria vobis a Deo pacis et gaudii optineat incrementum, ut quibus felix eiusdem beate virginis partus extitit salutis exordium, sit etiam ipse Iesus Christus premium in celis vite permanentis sempiternum.

Quod Ipse prestare dignetur [qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et gloriatur Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Benedictio Dei Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, et pax Domini sit semper vobiscum].[2]

4. Harl. MS 2892 is also a pontifical and benedictional, written for the cathedral church of Canterbury (the contents afford conclusive evidence of this) after the translation of Saint Elphege (1023), but, to judge from the handwriting, in the first half of the eleventh century, and certainly before the Conquest. At ff. 189–190 is:

BENEDICTIO IN DIE CONCEPTIONIS SANCTE DEI GENITRICIS MARIE.

Caelestium carismatum inspirator terrenarumque mentium reparator, qui beatam Dei genitricem angelico concipiendam preconavit oraculo, vos benedictionum suarum ubertate dignetur locupletare et virtutum floribus dignanter decorare. Amen.

[1] The angelic annunciation of the Virgin's birth and name is drawn from the *Evangelium de nativitate S. Mariae* capp. 3–4.

[2] The words in brackets are not in the MS, but are added to shew the usual ending of these benedictions. Another formula is: 'Q. I. pr. d. cuius regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in secula seculorum. Amen. Benedictio', &c.

Et qui illam prius sanctificavit nominis dignitate quam edita gigneretur humana fragilitate vos virtutum copiis adiuvet pollere, et in nominis sui veneranda confessione (conffensione MS) infatigabiliter perdurare. Amen.

Obtineat vobis gloriosis intercessionibus prospera tempora, iocunda et pacifica, et post presentia secula gaudia sine fine manentia, cuius venerande conceptionis frequentamini magnifica sacramenta. Amen.

Quod Ipse prestare dignetur.

Probably a search among manuscripts at Oxford and elsewhere would bring to light further evidence.[1] If the calendar entries stood alone it would be well to hesitate before drawing conclusions; the Episcopal benedictions shew that the feast not only commended itself to the devotion of individuals but that it was recognized by authority, and was observed with considerable solemnity. They, moreover, justify us in assuming that, at the time these books were written, its observance was no novelty, but that it had had time to spread and to grow in public esteem. It is to be noted that these benedictions come in the manuscripts immediately after the Feast of Saint Birinus (3 December); the day was, therefore, doubtless that given in the calendars—viz. 8th December.

A few words on the question of the precise place where the feast had its rise—always a difficult matter where rites or ceremonies or liturgical institutions are concerned, for they mostly come in without observation, and their existence is commonly not recorded until they have obtained an established footing, and have begun to spread. All that can usually be done is to follow the way to which facts seem to point, and in the end a probability, more or less strong, is the utmost that can be arrived at. So, too, in the present case. The Winchester monasteries have occurred in connexion with the first three documents quoted above; the Canterbury benedictional is hardly less a witness for Winchester than these, for it is to be remembered that, from the time of Saint Dunstan to the martyrdom of Saint Elphege, Canterbury was intimately connected with Winchester. In the last years of the tenth century both the Winchester houses, which took their cue from Saint Ethelwold, were a busy hive; the picture has yet to be drawn—and the means for doing so are becoming easier, thanks to modern research—of the activity, mental and manual, of which they were the scene: painting, architecture, goldsmiths' work, music, history and grammar, verse-making and homiletics, even science, the vulgar and the learned tongues, were alike cultivated. The so-called *Concordia regularis* is not only ample witness to the care and thought

[1] [The calendar of Worcester in the so-called Breviary of St Oswald (C.C.C.C. MS 391, of *circa* 1060-1070?) also has the entry at 8 Dec. 'Conceptio sancte dei genitricis Mariae'.]

bestowed on the observance of sacred liturgy and of regular discipline, but also evidence of a certain freedom in breaking new ground and innovating in these matters. Witness, for instance, the quasi-dramatic representation of the resurrection in cap. 5, which in later centuries became an integral part of the Easter morning office throughout the churches of northern Europe. This instance of the 'sepulchre office' alone betokens a habit of mind which dwelt on and realized and sought, as far as might be, by action to shew forth the mysteries surrounding the story of our redemption. On the other hand, the Newminster manuscript quoted above is still speaking evidence of the profound devotion of the monks of that house towards the holy Mother of God.[1]

The probabilities, therefore, on existing evidence seem to point to this, that the establishment of the feast is due to the monks of Winchester, disciples of St Ethelwold.[2]

So much for origins: to proceed to the later history.

Stowe's *Chronicle*, under 1129, states that at the council of London in that year, 'by authoritie of the Pope, the Feast of the Conception of our Ladie was confirmed'. Stowe's authority is doubtless, either directly or indirectly, the following passage of the Tewkesbury annals, compiled in the thirteenth century[3]:—'1129. Festivitas conceptionis sanctae Mariae in concilio apud Londoniam apostolica auctoritate confirmata est' (ed. Luard, p. 45). Nothing is said of this matter in the contemporary chronicles (e.g. Huntingdon's History and the Saxon Chronicle, which both speak of the council at some length); but the letters of Osbert de Clare, a contemporary, give strong reason for thinking that the statement is correct, though probably the words 'apostolica auctoritate' will not bear the precise interpretation put upon them by Stowe.

Osbert de Clare was a native of Suffolk, monk, and by and by prior, of Westminster. His history is obscure[4]—it need not have been so if he had been content to speak plainly instead of wrapping up his meaning in a cloud of words—but his letters shew that he was a man of consequence, and in relation with the most notable personages

[1] The Titus MS D xxvi is very much like its neighbour, and is not improbably a Newminster MS also.

[2] See Supplementary Note, pp. 250 sqq.

[3] MS fonds latin 9376 at the Bibl. Nationale, Paris, is said to contain Tewkesbury annals 1066–1149; the MS seems to be saec. xii (*Neues Archiv* vi 478). If this be so there is a chance of getting contemporary authority. [The Paris MS does not contain the entry; but, in view of the general character of the thirteenth-century monastic annals, this would not necessarily affect the credit due to it.]

[4] [The career of Osbert has now been brought into clear light by Dr Armitage Robinson, Dean of Wells: see his article in the *Church Quarterly Review* vol. lxviii no. 136 (July 1909) pp. 336–356.]

of his time. With Anselm, abbat of Edmundsbury, nephew of the archbishop, and during the second half of the reign of Henry I, one of the most influential ecclesiastics in England, he was on terms of intimate friendship; on one occasion he overpoweringly addresses the abbat as his 'lord, father, guide, protector, refuge, and the angel of his counsel'. But our business is with another letter, also to abbat Anselm, which after the usual salutations runs thus: 'Your sedulous zeal has fired many in various countries with devotion towards the blessed and glorious Mother of God, and by your assiduous care the Feast of her Conception is now in many places observed, which was not wont to be celebrated by the ancient fathers. Wherefore, some followers of Satan, whilst we were keeping this feast, decried its observance as hitherto unheard-of and absurd, and with malicious intent they went to two bishops, Roger (of Salisbury) and Bernard (of St David's), who happened then to be in the neighbourhood, and, representing its novelty, they excited them to displeasure. The bishops declared that the festival was forbidden by a council, and that the observance of it must be stopped. Nevertheless, we proceeded with the office of the day, which had already begun, and carried it through with joyous solemnity. Then some who bore me a grudge, and who, whilst striving to get countenance for their own silly fancies, are busy to bring discredit on both words and deeds of religious men, vomited against me the venom of their iniquity, and shot out upon me the darts of their pestilent tongues, saying that the feast was not to be kept, for its establishment had not the authorisation of the Church of Rome. I refuted them by reason, and answered them according to their malice, and many persons bore witness that, as well in this kingdom as across the sea, a festal commemoration of the day has been instituted by some bishops and abbats in their churches.' After entering on the reasons for such a feast (a passage of considerable interest, though not necessary for the present purpose) Osbert proceeds to explain that his object in writing is to beg Anselm to confer with religious, lettered, and well-minded persons on the subject, and excite them to a defence of 'the cause of the Blessed Virgin'. 'And since our lord and father Gilbert, by the grace of God bishop of London, a most catholic-minded man, is sufficiently instructed in these matters, and Hugh, abbat of Reading, who at the prayer of King Henry solemnly keeps this festival, is well versed in both sacred and profane learning, I exhort you to discuss the matter with them, and to enlist their co-operation lest you should hear it said of you by your enemies with the word of scorn: "This man began to build, and could not finish." This I say because you have begun the building up of this solemnity and so do you carry it through, and faithfully accomplish

an undertaking which it is incumbent on you to bring to completion. Since you have a thorough practical knowledge of the customs of the Roman Church we beg you to let us know if anything in support of the venerable Conception of the Mother of God is to be drawn from them.' Osbert concludes with expressions of his readiness to die, if need be, in her cause.[1]

This letter suggests several observations. First, its date must be fixed. Gilbert, surnamed the Universal, was consecrated bishop of London at Canterbury on 22nd January, 1128. Hugh, abbat of Reading, was elected Archbishop of Rouen in the last days of 1129 or the first of 1130. The letter falls, therefore, in either 1128 or 1129.

[1] Portions of Osbert's letters were edited by Anstruther (Brussels 1846, 8vo), with those of Herbert de Losinga, &c. The one in question is partially printed, pp. 124–126. The following extracts are material for our purpose; the words in brackets, not given by Anstruther, are taken from Cott. MS Vitell. A xvii ff. 24–26:—'Quoniam diligentia sollicitudinis vestre per diversa mundi spacia multos ad amorem beate et gloriose Dei genitricis Marie ferventer accendit, que castis visceribus perpetue virginitatis auctorem celi et terre Christum Dominum concepit et peperit; etiam in multis locis celebratur eius vestra sedulitate festa conceptio, quam antiquitus apud patres veteres celebrare non consuevit christiana religio. Unde in ecclesia Dei cum a nobis celebris ageretur illius diei festivitas, quidam post Sathan abeuntes dixerunt esse ridiculum quod usque ad hec tempora omnibus fuisset seculis inauditum. Et in livore ac felle sue malicie perdurantes duos episcopos qui tunc in vicinio forte aderant Rogerum videlicet et Bernardum adeuntes convenerunt, ac de novitate solennitatis exortae facta relatione animos eorum ad indignationem provocaverunt. Qui hanc festivitatem prohibitam dicentes in concilio affirmaverunt quod cassanda esset nec tenenda ista tradicio. Nos tamen cepto diei insistentes officio cum gaudio gloriosam festivitatem exegimus et solenni tripudio. Postremo vero emuli mei et qui canino dente bona invidentes rodunt aliorum, qui vanas suas ineptias semper nituntur approbare, et dicta et facta religiosorum moliuntur improbare, nescientes secundum apostolum neque que loquuntur neque de quibus affirmant, evomuere venenum iniquitatis sue et in me sagittas lingue pestifere iaculantes asseverarunt tenendam non esse festivitatem [cuius primordia Romane ecclesie non habent auctoritatem. Quos me rationabiliter refellente et eis secundum maliciam eorum respondente, multi testimonium perhibuerunt quoniam in hoc regno et in transmarinis partibus a nonnullis episcopis et abbatibus in ecclesiis Dei celebris instituta est illius diei recordatio, de cuius summa redemptionis nostre salutari processit exordio. . . . Et quia controversie scismata facientium, scandala moventium, heretice garrientium, obstruende sunt in domo Dei catholica veritate et ecclesiastica defensione fidelium, ad hoc tendit stilus meus ut cum talibus religiosis personis et litteratis de hac invidorum calumnia et genitricis Dei conceptione gloriosa vel scripto vel verbo loquamini, qui et subtilia sancte scripture argumenta non ignorent et vobiscum defendere contra inimicos veritatis causam beate virginis Marie non formident]. Et quia dominus et pater noster Gillebertus Dei gratia Lundoniensis episcopus vir admodum catholicus de his est sufficienter instructus, et vir vite venerabilis domnus Hugo abbas Radingensis, qui hanc festivitatem prece etiam regis Henrici solenniter celebrat, in divinis et humanis est liberaliter edoctus, hortor ut cum eis de hac eadem re sermonem instituatis, et ut eos coadiutores et cooperatores habeatis [ne de vobis dictum ironice a vestris inimicis audiatis: Quia hic homo cepit edificare et non potuit consummare. Hec iccirco dixerim quia vos edificium tante solennitatis incepistis. Et vos perficite; quodque per vos consummandum est fideliter explete. Cumque usu atque experimento consuetudines Romane noveritis ecclesie, si quid aliquando in ea dignum auctoritate de hac genitricis Dei veneranda conceptione vel potuit vel poterit inveniri, per vos nobis petimus revelari].

The 'we' who kept the Feast of the Conception are, of course, Osbert and the monks of Westminster. Gilbert's predecessor at London died 16th January 1127; the vacancy of the see, it may be presumed, was the reason why Osbert's 'emuli' (not improbably they were to be found among the chapter of Saint Paul's, the dean whereof caused no little rub in abbat Anselm's fortunes later on) addressed themselves to the bishops of Salisbury (the King's most trusted councillor and minister) and Saint David's (Bernard had been Queen Matilda's chaplain). The celebration it was desired to put a stop to would accordingly be that of 8th December 1127; the letter probably would be written no long time after.

Next, it is not to be supposed that, had Saint Anselm, the archbishop, actually prescribed the observance of the feast, even in the single church of Canterbury, Osbert would have been silent on the point. Had such been the case, what would have been more natural in writing to the nephew than to bid him complete the work of his uncle, to whom the younger Anselm had been bound by every tie of gratitude and affection, and appeal to the holy archbishop's memory in urging his requests? But Osbert's words are: '*You* have spread the feast; do you complete what *you* began.'

Again, it is evident that at that time the question of the feast was no hole-and-corner affair. There were two parties, each with influential adherents. Though the answer of the bishops when appealed to did not amount to an actual prohibition, the action of the monks at Westminster must have seemed something like a challenge, if not defiance. The matter was public, and both parties would probably desire a settlement one way or the other. The preferences of the King (who had a great share in managing the course of things in the council of 1129) were sufficiently declared; the new bishop of London, who then stood without a rival in Christendom as a ripe and learned theologian, could be relied on to take the same side; at the time of his elevation to the episcopate he was canon of Lyons,[1] and, from what Osbert says of him, it would seem not impossible that he may have already had a hand in establishing the feast in that church. What more likely than, as the outcome of the conferences initiated by abbat Anselm, it should have been determined to seize the opportunity of the council of 1129 to bring the matter to an issue? Osbert and his friends were hardly likely to find again so favourable an opportunity for the establishment of their views; the King would

[1] 'Quidam ecclesiae Lugdunensis canonicus, vir probus et grandaevus,' says the continuator of Florence of Worcester, ed. Thorpe, ii 89. For Gilbert generally see Wright *Biographia Brit. Lit.* ii 103–104.

frown down one sort of opposition, and bishop Gilbert with his learning and repute could bear down heavily upon another.[1]

It is certain that from this time the feast spread rapidly in England, and in this country at least we hear of no further objections raised to it. In view of all the circumstances I am disposed to think that, although recorded in the Tewkesbury annals alone, the confirmation of the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin by the council of London of 1129 is a fact.

Osbert's letter suggests these further considerations:

1. No reference is made in it to the observance of the feast in England previous to the Conquest. But this silence can be explained. The Normans in coming into England were disposed to treat in a contemptuous fashion enough both English liturgical observances and English saints and relics; to them the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin must have appeared specifically English, a product of insular simplicity and ignorance. Doubtless its public celebration was abolished at Winchester and Canterbury, but it did not die out of the hearts of individuals; the memory was kept up, and on the first favourable opportunity the feast was re-established in the monasteries again, as in them it had had its rise.

2. It is well to note the cautious expression of Osbert, who was apt to make the most of things that told in his own favour: 'in hoc regno et in transmarinis partibus a *nonnullis* episcopis et abbatibus in ecclesiis Dei celebris instituta est illius diei recordatio'.

3. It is not improbable that this very letter may have given rise later to the idea that the institution of the feast was to be attributed to Anselm the saint instead of his nephew. There is every likelihood, however, that the archbishop, as has been suggested, may have been at least the ultimate cause of its establishment at Lyons, the first church to adopt it, so far as appears, on the Continent. At Canterbury he must have known those who remembered to have kept the solemnity in former days; and he did not share in the prejudice of most of his friends and compeers against English saints and ways. The younger Anselm inherited this spirit of his uncle, so that, according to Eadmer, the native English came to look on him as one of

[1] [For all this story cf. *The Bosworth Psalter* pp. 43–53; see also *Eadmeri Monachi Cantuariensis Tractatus de Conceptione Sanctae Mariae* edited by the Jesuit Fathers Herbert Thurston and Thomas Slater, Freiburg, Herder, 1904. I may add in regard to the note on the last page—'Hanc notulam ex parte edidit saepe laudatus Edmundus Bishop . . . quam tamen prius indicaverat Dom Bonifacius Wolff', &c.—that any knowledge abbat Wolff had in 1885 of the 'Notula de Anselmo abbate S. Edmundi' was communicated by me to my friend for use in his article in the Benedictine *Studien und Mittheilungen*: I had copied that Notula so long ago as 1870 or 1871.]

themselves; and Osbert, urging his return to England from a journey, writes: 'Redi ad *patriam*, te omnes suspiramus,' &c.

It remains to add such notices as have occurred of the establishment of the Feast of the Conception in English churches in the first half of the twelfth century.

1. For *Westminster* and

2. *Reading* see above: in or before 1127.

3. From a note in one of the *St Edmundsbury* cartularies we learn that abbat Anselm established it in his own monastery, therefore between 1121 and 1148.[1]

4. Abbat Geoffrey (1119–1146) at *Saint Albans* ordered the feast to be celebrated *in cappis*. This at St Albans was a feast of the highest grade.[2]

5. Abbat William Godeman seems to have introduced it at *Gloucester* (1113–1131).[3]

6. It was first celebrated in the abbey of *Winchcombe* in the year 1126.[4]

7. At *Worcester* Cathedral at some time after 1125.[5] Among

[1] This note is in a fourteenth-century hand, but it is drawn from good memoirs. The following is the material part:—'Anselmus abbas ortus fuit in Langobardia et monachus monasterii sancti Michaelis quod Clusa vocatur effectus, et post ad Angliam ductus, etc. . . . Erat autem familiarissimus summis pontificibus maxime Pascali, Calixto, Innocencio, Lucio et Eugenio, ut privilegia ab eis data testantur, et omnem dignitatem et honorem pontificis preter hec que sine unccione olei non possunt fieri illum decreverunt habere, scilicet anulum, mitram et sandalia. Hic Anselmus duas apud nos solemnitates instituit, scilicet concepcionem sancte Marie *que iam in multis ecclesiis per ipsum celebriter observatur*, et commemoracionem eius in adventu quam Hildefonsus episcopus instituit; et cotidie unam missam de ea, et post canonicas horas alias in honore eius celebrandas decrevit.' (Harl. MS 1005, ff. 217–218.)

[2] *Gesta abb.* ed. Riley, i 93. The feast is in the calendar of the Saint Albans breviary, MS Reg. 2 A x, which, from the mention of Saint Giles's feast as only *in albis*, seems to have been written before abbat Geoffrey's death.

[3] 'Istius vero tempore coepit primum celebrari apud nos in Anglia solemnitas conceptionis beatae genetricis Mariae' (*Hist. Mon. S. Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. Hart, i 15). This is not absolutely cogent proof *for Gloucester*.

[4] The older Winchcombe annals, Cotton MS Tib. E iv, at 1126: 'Ipso anno primum cepit celebrari apud nos solennitas concepcionis sancte Marie' (cf. MS Faustina B i, fol. 14b). The feast occurs in the Winchcombe calendar, of about the middle of the twelfth century, in the same Tiberius MS.

[5] [In the Worcester annals at 1125 is the entry: 'Conceptio beatae Mariae primo celebratur in Anglia' (ed. Luard, iv 377), but this hardly entitles us to assume that this is the date of its introduction at Worcester.—A friend tells me that the chronicle of John of Worcester (who used to be known as 'the Continuator of Florence'), p. 29 n., ed. J. R. H. Weaver in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1908, under the year 1129, has the following clause in G ('the Gloucester' MS) only: 'Inde in concilio apud Lundoniam congregato in presentia eiusdem regis Henrici ex auctoritate apostolica confirmata est festivitas Conceptionis Sancte Dei genitricis Mariae.' I presume the fact that John of Crema, the papal legate, presided at this council is the warrant for the statement 'ex auctoritate apostolica'; but it should not be forgotten that another and urgently interested 'authority' was also present, the King, Henry Beauclerc.]

Osbert's letters is one addressed to Warinus, dean of Worcester,[1] accompanying a sermon drawn up by him at Warin's request on the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, 'to excite in the minds of the hearers a greater alacrity in the celebration of so great and joyous a festival'.[2] From this it may be concluded that the feast was already at the date of the letter established at Worcester.[3] He says that he was encouraged by the favourable reception accorded to the lessons for the feast of Saint Anne, which (as appears from another letter, to bishop Simon of Worcester) he had been asked to write by dean Warin and bishop Simon when they were all three attending the funeral of an abbat of Pershore. Unfortunately, the series of abbats at Pershore is very imperfect (jumping from 1102 to 1138), and does not help us to the date.[4] But there is another matter, bringing us back to the Helsin legend, which must not be passed over here. Immediately after the letter to Warin there is in the MS a piece entitled 'De Conceptione sancte Marie qualiter primo celebrandi habuit initium'; and thereon follows—the Helsin legend. Here, then, it may be supposed we have the author. But a little attention throws much doubt on that point, for it will be found that, though the imitation is fairly good, the title has been altered by a later hand (the last five words being added), which has erased the last lines of this page (folio 99 b) and inserted two new folios (100 and 101), writing over the space thus gained the Helsin legend, which finishes so as to leave just room enough on the second inserted folio (101) to copy what had been erased on 99 b, and with folio 102 the original hand of the MS resumes. The interpolator is probably of the twelfth century; but what Osbert really sent to Worcester is the piece

[1] Warinus seems to have been monastic dean; the later deans mentioned in the Worcester annals are secular priests. He is probably identical with the Warinus among the Worcester community in the Durham *Liber Vitae* p. 14 col. 3.

[2] The following portions of the letter are of interest; the words in brackets have been omitted by Anstruther, p. 156: 'Rogasti me pater Warine venerabilis decane Wigorniensis ecclesie ut aliquid scribendo tibi de conceptione beatissime ac perpetue virginis Marie deberem innuere quod [ad celebranda tante festivitatis gaudia animos posset audientium alacrius incitare'—his incompetence; his belief on the subject. 'Desinant ergo infideles et heretici de hac sancta solennitate in sua vanitate multiplicia loqui (cf. the "vanas ineptias" of his London adversaries above, p. 244 n. 1) et discant quia filii matris gratie non de actu peccati celebritatem faciunt sed de primitiis redemptionis nostre] . . . *sermonem tibi transmitto* qualicunque vulgari lima minus decenter artificiali decore politum. . . . [Vale pater in Christo et sancte novitatis incudem aggredi solenniter tali ne pigriteris exordio].' (MS Vitellius A xvii, ff. 98-99.)

[3] Cotton MS Vitellius A xvii, f. 45 &c. This piece is a highly curious document for the cultus of Saint Anne, whose feast seems to have been kept at Worcester with an octave; the bishop supplied a pittance on the day, the dean on the octave.

[4] [This meeting at Pershore was perhaps in 1137, for the funeral of Wido, ex-abbat of Pershore (see the article of the Dean of Wells cited above, p. 242 n. 4).]

fol. 101 b–109 b, made up of pious generalities in his tumid style, without any mention of Helsin whatever, and entitled 'Item sermo de Conceptione sancte Marie'. It would be interesting to know how the case stands with the Gale MS at Trinity College, Cambridge. But it may be permitted to remark here and now (1) on the absence of any mention in documents *certainly* penned by Osbert of this 'superna revelatio', which would have been most convenient for his purpose; (2) that the source of the note in the Exchequer Ramsey cartulary as to abbat Helsin's institution of the feast is this narrative itself; (3) that the *old* Ramsey history (the Stowe MS is the only one we have been able to consult) has a great gap from the point where Gale's print leaves off to the accession of abbat Walter, and, therefore, further information on the subject is not to be expected from it.

To sum up, rather *coniectando* than *affirmando*, though we think the facts adduced would warrant a more positive tone:

1. The feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin seems to have originated in England,[1] and specifically among the monks of Winchester.

2. It was prevalent and firmly established before the Conquest, when it suffered some eclipse.

3. Saint Anselm probably became familiarized with it here, and although he may have contributed indirectly to its institution at Lyons, he did not prescribe its observance in England.

Its revival is mainly due to the influence of the younger Anselm, and was formally sanctioned by a council of English bishops in the year 1129.

5. The current story in regard to abbat Helsin of Ramsey, though it eventually found its way into several breviaries,[2] is in the highest degree doubtful.[3]

[1] The celebration at Naples, or rather its occurrence in the Marble Calendar, is a mere isolated appearance; it was not a living germ. [See now as to this the Supplementary Note, p. 250 below.] Until more trustworthy evidence is forthcoming for Spain we may acquiesce in the words of Lesley: 'Festivitas ista ignota erat Gotho-hispanis: eam a Gallis suscepisse videntur Mozarabes, quorum more die viii Decembris in Missali . . . et in Breviario . . . colitur' (*Missale mixtum dictum Mozarabes ab Alex. Lesleo*, 1755, p. 609).

[2] That of which Langebek prints the lessons is monastic; the Helsin story seems also to be given in the Schleswig breviary. Jos. Sim. Assemannus mentions (*Kal. Eccl. Univ.* v 440 sq.) a breviary of about A.D. 1300 in the archives of Saint Peter's, and another in the Vatican Library, once belonging to Matthias Corvinus, with the same lessons. They also occur in a MS breviary of the Congregation of Saint Justina of Padua, saec. xv, *penes me*.

[3] [In *The Bosworth Psalter* (1908) pp. 43–53 I dealt with the case from another point of view. What now follows is a detailed treatment of some points there but briefly indicated.]

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

(See p. 242 note 2.)

The 'Irish Origins' of the Feast of the Conception.

[On re-reading the foregoing paper for the present reprint, two passages of the original print of 1886 struck me as particularly demanding modification: (*a*) 'The evidence seems to point to this, that the establishment of the feast is due to the monks of Winchester, *disciples of St Ethelwold*' (cf. now p. 242 above); (*b*) 'The celebration at Naples, or rather its occurrence in the marble calendar, *is a mere isolated appearance; it was not a living germ*' (p. 249 note 1).

In the thirty years that have elapsed since the paper first appeared much has been written concerning the earlier history of the feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in various parts of Europe; especially on the occasion of the great celebration or congress held in Rome in 1904 to mark the jubilee (or half-jubilee) of the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception by Pope Pius IX in 1854. For this celebration many preparations were made, and articles were written to throw light on the origins and on various aspects of the feast itself. I need here mention only two:

(1) In France a great search was made in ancient calendars, &c., to discover the earliest traces of the observance of the feast. The result of all this labour is given in an article by P. Aug. Noyon S. J., in the Paris *Études* of 20 September 1904, in these words: '. . . c'est d'outre-Manche que vint, pour notre pays, le culte de la Conception.' Indeed, so far as concerns countries north of the Alps generally, the origins of the feast are wholly insular; and we can confine our attention to these islands.

(2) In the *Month* for May 1904 Father Herbert Thurston S. J. printed a paper entitled 'The Irish origins of our Lady's Conception Feast', which was supplemented in the December number by a second article entitled 'England and the Immaculate Conception'. The kind of impression left on interested readers of these two papers may be conveniently given in the words of a paper, 'Les origines de la fête et du dogme de l'Immaculée Conception', in the third series of his *Études de critique et d'histoire religieuse* (Paris, Lecoffre, 1912, pp. 226–227) by the abbé Vacandard, who had interested himself in this question so long ago as 1893. After stating that in the West, as in the East, the institution of the feast of the Conception of St John the Baptist (which became common in the ninth and tenth centuries) seemingly occasioned the institution of a similar feast for the Blessed Virgin

Mary, M. Vacandard continues: 'The *Félire* of Oengus [besides a feast of the Conception of St John Baptist] contains also the feast of the Conception of Mary. And the same is the case with three other calendars of Irish origin which are of the same date [i. e. ninth century] or the century following.' He then adds these comments on his own account: 'It is necessary to observe, however, that in these documents the date of the solemnity is not fixed at 8 or 9 December, but varies from 1 to 3 May. We will not enquire here as to the cause of this singular fact. Fr Thurston believes that it comes from an Egyptian tradition, more precisely a Coptic one. However that may be, one positive fact remains acquired to knowledge, that in Ireland the feast of the Conception of Mary is inserted in the calendars, if it was not celebrated in the churches, as early as the ninth century.' It will be observed that M. Vacandard is not content merely with summarizing, but here for his own share in the matter makes his reserves: 'if it was not celebrated in the churches', &c.

In the present note I propose to deal with the case of the origins once more; and I would do so (if I can) positively, but above all *distincte*, and avoid proceeding confusedly or in a literary manner. But first of all it will be well to be clear as to what precisely I want to know. We are now certain that the feast at present celebrated was derived and borrowed specifically from England sometime in the first half of the twelfth century; and it was thus that it gradually spread through the countries of western Europe. What I want, if possible, to know is, how it first got to be established in England, and from whence did the English get it. The question may be raised: Is it worth while to take particular pains in the matter at all? In these days much is to be heard of 'developement' and 'evolution'. Here is a case in which the phenomenon, in regard to religious ideas and beliefs, may be observed and examined under peculiarly, I may indeed say uniquely, favourable circumstances: first in the observance of piety in the eleventh century, and in the twelfth with a growing consciousness of the theological implications of the case; then at the end of the thirteenth century speculative theology in a scholastic form deduces a definite doctrine, no part of the *communis sensus* of the Schools (and in some measure, it may perhaps be said, counter to that *sensus*), but eventually penetrating and dominating, so that in our own day the dogma is solemnly proclaimed as of revealed truth. I think then that, dull as the enquiry may be, it is worth all the trouble that may be involved to 'fix' as exactly as possible the point of departure, its situation and the surrounding circumstances.

I. First, in company with abbé Vacandard, we will start with the documents that have been called 'Irish Calendars'. These, to my

knowledge, are three in number: (*a*) that of Oengus, the date of which Dr Whitley Stokes in his second edition (Henry Bradshaw Soc. vol. xxix, 1905), correcting his first ideas of 1880, now on philological grounds considers 'may be safely ascribed to the year 800 or thereabouts' (p. vii; cf. p. xxxviii); (*b*) the Martyrology of Tallaght, assigned to the end of the ninth or the early tenth century; (*c*) the metrical calendar edited from three MSS, the oldest copy of which[1] is believed to date from the first half of the tenth century (Hampson *Medii aevi Kalendarium* i pp. 397–420).

II. It will be convenient to take the first two documents together. In the beginning of the ninth century Oengus at 3 May has the simple entry: 'The great feast of the Virgin Mary', without statement of character or object. The Martyrology of Tallaght, at the end of the ninth century, at the same day (3 May) is perfectly specific: 'Mariae virginis conceptio.' This being so, there is call to ask ourselves whether it is likely or unlikely that in the mind of Oengus his 'great feast of Mary' was the feast of her Conception. I think it will not do to deal with the case, as has hitherto been done, by the consideration of a single snippet. We must look further afield, and enquire what were the feasts of Mary thought by Oengus worthy of registration in his Martyrology. They are seven in number: (*a*) 18 January 'the great death of Jesu's Mother'; (*b*) 1 April 'one of Mary's feasts'; (*c*) 3 May, as above; (*d*) 1 July 'on the marvellous calends of July Mary whom Matthew magnifies' (*plus* Aaron, and Simon and Thaddaeus); (*e*) 15 August 'the great feast of her commemoration'; (*f*) 16 August 'the Nativity of Mary'; (*g*) 8 September 'thou shalt commemorate Mary'.

The Martyrology of Oengus cannot be understood without continual reference to the Epternach MS (*Ept*) of the Hieronymian Martyrology, a MS in insular script of A. D. 730 *circiter*. In this MS the death, '*depositio* of St Mary', is recorded at 18 Jan., i. e. the Gallican feast of the Assumption; the Nativity of the B. V. at 16 Aug. There are no entries of a Marian feast at 15 Aug. or 8 Sept. Thus Oengus at the end of the eighth century adopts the two feasts of *Ept*, but gives in addition the two feasts of 15 Aug. and 8 Sept. which had in the course of the seventh century been introduced into the West under the influence of Constantinople: designating these two, however, simply as 'commemorations'. Thus (*a*) (*e*) (*f*) and (*g*) are now accounted for. As regards (*b*), I suggest that this is taken from the following entry of a martyr at kal. apr. in *Ept*: 'It. cẽs Mariae.'[2] As to (*d*) I have no suggestion to make.

[1] In the so-called 'Athelstan Psalter' Cotton MS Galba A xviii, for which see p. 141 note 1 above.

[2] Until the publication of the *Martyrologium Cambrense* (i. e. Ricemarch's

With this material before me I am to ask myself the question whether—with his 'death' (Assumption) of Mary 18 Jan. and Nativity on 16 Aug. (as in *Ept*) and his adoption at 8 Sept. of a feast of Mary which is our feast of her Nativity but was only called by him a 'commemoration' of her—Oengus in entering at 3 May 'the great feast of Mary' conceived himself as entering the feast of her Conception. Left to myself, I cannot think so, but must look to others for the necessary 'motives of credibility' in this matter: and I would observe in passing that this particular question has not been, I will not say dealt with, but even raised by any writer whose work has come in my way.

By the end of the ninth century, with the Martyrology of Tallaght, the question is clearly decided, and the neutral entry of 3 May in Oengus becomes 'Mariae virginis conceptio'. Here then at length we have something solid to go upon. I must leave it to others to enquire into the cycle of Marian feasts in this document: recalling, however, at this point the prudent reserve of the Abbé Vacandard in speaking of the entry of the Conception in Irish calendars from the ninth century: 'si elle [i. e. the feast] n'est célébrée dans les églises'; and recalling, too, how the recent heortologist Dr Kellner considers that 'the mention of the feast in the Irish calendars does not prove the celebration of the feast, but only the erudition of the writers of that country' (Vacandard u. s. p. 227, and note 3).

III. We now come to the metrical calendar designated (*c*) at p. 252 above. Those who are interested in seeing how this document comes to be designated as an 'Irish calendar' may consult Fr Thurston's first article (pp. 5–9 of the separate print). But I would remark that

Martyrology, reproduced in facsimile by the Henry Bradshaw Society in the following year) by Père H. Delehaye (*Anal. Bolland.* tome xxxii, 1913, pp. 369–407) this commemoration was to be found in no other MS, except as an afterthought in cod. S (see de Rossi and Duchesne, p. xiv). In *Mart. Cambr.* at 1 Apr. is this entry: 'et in Caesarea Mariae' (p. 390).—At p. 373 Père Delehaye remarks: 'Maioris momenti est paucis ostendere libellum nostrum e stirpe esse quam dicunt Britannicam, et cum Epternacensi et Augiensi arte cognatum videri. Quae cum optima et antiquissima sit hieronymianorum progenies, cuius et rationibus melius perspiciendis haud leve afferat adiumentum, quanta sit martyrologii Cambrensis praestantia et utilitas facile erit ostendere.' He then proceeds pp. 373–375 to shew by examples its close affinity with *Ept*; and continues p. 375 as follows: 'His satis superque demonstratum esse existimo ex optima progenie . . . codicem Dublinensem [Ricemarch's MS is now at Trinity College, Dublin] originem ducere. Nec minus certum videtur epitomatori exemplum Epternacensi plenius praemanibus fuisse'; he adds pp. 375–377 a series of entries which shew that there must have existed in England up to a comparatively late date a copy or copies of the Hieronymian Martyrology in its final redaction superior to the Epternach copy which alone has survived. I may add that the examination of the early English calendars for the purpose of *The Bosworth Psalter* had brought home to me (see what is said pp. 149, 150, 152–153) through indications supplied by our early calendars that some such insular tradition of the Hieronymian Martyrology in a text akin to *Ept* must have been accessible to their compilers.

the late Dr Whitley Stokes, who has done the hagiologist and liturgist such inestimable service by his second edition of Oengus, would have been the first to disclaim any special competence in either hagiology or liturgy. In 1880 (first ed.) he saw a few entries that are indubitably Irish, and jumped to the conclusion that this metrical calendar itself is an Irish document. I have said a word above about the danger of dealing with documents of this class by means of snippets. If we are to reach anything like safety in our conclusions about them they must be considered and examined as wholes. This I have tried to do to the best of my ability in the case of the metrical calendar printed by Hampson from the Galba and two other MSS. I propose here to register the results of this examination, and my conclusions, in the briefest form possible.

IV. Any one really acquainted with calendarial matters, on perusing this calendar will very soon begin to recognize that the backbone of it is the *Sanctorale* of the *Gregorianum*—not pure, but with the addition of some old 'Gelasian' feasts discarded in *Greg* but (by means of '*Gelas* saec. viii') brought back into use in the later years of the ninth century.

On this hint I proceed to compare with the metrical calendar, which has a line for every day of the year, the calendar contained in MS Bodl. Junius 27, now assigned by palaeographers to the first half of the tenth century. This is not a full calendar, but only a set of extracts from one. That the two documents are closely related to each other is at once clear from the fact that out of some ninety-five entries in all the Junius calendar in twenty-three cases has a verse identical with that in the metrical calendar, instead of a calendar entry in the usual style. Moreover it appears on examination that in nine or ten cases the name of a usual 'sacramentary' saint is given instead of the name found in the corresponding line of the metrical calendar. Hence, apart from the entries of vigils and octaves, it appears that the writer of the Junius calendar does not wholly depend on the metrical calendar, but had before him, in his work of compiling, a 'practical' Church calendar like that also before the writer of the metrical calendar. Thus then we have two co-temporary testimonies to the character and contents of that 'practical' Church calendar.

But we must not stop here. On comparing these two independent witnesses of the early years of the tenth century with the two pre-conquest Winchester calendars still extant—that of Newminster in MS Titus D xxvii, and that of the Cathedral in MS Vitellius E xviii (printed by Hampson i pp. 435–446, 422–433)—it appears (so it seems to me) as an inevitable conclusion from the evidence, that the 'practical' calendar used by the writers of the metrical calendar and that of Junius

27 is the calendar from which the two Winchester calendars of the eleventh century derive.

V. But there is something further still. Besides 'sacramentary' saints, 'martyrological' saints, and insular saints, our four calendars (the metrical and Junius calendars and the two Winchester ones) compared together witness to the presence in the common basic 'practical' calendar of a certain small number of foreign local saints. These are: Vedastus and Amandus (6 Feb.), Austroberta (11 Feb.), Wulmar (20 July), Bertin (5 Sept.), Audomarus (9 Sept.). It will be observed that all these are saints whose cult prevailed in that tract of country just opposite our shores which goes to-day by the name of the Pas-de-Calais.

VI. These are the facts in the light of which we have to consider the Irish entries, that is the entries shewing Irish influence, in the metrical calendar. So far as I can make out they are twenty-four in number out of a total of 365 entries.[1] But there are other indications of Irishry. When I read, for instance, at 31 Jan.: 'Ab

[1] They may be divided into two classes: (*a*) the feasts of native Irish saints; (*b*) feasts of Irish origin; by 'Irish origin' I here mean feasts which the compiler of the metrical calendar drew from Irish sources; these latter again fall into two classes: feasts which are of Irish local 'invention' (e. g. the 'feast of the Saints of Europe' 20 Apr.) and those derived from foreign sources (as e. g. the Finding of the Head of St Paul 25 Feb., and the Finding of the Head of St John Baptist 27 Feb.).

The three MSS preserving the metrical calendar are: the Cotton MSS Galba A xviii (G), Tiberius B v (T) and Julius A vi (J).—The Julius MS in some cases substitutes for the original 'Irish' feast some commonplace martyrological saint. In the following list it is to be assumed that, unless otherwise stated, the feast is recorded in all three MSS. Under (*b*) I have noted if a commemoration is found in any of the three ancient MSS (*Ept Bern Wissenb*) of the Hieronymian Martyrology.

(*a*) Feasts of Native Irish Saints.

1. Jan. 14 Fursey (J substitutes *Felix*).—2. Jan. 31 Aed (J subst. a line for the last day of January).—3. Feb. 1 Brigid (G illegible; name supplied by Hampson from T; as he gives no variant, it is assumed J reads as T).—4. Feb. 17 Fintan (J subst. *Crissantus*).—5. Feb. 26 Comgan (J subst. *Nestorius*).—6. March 17 Patrick.—7. June 3 Coemgen.—8. June 9 Columba (J subst. *Felicianus*).—9. June 11 Mactail.—10. July 7 Maelruen.

(*b*) Feasts of 'Irish origin'.

11. Jan. 11: note in the verse of the metrical calendar the word 'Memphiticis', and cf. Oengus *ad diem*: 'out of Egypt Mary's great Son'.—12. Feb. 25: 'caput . . . repertum', i. e. Finding of the Head of St Paul; cf. Oengus *ad diem*.—13. Feb. 27: 'caput . . . ostenditur', i. e. Finding of the Head of St. John the Baptist; cf. Oengus *ad diem*.—14. March 9 '40,000 soldiers'; cf. Oengus *ad diem* '40 soldiers' (so too *Ept* and *Bern*; 40,000 *Wissenb*).—15. Mar. 15 Luke and James; cf. Oengus *ad diem* (and in *Bern*).—16. March 26 Montanus; cf. Oengus at 25th (in *Ept* at 26th).—17. Mar. 28 Mary (Magd., cf. Oeng. *ad d.*).—18. Apr. 20 Feast of the Saints of Europe; cf. Oengus *ad diem*.—19. Apr. 24 The Three Children; cf. Oengus *ad diem* (and in *Ept Bern Wissenb*); J subst. *Theo.*—20. May 2 Conception of B. V. (G illegible); J. subst. *Commine*; cf. Oengus at May 3: 'the great feast of Mary'.—21. May 8 Michael Archangel; cf. Oengus at May 9.—22. May 21 Matthew (G has no name); supplied from T; J subst. *Timothy*; 'Matthew' not in Oengus (but in *Ept* and *Bern*).—23. Aug. 26 'Abundus'; see Oengus *ad diem*: 'The triumph of Abundius the martyr to heaven with a very pious host'.—24. Oct. 7 Matthew; cf. Oengus *ad diem* (in *Ept*).

Iani fines figat Aed famina ferria,' or at 5 June: 'Hic prepides temptant avida concludera rostra,' I seem to catch unmistakable echoes of the manner and style of true old Irish scholarship; and personally, I have no doubt whatever that the author of this calendar, of these 365 lines of verse, was an Irishman. But I would add (*a*) that his two lines recording the death of Alfred at 26 Oct. and his queen Ealhswith at 8 Dec.—'Aelfred rex obiit septenis et quoque amandus'; and 'Quinta tenet veram dominam anglorum Ealhswithe'—are both lines witnessed to by the excerptor in the calendar of the Junius MS 27, and formed, there can be no possible reason for doubting, part of the metrical calendar as originally composed; (*b*) that internal evidence shews that the author of the metrical calendar used a Missal, or the calendar of a Missal, just such as might be expected to be found in—to have been brought to—England and the court at Winchester in Alfred's day; (*c*) that in these circumstances the Irish entries cannot be viewed as having any practical or cultual value at all, and do not represent feasts actually celebrated, but are of the nature of literary and patriotic ornament; (*d*) that this last remark holds good in particular for the entry of the Conception at 2 May (in Oengus at 3 May): until, at all events, it is shewn that there be found any trace of the observance of such a feast in England in the tenth or early in the eleventh century—I take it, an utterly hopeless quest.

VII. It would appear then that we have in our metrical calendar the production of one of those nameless Scotti mentioned by Asser,[1] who found their way to Alfred's court; and, though it cannot in our sense be considered an Irish document, but rather English, it is in the highest degree interesting as the only liturgical document that comes down to us from Alfred's times or the early days of Edward the Elder; and from the point of view both of liturgy and of Alfred it deserves much more attention than it has hitherto received.

I now pass for the moment into the region of pure conjecture: if it were suggested that the 'practical' calendar, utilized by the wandering Irish scholar at Winchester, was brought there by Grimbald, the monk of St-Bertin, I could but answer that such a suggestion quite falls in with the data of the case so far as these are known to me.

VIII. And now we may come at last to the origins of that historical feast of the Conception observed throughout the West to-day. And here, so far as concerns our English documents of the eleventh century, this feast must not be dealt with by itself. There is another that stands in intimate connexion with it: both appearing together and both

[1] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 486 A, B; ed. W. H. Stevenson, p. 60. Some sort of detailed tradition of these persons seems to have existed still in Ethelwerd's days (see his narrative ibid. p. 517 D to 518 A).

together disappearing in the Norman ecclesiastical settlement after the Conquest. In the two Winchester calendars there is, besides the Conception on 8 Dec., this entry at 21 Nov.: 'Oblatio sanctae Mariae in templo cum esset trium annorum.' This entry might at first sight appear as if one of that class of 'historical' memoranda so well known in our ancient calendars, like 'Adam creatus est', 'Egressus Noe de arca', &c.; or events in the life of our Lord so well represented in Oengus. But such an impression would be incorrect: it is a real 'liturgical' feast, and was actually observed in practice. Assurance of the fact is supplied by the Canterbury Cathedral Benedictional, from which has been given above (p. 240) the episcopal benediction for the feast of the Conception. In its proper place in this Benedictional (i. e. between the feasts of St Martin, 11 Nov., and St Cecily, 22 Nov., f. 186[a]) is a 'Benedictio de praesentatione sancte Marie'. This is that feast of the Presentation which, after appearing in our English books of Winchester and Canterbury, only to disappear again, was started in Latin Christendom in the later decades of the fourteenth century: our English essay of three hundred and fifty years earlier being forgotten by all the world *usque in hodiernum diem.*

How are we to account for the presence of these two feasts thus here in England? When this paper was written thirty years ago the Marble Calendar of Naples, assigned to the close of the tenth century, was the only western document outside England known to give a liturgical feast of the Conception. It does not give the feast of 21 Nov.;[1] and it seemed

[1] It has instead at 21 Nov. 'Gamoniae et Gutiae': 'fidenter corrig.', says Mazochi, 'Samonae et Guriae. Ex Graecor. libris Gurias et Samonas mm. Edesseni . . . cum quibus in Menol. Basil. Abibus iungitur, quamvis alibi et sub Licinio passus. Horum Neapoli erat olim ecclesia in regione Nidi', &c. (*De sanctorum Neapolitanae ecclesiae episcoporum cultu dissertatio* p. 318). It would be interesting to know by what steps, by what medium, these Syriac saints came to have a church at Naples in the ninth (?) century; their cult, or rather the mention of them in calendars, spread curiously later, and they are found in English calendars of the eleventh century. Dom Connolly supplies me with the following further particulars concerning them: The original Syriac Acts of the martyrs Shamona and Guria were first published by Mgr Rahmani *Acta Sanctorum Confessorum Guriae et Shamonae* (Rome, 1899); the Greek and other versions by E. von Dobschütz *Die Akten der edessenischen Bekenner Gurjas, Samonas und Abibos* (in *Texte u. Untersuch.*, Leipzig, 1911); the Syr. text of Rahmani has been reprinted with English translation and an introductory study by Professor F. C. Burkitt in *Euphemia and the Goth* (Text and Translation Society, London, 1913). The Acts of Habib were published by Cureton in his *Ancient Syriac Documents* (1864); and again by Burkitt *op. cit.*; the versions by v. Dobschütz *op. cit.* There was a definite cult of them at Edessa in St Ephrem's day († 373); he writes in his hymns on St Julian Saba (of unquestioned authenticity): 'Lo, in thee [= our land] resound the festivals of Guria, Habib and Shamona' (ed. Lamy iii col. 855). And in his *Nisibene Hymns* (no. xxxiii): 'Per ossa Joannis (sc. Baptistae), quorum est (particula) in regione nostra, prophetae venerunt ad terram nostram. Per Guriam et Samonam et socium eorum Chabib martyres venerunt et visitaverunt nos' (Bickell *S. Ephraemi Syri Carmina Nisibena*, Leipzig, 1866, pp. 138-139). The early Syriac Calendar (written 411-412) places the martyrdom of Habib on 2 Sept., that of Guria and Shamona on 15 Nov.

loose method to knit up the commemorations of our eleventh-century English books with it. A glance at the documents set forth at pp. 82, 84 of T. Toscani's *Ad Typica Graecorum Animadversiones* (Rome, Typ. de Prop. Fid., 1864) will shew the need of proceeding cautiously in such a case. Dmitrievsky's volume of Typica (annual Directories of church services: in English, 'Pyes'), bearing the date 1895, with its print of Constantinopolitan documents of as early a date as the ninth and tenth centuries, gives us firm standing ground; for in these earliest extant Constantinopolitan typica[1] are to be found both feasts, on 21 Nov. that of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Temple, and on 9 Dec. that of her Conception. We may now therefore conclude with practical certainty that in Greek monasteries newly founded or renewed in Lower and Middle Italy in the tenth and eleventh centuries both these feasts were already received and established as traditional.

As to the persons by whom, or the circumstances in which, the two feasts were brought from Italy to England, I do not propose to labour the subject here. The question can be discussed at length by those who may feel a call to do so. But I allow myself a brief general remark and two particular suggestions.

There has yet to be worked out—it would require a volume, and it is a task worth undertaking—in complete detail, down to matters so trivial as feasts, cults, relics, commerce of books, &c., the question of the relations of England with the Continent from, say, 900 to the accession of Edward the Confessor in 1042. We must endeavour to realize, for instance, the trains that followed archbishop after archbishop on pilgrimage in quest of the pallium, and what these must have meant for the importation of foreign and outlandish ways into so aspiring and modern an England as that of the tenth century.

As to particular occasions that suggest themselves as not unlikely to have brought about the importation of our two feasts into England: there is the long stay of King Canute in Rome in 1027, with all the great ceremonies he assisted at—the Roman Lent and Holy Week, leading up to the great occasion of the coronation of the Emperor Conrad II in St Peter's on Easter day. Canute has left on record in a letter from himself[2] the deep religious impressions made upon him during this sojourn in Rome; and there is no reason to suppose that he alone was thus impressed: doubtless it was to more cases than one that the old adage applied—'like master like man'.

[1] A. Dmitrievsky *Opisanie liturghiceskikh rukopisei*, &c., i (Kiev, 1895) pp. 25, 29; and 203, 205.

[2] Preserved in Florence of Worcester A. D. 1031 (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* pp. 596–597), and William of Malmesbury 'Gesta regum anglorum', ed. Hardy, pp. 308–313.

Or there is another possible occasion in 1022, when 'archbishop Ethelnoth went to Rome and was there received by Benedict the honourable Pope with much worship', and by him 'hallowed archbishop with his own hands', &c. And there was a train here too, among the rest, abbat Leofwine of Ely, who was so honourably acquitted 'of everything that was said against him'.—And as regards the Greeks and Greek observances in Rome, the most recent research increasingly shews the importance and influence in the ecclesiastical world of the Greek monastery of St Sabas. So there was plenty of opportunity for learning Greek ways and fashions in liturgy or devotion.

I have no intention of arguing the questions involved one way or the other, but am content to state in a simple fashion the facts relating to the two feasts as found in England in the eleventh century—facts that certainly seem to call for an explanation—and to point to the way (so far as I can see, the only way) along which that explanation is reasonably to be found.

Before closing I should like to repeat what I said in the *Bosworth Psalter* (p. 45 note 9, and see p. 175) as to the existence of a copy (in MS Bodl. Auct. D 4. 18, *olim* NE C 4. 11) of the once famous treatise of Nicholas of St Albans against St Bernard on the subject of the feast of the Conception, which has been believed to be lost.]

XI

ORIGINS OF THE COPE AS A CHURCH VESTMENT[1]

In this paper I propose to examine the liturgical origins of the cope, and hope to make it clear and easy to understand how and why it was that, in the times when cope and chasuble were both in use in the services of the later mediaeval church, the most ignorant person knew well enough that the chasuble was the vestment in which a priest would offer the sacrifice of the Mass, and the cope was not.

And first it would be well to have a clear notion of the precise relation, as a mere matter of shape and form, existing between the two vestments, cope and chasuble, at the time when they began to be in general use together. It has been often said that a cope in the origin was a chasuble—of course the old form of chasuble—cut open in front. The actual state of the case (so far as the mere shape and form of the piece of stuff is concerned) is to be more correctly apprehended to-day by the converse statement that the old form of chasuble was our present cope sewn up in front but cut away at the upper end, whether in the shape of a circle or a lozenge does not matter, to allow a passage for the head. In other words the chasuble of the date of which we are speaking, the eleventh century say, was not a round piece of stuff with a hole cut in the centre, but a piece of stuff in the shape of a half circle sewn up nearly to the top in front. This can be verified by extant examples.[2]

Before coming to the church cope it is necessary to say a few words as to the monastic cappa of the Carolingian epoch. In the closing years of the eighth century, Charles the Great, solicitous for the good estate of the monasteries of his realm, wrote to Monte Cassino to enquire as to the customs there, and, among other points, he enquired

[1] From the *Dublin Review*, January 1897.

[2] Franz Bock, who had seen and handled probably all extant early chasubles, had called attention to this (*Liturgische Gewänder* ii 290) already in 1866. The so-called chasuble of St Regnobert at Bayeux, and the St-Blasien vestments now at St Paul's in Carinthia, are cases in point. Any one who will cast a glance at pl. xxii of the late Mr G. G. Scott's *Essay on the History of English Church Architecture* will see the state of the case at once.

as to the habit worn. From the highly curious reply of abbat Theodemar,[1] it appears that the habit prescribed by St Benedict and that in actual use at Monte Cassino somewhat differed. Thus, of the garments mentioned by St Benedict, the monks of that monastery had no *cuculla* or *scapulare*. In place of the former they used a garment which they called a *mattus*; for the *scapulare* they had something of the fashion of a *melote* (a sort of cloak or upper garment, originally of rough skin or fur, later of stuff), but, if I rightly understand, with longer sleeves; the *melote* proper, such as was worn by St Benedict though not mentioned in the Rule, falling out altogether. Moreover Theodemar uses also the word *casula*, chasuble, to designate the *cuculla*; and he tells us that what the monks in France called a *cuculla* they at Monte Cassino called a *cappa*, and, as used by the French monks, it was fuller and longer than the *cappa* of Italy. The *cappa* as here mentioned would seem to be a cape or hood.[2] Of course all these garments are to be understood as not for church use, but for secular, everyday wear.

The Capitula of the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle of 817, relating to monastic discipline, among garments for monks prescribe two *cucullae* and two *cappae* sewn up in front, besides a third, *villosa*, thick and warm for winter, open in front. The *cappae* here specified are large cloaks, and it is to be gathered that these garments were of the same shape and character as the black copes for use in choir, and the close copes for use in ordinary life, of the twelfth and later centuries.[3] The foregoing may suffice to give a warning how wary it is necessary to be in dealing with testimonies, apparently plain, of these early times, since at one and the same date the same word may easily designate two really different garments, and different words a single and the same one.

In treating of the original of the rich cope, or silk cope, for use in the ceremonies of the Church, I propose to review in order,

I. The testimony of that series of writers who specially treat of ecclesiastical persons, places, and things, and the *rationale* of the divine service; ranging from Amalar in the early years of the ninth century to Sicardus in the beginning of the thirteenth.

II. The witness of custumals and ceremonials.

III. The evidence afforded by inventories.

[1] Jaffé *Mon. Carol.* p. 358 assigns it to the years 787–797.

[2] See W. B. Marriott *Vestiarium Christianum* note 459; and from the words 'Graeci vero praeter operimentum capitis modicum quiddam ante pectus et a dorso dependens', he would seem certainly to be right.

[3] This may be inferred from a later prescription, num. 61: 'Ut monachi cappas dissutas praeter villosas non habeant' (Herrgott *Vetus Disciplina Monastica* p. 30; *Mon. Germ. LL.* i 203).

I. The Testimony of Ecclesiastical Writers.

The cope for Church use is not so much as mentioned by any one of them until early in the twelfth century, not by Amalar, Rhaban Maur (died 856), Walahfrid Strabo (died 849), pseudo-Alcuin (saec. x or xi), Bernold of Constance (died 1100), or Ivo of Chartres (died 1115). Amalar, high priest of symbolism and a favourite crony, characteristically enough, of the not too clear-sighted emperor Lewis the Pious, is a source of information at once provoking and precious. No one is more full of information as to the common or special practices in the Western Church in the Carolingian age, but by his excessive love of antiquarianism, his exaggerated craze for symbolism, and the indifferent character of the written documents on which he sometimes relies, he is as likely to mislead in regard to current practice as to inform. 'The chasuble', he says, 'is a vestment common to all clerics';[1] and there is ground for thinking that even in his day this may still have been the case; but it must not be hence concluded that it was the *characteristic* vestment, at least in Gaul, of clerics, subdeacons and under. On the contrary, it may be gathered from another passage of the same writer that the specific vestment, for instance, of the lector or cantor was still the *camisia*, or alb, as it had been in southern Gaul and elsewhere three centuries before.[2] And from Rhaban Maur, archbishop of Mentz, who, as might be expected, is a much more practical person and so far a safe guide to actual observance, it would appear that the chasuble was in his region regarded as the specific vestment for the priest in the celebration of Mass.[3] Of course this was a piece of modern Gallicanism.

[1] *De Eccl. Offic.* lib. ii c. 19. As a rule it will be more simple to cite these writers below by book and chapter, than to refer to any particular edition, Hittorp, Migne, &c.

[2] 'Ministri casula se exuunt quando lectoris sive cantoris officium assumunt' (lib. iii c. 15). The use of the alb by the cantor in execution of his office may (after a somewhat close wrestle with Amalar's symbols and figures) be deduced, I think, securely by those that will, from lib. iii c. 4. Only so could the implied equation of cantors in *byssus* under the old law, and in *linum* under the new, be exact; for *byssus* was the *result* of all the *castigatio*, whilst the *casula* was only the *process* of it, and the *camisia* of *linum* was the *munditia ipsa*. It is doubtless a pity that Amalar could not state a simple fact plainly; but every writer has his own 'style' of communicating information. For the older practice see the 'Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua', num. 41 (in Mansi vol. iii col. 954); Martin of Braga's Collection, can. 66 (Migne 84. 583); the Council of Narbonne of 589, can. 12 (ibid. 612); a deacon acting as reader at the fourth Council of Toledo, 633 (ibid. 367).

[3] He says nothing of the *casula* being used by other orders than that of priest, like Amalar; and of the priestly order, 'septimum sacerdotale indumentum est quod casulam vocant . . . supremum omnium indumentorum est . . . hanc ergo vestem possumus intelligere charitatem . . . Sine hac (that is, charity) nec sacerdos ipse ad altare appropinquare debet, nec munus offerre, nec preces fundere', &c. (*De Inst. Clericorum* lib. i c. 21). Here from the figurative (charity) we may conclude back

The cope is first counted as entering into the category of fixed and recognized vestments for Church use in the works of the monk Rupert, abbat of Deutz, and the secular priest, Honorius of Autun. Rupert (who died about 1130) [1] is evidently inspired (as is felt at once by any one conversant with the monastic custumals of his day) by the scenes he witnessed in the church of his own abbey in the course of the ecclesiastical year. In describing the adornment of the altar and the temple he mentions the hangings with which the walls were decked on solemn feasts, the Gospel books enriched with gold and silver; and then:

> The cantors are wont, like all the choir that sing, to take from the sacristy precious vesture [he is here alluding to the cope, as will be seen below], and with loud voice and elaborated chant to celebrate the joyous feast of the holy sacrifice. The subject demands that we should not omit to mention something that is special to our order, that is, the order of monks (*quiddam nostri ordinis, id est monachorum, non praeterire proprium*). For we are wont on such feasts to stand in choir or go in procession, all in albs, &c.

The next chapter is *de cappis*, 'of copes':

> We put on copes also on greater feasts, that we may praise God more gloriously, looking to the resurrection to come, &c. . . . . Which copes are open in front and, except the necessary fastening or clasp (*fibula*),[2] are without any sewing, because, &c. . . . . They are also adorned with fringe below, because, &c.[3]

Honorius of Autun, a secular priest,[4] looks at the case from another

to the actual (the chasuble). There is nothing to the point in the *Liber de Sacris Ordinibus, Vestimentis*, &c., or in the *De Ecclesiastica Disciplina*. It is worthy of note that in copying St Isidore for his description of the chasuble, Rhaban omits 'est vestis cucullata', and the following words as to the *cuculla*. The chasuble had changed in form and use since Isidore's time.

[1] This seems more probable than 1135. See E. Ettlinger *Der sogenannte Anonymus Mellicensis de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* (Karlsruhe, G. Braun, 1896) pp. 8–9.

[2] The *lingua* of other writers: Honorius, *Gemma Animae* lib. i c. 232, and capp. 233–234 in regard to the alb; in regard to the fringe of the dalmatic in Hugh of St Victor's (or R. Pullen's) *De Sacramentis* i 53 (Hittorp 1385); the *lingula* of the alb in Sicardus, *Mitrale* lib. ii c. 5 (Migne 213. 74); the *lingulae* of the episcopal sandals, ibid. 72, 73. To turn to another class of writers, the reformer Tyndall calls the *lingua* a 'breastflap' (*Doctrinal Treatises* p. 419).

[3] Rupert of Deutz, *De Divinis Officiis* lib. ii capp. 23–24. For Hittorp's *interiori* read *anteriori*, at least in sense.

[4] [After Dr von Kelle had made many a vain attempt to penetrate the mystery surrounding this very enigmatical personage, Dr J. A. Endres (*Honorius Augustodunensis, Beitrag zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens im 12. Jahrhundert*, Kempten, J. Kösel, 1906) has succeeded. In the latter part of his life he was a *reclusus*, in close connexion with the newly founded 'Scots' monastery of St James at Ratisbon; he is more interesting to us in England in that he at one time resided at Canterbury with the monks of the cathedral and seems to have been a sort of Lector in Theology there. In mediaeval times great monasteries often employed such extern persons, not Benedictines. More than one of Honorius's books saw

point of view and treats the subject quite otherwise. The story of his life is very obscure, but it seems certain that he had retired from France or Burgundy into the territories of the Emperor by the year 1120, and that he had written the works of interest here, his *Sacramentarium* and his much better known and more popular *Gemma Animae*, before 1125.[1] The *Gemma* of Honorius is the first work of this class of literature in which the cantors are specially mentioned and treated of at length, as a sort of particular 'order'. Little by little these nondescripts, mere clerics, had grown into practical importance and into consideration. The cantors who rule the choir are to Honorius, in the figurative language he and his kin love so well, apostles teaching the churches the praises of God: they are the leaders who set in array the hosts for the battle; with hand and with voice they urge on the rest to the fight. The cantor is a herald, a standard-bearer, a trumpeter who gives the signal for combat. In the same spirit he describes the processions of pontiff, clergy, and people, as like to the going out of the emperor and his army to the war;[2] hence they (the clergy) put on albs underneath, copes over, or other solemn vestments, as soldiers are protected for the fight by breastplate beneath and shield in front.[3]

For so important and prominent a person as the cantor had now become, it is natural to suppose that nothing less would do than the assignment of a special vestment, and no mean-looking one. That vestment is the cope, the rich or silk cope, our present dignified and splendid vestment. Of course, practice had in fact decided the question long before the ritual writers descant thereon by way of doctrine, and find congruities and symbolical interpretations to shew how fitting and proper the assignment of this vestment to these persons must be. Their words mark the time when practice had become so general and confirmed that it was safe to dogmatize. 'The cope is the proper vestment of cantors', says Honorius, whose multitudinous and mysterious congruities I omit; 'it has a hood at the top, it reaches down to the heels, it is open in front and fringed at the bottom'.[4] He was well read enough to be aware of the ancient traditional use of the alb (here called by him *tunica talaris*) as the vesture of cantors, and he even ventures on a suggestion of origin in the natural order for the cope;

written at the request of these 'Cantuarienses fratres', on whom he seems to have made a great impression.]

[1] See in Migne 172. 9-14, the section of the *Histoire Littéraire*, and Wilmans's preface to the scraps in the *Monumenta Germaniae SS.* x 125-128.

[2] Note how Honorius of Autun here speaks naturally of 'the emperor', not of the king (of France). There is that in the tone of many passages of the *Gemma* which gives evidence of its composition amidst the clang of arms at home of the last years of Henry V.

[3] *Gemma Animae* lib. i cc. 16, 76, 77, 82.

[4] Ibid. lib. i c. 227.

'The cope', he says, 'seems to have originated in the chasuble'; [1] and, so far as the shape of the piece of stuff out of which both were made goes, he is right.

In his *Sacramentarium*,[2] which I take to be an earlier work than the *Gemma*, Honorius does not mention the cope; no more do later writers in this century: Hugh of St Victor in his *Speculum*, Robert Pullen (or the same Hugh?) in the *De Sacramentis*, Stephen of Baugé, Beleth, Giraldus Cambrensis; nor do the earlier Bruno of Asti, Bonizo of Sutri, Cardinal Drogo, Gilbert of Limerick.[3] We now pass on direct to Italy and to the early years of the thirteenth century, the age which saw so much systematizing and formalizing, the dawn of which must mark the term of our present obscure enquiries. Two writers are here in question—Sicardus of Cremona, a man of the old school, and Pope Innocent III, whose tractate is so highly valuable as representing, without a tinge of antiquarianism, the current practice of the Roman Church itself: 'the Custom of the Apostolic See *now*, not as it was', is its subject. Sicardus very properly calls his work a '*Sum* of the Offices of the Church'. Whilst he is a full source of information on current practice, he not merely gathers up what previous writers had said, but takes from them (of course without acknowledgement) passages wholesale, weaving the words of one into the words of another. This 'Sum' has indeed been printed; but before it is possible to use the work with safety it is necessary (as in the case of all these writers) for the reader to do the wearisome work of editing for himself, that is of tracing out the borrowings and their sources. The whole of the second book is devoted to ecclesiastical vestments and clerical dress. And here again, to make any headway, we must labour heavily through the beggarly elements of tiresome words and names.

Clerics about to receive the tonsure [he says] or just tonsured (*Inter clericos tonsurandi aut illico tonsurati*) use *cappae* and *stolae* in divine services, and

[1] Ibid. c. 234: 'Cappa videtur a casula tracta.'

[2] The *Sacramentarium* is a work unduly neglected; it is an interesting book, especially for comparison with the *Gemma*, of which in some respects it seems like a first rough sketch. But it must be added that it is a book with excellent pitfalls for the unwary, who may not readily perceive Honorius's textual borrowings, and may thus be led to adduce as evidence of practice what is mere antiquarian baggage. I would add that there seems to have been some misplacing of the leaves in the manuscript from which B. Pez printed; cap. 82 (Migne 172. 787) seems evidently the continuation of cap. 39 (col. 767).

[3] The writer printed by Zazzera with the title *Anonymi SS. Ecclesiae rituum divinorumque officiorum explicatio sec. xii elucubrata* (Rome, 1784) affords nothing for the purpose of the present paper. The early twelfth-century statutes of the various kinds of canons regular do not mention the cope (vestment), only the *cappa nigra*. An Alsatian writer of the thirteenth century notes how in the monastery of Marbach (one of the most famous Augustinian houses, founded 1090), 'casule et cappe chorales habebant septem pedes in longitudine et circumferentiam circularem' (*De rebus Alsaticis*, in *M. G. SS.* xvii 236).

camisiae, and sometimes woollen [*cappae*], close and open. . . . . And note that *in profestis* we wear *cappae nigrae* . . . as on festivals we use *togae albae*. . . . The *lanea tunica* . . . must be circular and close, not open.[1]

The interpretation to be given to these words seems to be the following:

(*a*) In regard to the *stola*, Sicardus, a line or two below, says that it is the same as the 'cotta, or surplice, white, in the form of a cross'; that is, of a tau cross. In the same way Honorius of Autun, with whose *Gemma Animae* Sicardus seems to have saturated his mind, had before stated that the monk's *tunica* and the dalmatic shewed in their shape the sign of the cross.[2]

(*b*) The *camisia* is clearly an alb, the old common dress of clerics in function; elsewhere Sicardus calls it *tunica talaris*.

(*c*) The *cappa nigra* is the open choir cope of black stuff, worn still for some centuries later by the clergy of cathedral and collegiate churches at divine office, and just in the same form by the Dominicans at the present day during the winter months.

(*d*) The *cappa clausa*, close cope, is simply a cloak or cape, sewn up in the front, for common outdoor use; the wearing of which instead of the *cappa scissa*, the same cloak not sewn up, is again and again enjoined on the clergy by synods and statutes during the later Middle Ages.

(*e*) The *lanea tunica* is the same garment.[3]

(*f*) There remains the *toga alba*, the interpretation of which is doubtful; but I incline to think it may mean a festal or silk cope rather than an alb.[4]

Sicardus proceeds, in the fifth chapter,[5] to a great gathering up of what had preceded as to sacred vestments: sandals, amice, alb, girdle,

[1] *Mitrale* lib. ii c. 1 (Migne 213. 59-60).

[2] *Gemma Animae* lib. i c. 237.

[3] The *laneae tunicae clericorum* are mentioned by Honorius of Autun, *Gemma* lib. i c. 233. But from his text it is by no means clear what is meant. Sicardus, whilst adopting much that is said in the *Gemma* as to the distinction between clerical and lay dress and the reason therefor (viz. that laymen wear close-fitting garments *quatenus expediti reddantur pugnae*), adds the observation in regard to his own day at least that the *lanea tunica* is *clausa non scissa*, words not in Honorius; and 'laicorum autem vestes debent esse strictae et scissae ut', &c. (*Mitrale* col. 60). A passage of Honorius in the *Sacramentarium* has also a bearing on this: 'in divinis induantur (clerici) lineis, in quotidianis negotiis utantur laneis' (cap. 25, Migne 172. 760). The use of the word *tunica* for the close cope of daily life in writers like these seems to come from their idea that the cantor's cope 'pro tunica hyacinthina Legis mutuata videtur' (*Gemma* lib. i c. 227).

[4] For obvious reasons I spare the reader the dissertation which an exposition of so nice a point must involve. If any person should be disposed to be impatient that time and print be spent over the subject-matter of writers of this character, it may not be out of place to observe that from them and their workshop, precisely, is derived a whole range of current ideas, any even seeming depreciation of which is, in some quarters and in some ecclesiastical circles, regarded as an impertinence, or rather as an offence yet more grave.

[5] Migne, 213. 72-82.

subcingulum, stole, tunicle, dalmatic, chasuble, rational, maniple (or fanon, mapula, sudary), mitre, gloves, ring, staff, pallium; and (as an anticlimax, not the principal vestment) finally the cope—that is the silk cope, as now, for church use. His account of this cope is almost entirely confined to an ingenious mosaic of expressions and phrases selected from Honorius of Autun and Rupert of Deutz; but he varies Rupert's words thus, 'we put on copes only on greater feasts'. The eighth chapter is devoted to an explanation of the use of all these vestments. He vests the ministers one by one and at last the bishop; this description reads like the work of an expert in current sacristy practice. And finally Sicardus says (adopting, but adding to, the words of Honorius): 'Then let the cantor put on his vestment, that is the cope, which adapts itself also to every order (of the clergy); *so it is of no account to what order he belong*'. These last words in italics are Sicardus's own.

Of himself the cantor was a man of no order and rank; he was, indeed, a mere unclassed; he had come to exist, and now held a splendid position, no one quite knew why. These ritualist writers, leaning as they habitually do on their forerunners, but continually 'improving' on them under the pressure of more recent practice, are continually embarrassed how to fit in novelties; circumstances seem to be always doing violence to the conservatism of their nature. Cantors had with time come more and more into public view, but Sicardus could find no better expedient for dealing with them than to throw them into a sort of appendix. But this was by no means the cantor's condition in real life. Pope Innocent III at this same date, whilst not mentioning a word about the cope in his tractate *De sacr. Altaris Myst.*, or so much as condescending to notice the vesture of the 'inferior clergy' from deacons downwards, makes out six 'orders of clergy' to accompany the Supreme Pontiff: bishops, priests, deacons, sub-deacons, acolytes, *and cantors*,[1] thus giving them a recognized position in his theory, though really they were no 'order' at all.

To sum up, then, what may be gathered from these writers on the subject of the antiquities of the cope:

(1) Early in the ninth century it was still no more than a garment for use in common life;

[1] *De s. Altaris Myst.* lib. i c. 1. As to the vesture of cantors at this time in the Roman Church, whether in cope or alb, *non liquet*. So far as I can make out, the cope did not obtain its promotion to the rank of an ecclesiastical vestment in any degree from Rome. It is clear that Domenico Giorgi (*De Liturgia Rom. Pont.* ii p. 124) could not tell what was the Roman practice in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Rupert and Honorius (whom he cites) are certainly no authority for Rome in the twelfth. D. Giorgi and his friend G. B. Gattico for many years together swept the Roman libraries for ritual manuscripts of those ages and knew all the detail of such matters that will probably ever be known.

(2) By the twelfth century, this cope, made of rich material, was in use in the ceremonies of the Church;

(3) It had come to be regarded as the special vestment of cantors; but

(4) It was considered a vestment that might be used by any member of the clergy from the highest to the lowest; nay, below the lowest—even by one who was only about to be tonsured;

(5) Among monks it was the practice to vest the whole community (except of course the celebrant and his ministers) in copes at High Mass on the greatest festivals; and

(6) It may be added that it was a speciality of monks, on solemn feasts of a somewhat lower grade, for the community to vest thus in albs instead of in copes.

We may pass now from these theoretical testimonies to documents that afford direct evidence of use and practice, ceremonials and inventories, documents which may be taken as the proof, or test, of the theories propounded by the writers reviewed above. Let us take, then,

II. The Witness of Custumals and Ceremonials.

The documents to be considered here fall into three groups: (1) The English documents (these are the earliest evidences in point of date); (2) the Cluny group; (3) a group which shews a position intermediate between these two.

(1) In the *Concordia Regularis* of the English monks, drawn up by the year 970 at the latest, the cope is prescribed only (*a*) for the abbat at the blessing of the candles on the feast of the Purification;[1] (*b*) for the quasi-dramatic office of the Resurrection on Easter morning, and then only for the three or four persons engaged in that curious ceremony.[2] On great feasts the whole community was vested in albs (not copes) for the procession.[3] It is not distinctly stated that they remained so vested during the High Mass; but this seems certainly implied, and is consonant with general practice on the Continent at the time. The abridgement and revision of the *Concordia* for the use of the Abbey of Eynsham, drawn up about 1005, shews a like observance; but nothing is said of the office of the Resurrection.[4]

(2) The Cluny practice, even as early as the later part of the tenth

[1] Reyner *Apostolatus* Append. p. 85.
[2] Ibid. p. 89.
[3] This appears on a comparison of p. 84 (last line), and other places where the vesting of the community is mentioned, with p. 85 ('omnes albis induti si fieri potest') and p. 86 ('omnes, si fieri potest et aura permiserit, albis induti').
[4] In the *Winchester Obedientiaries' Rolls*, ed. Kitchin, pp. 179, 182, 183, 187.

century, shews the opposite extreme, as appears from the 'discipline' of the monastery of Farfa near Rome, where Cluny customs were introduced in the year 998. On the greatest feasts (and they were numerous), e.g. on the Assumption, or SS. Peter and Paul, or All Saints, the community were all in copes at the High Mass, and twelve in copes sang the introit in the middle of the choir. On the octave of Easter at the procession before the High Mass all were in copes, and doubtless during the Mass; for this was the practice on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of Easter week. On Holy Saturday eight in copes sang the Alleluia of the Mass; on Easter Day the invitatory was sung by four in copes. On lesser feasts copes were used in proportion to the grade of the solemnity, e.g. on feasts of ordinary apostles, like St Bartholomew or St Andrew, the invitatory was sung by two in copes, and so forth.[1]

It is useless to multiply examples; nor, since Cluny practice in the matter of ritual glory was so far developed at so early a date, is it necessary to recount the splendours and refinements in ceremonial at that monastery in the last years of the eleventh century, as shewn in the works of Udalric and Bernard. It may not be out of place, however, as a mere specimen of the reduction there of ritual to a science, or at least an art, to mention how 'the principal' feasts themselves are divided into four grades or classes, at even the lowest of which the whole community was in copes at the High Mass. As to the feasts of really very highest grade, good Bernard seems at a loss how to describe them. Here are his own words, to which no rendering can do justice: 'Restant illae nominatissimae atque excellentissimae solemnitates totius universalis ecclesiae speciali gaudio suscipiendae, praedicandae pariter atque et celebrandae; . . . caeteras quasi quodam superlativo gradu transcendunt.'[2] Such an exalted model of faddy and fussy ritualism could not but finally exhaust itself in the distribution of superlatives that would not bear the weight of ordinary reflection.

The statutes of Lanfranc, which more correctly speaking are in original intent merely directions for practice in his own cathedral church of Canterbury, and must in substance be identical with the 'Bec Customs' occurring in ancient English library catalogues, &c.,[3]

[1] 'Disciplina Farfensis' (in Herrgott *Vetus disciplina monastica* pp. 37–132, or in Migne 150. 1193 sqq.) *passim*. The book itself was drawn up some time before the year 1039, since it was worked over by abbat Hugh, who died in that year; the preface was added by another hand in the lifetime of either abbat Hugh or of his immediate successor, and at any rate before 1049. Even *conversi* (lay brethren) who could sing wore copes (Herrgott p. 82; Migne 150. 1245). [A new edition of the Farfa Customs has been given by Dom Bruno Albers in vol. i (1900) of his *Consuetudines Monasticae*.]

[2] Herrgott p. 244.

[3] [The whole question of Lanfranc's Constitutions and the Bec Customs has

shew that much of this ritual and elaboration was introduced into our English monasteries soon after the Conquest, thus relieving the excessive simplicity or even bareness evinced in this matter by the *Concordia*. But with the new system there came from Bec another spirit too; at Bec, any tendency to the redundancies of mere ritualism found a counterpoise in nobler and more healthy ambitions, as would be sufficiently shewn in the career and character, so diverse, of two such representatives of the Bec school as Lanfranc himself and his successor St Anselm, even if we had not those letters of Anselm enabling us almost to breathe the air in which these men had lived in their younger days. The *Statuta* of Lanfranc, it must be allowed, do betray a delight in ritual novelties that borders on the trivial; but this, when the sense of novelty had passed, is soon lost, though the practices prescribed, with various modifications in different houses, entered into the observance of the English Benedictines generally, and were on the whole maintained to the time of the suppression. To pass from reading the productions of Bernard and Udalric of Cluny and the similar compilation of William of Hirschau to later English works of a like nature is to pass into another atmosphere, as I believe I may say from knowledge. But it is time to pass on to

(3) Those custumals which shew a middle term between the two classes just reviewed. They are (*a*) the customs of St-Vannes of Verdun of the tenth century; (*b*) the Einsiedeln customs of the close of that century; and (*c*) the Luxeuil customs of the eleventh.

At St-Vannes the brethren assisted at Mass in copes but once in the year—on Palm Sunday; even on the greatest feasts they wore albs only; on Easter Day the invitatory was sung by two (only) in copes, which gives the measure and proportion of all else. The writer says he is recording that which older men whom he had known declared to have been the 'ancient' custom of the house.[1]

Einsiedeln indulged in greater exterior pomp. At the procession and Mass of the Purification and Palm Sunday, at the Mass of Easter and the three following days, and at the third Mass on Christmas Day, the brethren were in copes;[2] whether on other great feasts does not

now been cleared up by the Dean of Wells; see his article in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1909, pp. 375–388.]

[1] These customs are printed in vol. iv of the folio editions of Martene *De ritibus*. The passages referred to are (folio edd.) p. 297, col. 2 (bottom of page); p. 298, col. 2 ('nondum albis exuti'); p. 299, col. 1 ('cantor . . . vestitus pallio . . . duo fratres (for invitatory) albis cappis induti'); p. 299, col. 2 (Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday after Pentecost). [The St Vannes Customs are now reprinted from Martene by Dom Bruno Albers in vol. v of his *Consuetudines Monasticae* pp. 113–133.]

[2] D. Odilo Ringholz *Des Benediktinerstiftes Einsiedeln Thätigkeit für die Reform deutscher Klöster* (a separate print from vol. vii of the Benedictine *Studien und*

appear. But these customs do not know the body of cantors, four, eight, twelve, in the midst of the choir, in which the Cluniacs delighted; their whole system betokens a much greater simplicity.

The Luxeuil customs stand nearly on the same footing as those of Einsiedeln; if anything, as later in date, so they are more 'advanced' in ritual.[1]

All the foregoing represent the practices of monks. I know but one detailed ceremonial of a cathedral of so early a date as the eleventh century—the tractate of John of Avranches, written between 1061 and 1067, and representing the practice of Rouen at least, and perhaps of other Norman churches. From this work it appears that the practice of the whole body of the clergy assisting at the High Mass in copes must have been frequent there in the course of the year; in albs, never; but the number of *cappati* acting as cantors or rulers of the choir during the offices is very limited.

From the additional information supplied by these ceremonials it may be gathered, as a supplement to the conclusions drawn above from the ritual writers:

(7) That by the middle of the tenth century monks were commonly in the practice, at least in France and on the borderland of Germany, of vesting the whole community in cope for processions and for assisting *cappati* at the High Mass on some great feasts.

(8) That this practice had not yet been admitted into England by men like St Dunstan and St Ethelwold; and that even in Lorraine in some quarters it was only beginning to make its way.

(9) That this novelty was the extension of an older practice among monks of vesting in albs on these occasions, a practice (or survival) which by the middle of the tenth century was universal among them, at any rate north of the Alps.

(10) That the same novelty was adopted, when it had become prevalent among monks, certainly by the clergy of the cathedral church of Rouen and perhaps elsewhere, though there is no evidence that the clergy adopted albs for similar use on lesser feasts; indeed, Rupert of Deutz, who witnesses for the eleventh and twelfth centuries, says that the vesting of the community in albs on feast days was a speciality of monks.

Mittheilungen of Raygern) pp. 43, 35, 40; a general prescription at p. 31. The abbat distributed the copes (ibid.), or the prior (p. 35); according to Lanfranc (= Bec) the cantor (Reyner iii 228, 235). [The Einsiedeln customs are re-edited from the MS by Dom Albers v pp. 73–110.]

[1] Herrgott pp. 576–578.

III. Inventories [1]

will be the means of indicating with sufficient certainty when and where this use of copes began, both among monks and among the clergy.

As usual, it is necessary to be more precise and exact in the matter of beginnings; the rest can be summarily dispatched.

The earliest instance of copes in inventories, so far as I know, is of the year 800 or 801. The inventory of St-Riquier, drawn up by Angilbert, mentions *cappas cc.*[2] In the inventory of the same house of the year 831 [3] the number had risen to 377. But these are evidently not church copes, but the cloaks for common wear mentioned in the Aix-la-Chapelle capitula, provision for which is described in the chronicle of the Norman monastery of Fontenelle.[4] The inventory of 831 also mentions *cappa castanea auro parata*; this might be thought to be a cope for use in church. I doubt it; it may be only an extra fine cloak for one of the splendid abbats of St-Riquier.[5]

The Fontenelle chronicle mentions among the very numerous gifts to the monastery by abbat Ansegisus (823–833), 'two Roman copes, namely, one of red silk (*cendal*) with green fringe round about; another of bever, also with fringe of its own colour'.[6] And these, again, I do not think are 'copes' for strictly church use; as regards the 'bever' one, this may be taken as clear; as regards the silk cope, the very epithet 'Roman' is sufficient to raise the doubt, for the cope as a church vestment is of no Roman origin.

But the case becomes quite otherwise when we find in the inventory of the abbey of St-Trond of the year 870 'thirty-three precious copes of silk' against only twelve chasubles;[7] or again, in an inventory of Marchiennes of the ninth century, eighteen copes against eight chasubles;[8] or again, at St-Bavo at Ghent, where, about the year 860,

[1] To shorten references I permit myself to quote where possible the number by which these documents are noted in F. de Mély and E. Bishop *Bibliographie générale des Inventaires imprimés* (Paris, Leroux, 1892–1895).

[2] *Bibliographie* No. 6254. [3] Ibid. No. 1.

[4] *Mon. Germ. SS.* p. 299. The *cappae* were to be made of a very thick grey stuff (*griseus sicciscus*).

[5] This affectation of a *cappa* by abbats (though hardly of so illustrious a race as the princely abbats of St-Riquier) occurs later; as well as the castigation of such ostentatious assumption of dress unbecoming monastic simplicity. Udalric, once canon of Ratisbon and afterwards monk of Cluny, wrote (we are told) a letter to the venerable abbat William (of Hirschau), taking him to task for his wearing a cope contrary to rule—out of mere simplicity indeed, and in imitation of the usurpations of German abbats; instructing him that it was his duty not to distinguish himself by his dress from his subjects (*non debere transgredi habitum sibi subditorum*) as he well knew it was written 'They have made thee their head (*ducem*); be among them as one of them'. The saintly man did not even wait to finish the letter before pulling off his cope never to put it on again. (*Anonymus Mellicensis de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, ed. Ettlinger, p. 94.)

[6] *Mon. Germ. SS.* ii p. 295. [7] *Bibliographie* No. 8.

[8] Dehaisnes *Documents concernant l'histoire de l'art* p. 14.

there were twenty-four copes of silk among the 'precious ornaments' of the sacristy.[1] In the same century St-Denis must also have possessed a certain number of precious copes;[2] how many, however, does not appear. I know of no other churches but the three first mentioned possessing anything like such an array of copes at so early a date; and, it will be observed, they are all three monastic and all three in the same region.

By the close of the tenth century stores of copes are found in cathedrals. At Clermont-Ferrand, twenty-seven;[3] to Auxerre bishop Goffridus gave thirteen copes;[4] to Cremona bishop Odelricus gave, according to the inventory drawn up by himself in 984 it would seem, about a score;[5] bishop Abraham (957–994) gave twenty-two to Frisingen, as against six chasubles.[6] It looks as though these benefactors made a beginning so far as an outfit in copes on any scale is concerned; and their gifts mark the commencement of a common use of the cope in these cathedrals. It was a long time yet before the cope found its way generally into parish churches; the earliest case I know of, and it is quite an exception, is the church of Wörthsee in Carinthia, which, about the year 990, possessed two copes; but these were the gift of bishop Abraham of Frisingen, a propagator of the vestment it would seem; before this gift of Abraham's, Wörthsee possessed no cope.[7]

It would be wearisome to pursue the spread of the vestment further, though the details suggest many curious observations, and these not altogether insignificant. But I cannot refrain from adding a few words as to the earliest history of the cope in England; and this brings up at once one of those 'observations' just mentioned. So far as documentary evidence goes it is evident that the use of copes in any number in the

[1] *Neues Archiv* viii p. 374.
[2] L. Delisle *Littérature latine et Histoire du Moyen Âge* (Paris, Leroux, 1890) p. 9.
[3] *Bibliographie* No. 11.
[4] Labbe *Nova Bibliotheca MSS* i 452.
[5] *Bibliographie* No. 5505.
[6] *Mon. Germ. SS.* xxiv p. 320.
[7] *Bibliographie* No. 4238. [Two recently published early inventories of churches help to shew the rapid rise of the cope in favour and fashion. The collegiate church of Aschaffenburg, founded by Otto, Duke of Swabia and Bavaria, in 974, possessed, according to its sacristy inventory of the tenth century, one cope as compared with fourteen chasubles; a note of additions made soon after this list was written mentions two copes, one dalmatic, &c. An inventory of the first half of the eleventh century shews eight copes as against no more than seven chasubles; the other kinds of vestments remain almost as before (*Neues Archiv* xxxvi, 1911, pp. 672–673). The other case is that of the monastery of St-Èvre-lès-Toul of the eleventh century; the sacristy possessed twenty-four copes as compared with six chasubles (R. Fawtier, 'La Bibliothèque et le Trésor de l'Abbaye de St-Èvre-lès-Toul', in *Mém. de la Soc. d'Archéologie Lorraine* t. lxi, 1911, p. 33 of the separate print).]

services of the Church is first found among monks, and the concurrent testimony points all to one region, or rather neighbourhood, as the place where the movement began, viz. Flanders, and in the ninth century. We have seen that the *Concordia* of the English monks is for its date singular in its limitations of the use of this vestment; yet it was precisely the usages of the monasteries of Flanders that were known to, and held in high esteem by, the great leaders of the monastic movement in England which issued in the *Concordia*: 'praecipuum coenobium quod celebri Ghent nuncupatur vocabulo' is the expression used in that document; and in a Ghent monastery Dunstan had lived. I press the matter no further, but may only express the regret that writers of even the first name and fame who have dealt with the story of that great English movement have so often not seen their way to penetrate into the real mind of the actors. It is a story yet to be told.

To Peterborough St Ethelwold gave four copes (and six mass-garbs).[1] Elfstan, bishop of Elmham (995–1001), when received into fraternity, gave to Ely 'cappam cantoris'; archbishop Stigand, who held Ely *in commendam*, also gave a 'cappam cantoris'.[2] In 1079 Ely possessed thirty-three copes, in 1093 forty-six, as compared with forty and forty-four chasubles respectively.[3] The bulk of the copes seem to have been there before the Conquest and not to have followed on the introduction of Bec, or any other, 'customs'. On the other hand, it may be presumed from his large gift to Abingdon of twenty-nine copes as against three chasubles,[4] that abbat Faricius (1100–1117) found that his house had maintained its old-fashioned bareness and things were pretty much on the lines of the *Concordia*. It is true that Queen Matilda, wife of the Conqueror, had despoiled the church, but she had taken only one cope—the one good cope of the house apparently, 'cappa chorealis valde optima', as the regretful chronicler says, which was only produced reluctantly and at the last moment, when she had scouted with contempt the vestments previously produced, and had scorned even to look at such poor stuff.[5] Nor were the cathedral churches in the hands of the clergy at the Conquest too well provided with copes, if we may judge by the case of Exeter which possessed only 'three cantors' copes'.[6]

The following is a summing up of our enquiry:—

[1] *Bibliographie* No. 1333.
[2] *Liber Eliensis* ed. D. J. Stewart, pp. 185, 220.
[3] *Bibliographie* Nos. 1336, 1337.
[4] *Chron. Monast. de Abingdon*, ed. Stevenson, ii 151.
[5] Ibid. vol. i p. 485.
[6] Which, by the way, the Rev. F. E. Warren presents to us as 'three choristers' caps'. *Bibliographie* No. 1335.

(1) In the eleventh century the piece of stuff out of which a cope for church use or a chasuble was made, was of the same form, viz. that of a half circle, the shape of a cope now.

(2) A distinction at that time between the cope and the chasuble, patent to the eyes and sense of all, was this, that the chasuble was sewn up in front, the cope was used just as a cope is now.

(3) The so-called close cope was not a church vestment, but a garment for use in ordinary life.

(4) The church vestment called 'cope' was never sewn up.

(5) In the twelfth century the chasuble was folded up at the sides for the convenience of the celebrant of the Mass.

(6) In course of time, instead of being folded the chasuble was cut away, so that by the close of the fifteenth century even the shapes of the pieces of stuff from which the two vestments were made bore no resemblance to each other: one was still a half circle, the other made up an oval.

(7) Though the cope, indeed, has retained its original shape and the chasuble has since the fifteenth century been still further curtailed, it was as impossible then to mistake one vestment for the other as it is now.

(8) The most ignorant person was, in the year 1500, as competent as the most learned to distinguish between the two: to do so required just about the same sort of education as is now required to distinguish between, say, a coat and a waistcoat, and no more.

(9) The cope has retained not merely its old shape but its old use. In its origin it was a vestment the use of which was restricted to no particular order of the clergy, but, as now, could be worn by any order, from the highest to the lowest cleric; in fact, it was sometimes worn (as it still is, though, of course, now *abusivè*) by persons who are not clerics at all.

(10) To go back no further than the date at which the cope is first brought by ritual theorists into the category of church vestments, in the twelfth and in the following centuries the chasuble was the vestment specifically assigned to the priest for the saying of Mass.

(11) The practice was then universal, as is testified by such a crowd of authoritative witnesses of every kind that there is no need of recondite learning in the matter; and there is no place for balancing in doubt as to the use in the later middle ages of the chasuble, and of the chasuble only, as the priest's specific Mass vestment.[1]

[1] It will be time to deal with the 'cappe missal' of certain inventories when (if ever) it is brought forward as evidence for the use of the cope by the celebrant of the Mass.

XII

HOLY WEEK RITES

OF SARUM, HEREFORD AND ROUEN COMPARED[1]

THE ceremonies and offices of Holy Week offer so wide a field for investigation and comment that in a paper like the present it is necessary strictly to limit the question to be dealt with. Moreover, the variations between the observances of neighbouring churches are so numerous and minute, the resemblances between the observances of churches at a distance from each other are often so singular, that there is considerable risk, unless definite points are selected for investigation, of lapsing into the mere curiosity of collecting, with the only result of overwhelming the reader with a mass of disjointed detail.

Still, few subjects in liturgy are more interesting than the enquiry into the historical connexion—the genealogy, so to speak—of late mediaeval local rites or uses, quite independently of the fact that such enquiries, properly conducted, are a good apprenticeship for persons who would wish to turn their attention to the difficult and delicate work of criticism of liturgical origins. Moreover, history has something to gain from such enquiries. If the transmission and spread of legal and social customs be a worthy object of investigation, the passage of ritual observance from church to church, and the outward forms assumed by religious rites at a time when they so largely entered into popular life, deserve more attention than the subject has hitherto received. But it is an enquiry most tedious, to follow up which it is necessary to enter into details in appearance trivial with a minuteness which may seem intolerable: though indeed it is only by an accumulation of evidence in detail that a fair and reasonable presumption can be raised in these cases at all. Mere occasional agreement is insufficient proof of immediate affinity. The historical explanation has to be sought, if we are to verify the probabilities raised by the internal evidence of the liturgies themselves.

This paper is devoted in the main to a comparison of the details of one single item in the ceremonies of the first day of Holy Week—viz. that singular Anglo-Norman observance, the procession with the

[1] From the *Transactions of the Society of St Osmund* vol. i part iv pp. 77 ff.

Blessed Sacrament on Palm Sunday, known, as it survived at Rouen till the end of the eighteenth century, as the *Corps-Saint* procession. An examination of the ritual arrangements in regard to this procession will be found at once to raise the question as to the foreign affinities of two English uses, those of Sarum and Hereford.

It is natural that the Rouen rite should at once suggest itself as a source of the uses which were developed in English churches after the Conquest. There is indeed definite and sufficiently trustworthy evidence that bishop Remigius introduced Rouen customs to some extent at least at Lincoln. Although there is documentary proof that Lincoln was in the fourteenth century considered to have a 'use' of its own (whether in Mass, or Office, or for the sacraments only, does not appear), yet there is reason to believe that by the sixteenth century a special Lincoln use (if by the term 'use' is to be understood a distinctive rite, like that of Hereford or York, Lisieux or Coutances) was little more than a half-forgotten tradition, so much so that its mention in the Preface of the Book of Common Prayer was only an afterthought.[1]

In regard to the relation of Rouen and York, the late canon Simmons touched on the question in various passages of his *Lay Folks' Mass Book*. It has often been stated, and in some quarters seems to be taken as a fact, that special connexion exists between Rouen and Sarum, but no detailed proof has been offered. At the end of his translation of the Sarum Missal Mr Pearson gives extracts 'from (as he says) a Rouen manuscript missal' in order to shew 'that the Use of Rouen and that of Sarum were almost identical in the eleventh century'.[2] But on this two or three observations occur:—

(1) The writer did not observe that these extracts are merely Le Brun Desmarettes's translation of parts of the tractate *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis* of John of Avranches.

(2) The 'use of Sarum' in the eleventh century is, and, unless hitherto unknown material can be found, must be, mere matter of vague conjecture. The Sarum Missal, as we have it, shews in its groundwork a good thirteenth-century book.

(3) The tract of John of Avranches is a recension or adaptation for Rouen of the Ordo Romanus which, as a book, passed away as Germanism and Romanesque gave place in the twelfth century to Frenchified fashions and Gothic architecture. The particular resemblances pointed to by Mr Pearson are no more than items, which, practically speaking, formed part of the substructure of all the late mediaeval uses.

[1] See Gasquet and Bishop *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer* p. 37.
[2] Second edition p. xxiii.

What is required for proof of affinity between any of these uses is evidence of a similarity of rite in particulars distinctive of the presumed parent rite, and not found in its neighbours. The following examination of the details of the *Corps-Saint* procession will be found to raise a prima facie case for a special connexion between Rouen and Hereford, and will so far go to shew that the source of the special features of Sarum ceremonial must be sought for elsewhere than at Rouen. The presumption raised by the examination of this single item, the Palm Sunday procession, will be found to be confirmed by a continued similarity of Rouen and Hereford, and a continued dissidence of Sarum in other details of observance in Holy Week. Finally, a suggestion will be hazarded as to the particular point of time when Hereford was influenced by Rouen.

In considering the *Corps-Saint* procession Rouen and Hereford will be taken together, and Sarum will be taken separately afterwards. This plan may seem to point to a foregone conclusion. It is, however, adopted not merely for convenience of comparison, but for the very practical reason that it is possible to go along the route of the procession of Rouen and Hereford step by step together, and it is impossible, without confusion, to fit in Sarum arrangements with those of the other two rites. Each statement is supported by its due array of rubric. The following are the materials mainly used: *for Rouen*, an Ordinarium of about the year 1450 in the appendix to Le Prévost's edition of John of Avranches (in Migne *P. L.* vol. 147 coll. 117–119); and the Rouen Processional of 1645 (published by archbishop François II de Harlay; Le Prévost had a considerable hand in this processional, which was the last to represent the traditional rite): *for Hereford*, Dr Henderson's reprint of the Missal, and the fourteenth century Ordinale, Harl. MS 2983: *for Sarum*, the Burntisland reprint of the Missal, and Dr Henderson's reprint of the Processional, which, however, have been used always with an eye on manuscript Sarum ordinalia and processionals at the Museum.

[The edition of the *Sarum Missal* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1916) by Dr. Wickham Legg from the three earliest MSS (seemingly of about the end of the thirteenth century) does not entail, for the particular purposes of this paper, changes in the original text. Of course all the minute topographical details in the printed missals and processionals are wanting in these early missal texts; but the service itself, what was said or sung, is the same. One of the three MSS, that in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, No. 135, thought to be of the end of the thirteenth century, has, with slight textual variants, the rubric 'Dum distribuuntur . . . vexillis praecedentibus' (see under (6), p. 290 below). But there can be no doubt (so at least it seems to me) that

this is a mere intrusion from without, and that the *Corps-Saint* procession is no part of the genuine Sarum rite, any more than of the rite of York (see p. 293 below). This rubric in MS A shews only that some people at any rate who used the Sarum Missal chose to adopt also this striking rite of the *Corps-Saint* from some other church.]

THE PALM SUNDAY PROCESSION

Rouen and Hereford.

Rouen.

(1) In the morning the Blessed Sacrament is taken from the cathedral to the appointed place (the church of St-Godard) outside the city walls.

c. 1450. In ramis palmarum. Finitis matutinis deferatur Corpus Domini ad locum destinatum in feretro a duobus sacerdotibus de secunda sede in albis, et sint duodecim famuli circa feretrum portantes duodecim torchias quas debet dominus archiepiscopus; et duo de praefata [*al.* prima] sede, ferant duas torchias chori et associent Corpus Domini usque ad atrium Sancti Gildardi (MS Ordinarium of Rouen Cathedral in Migne *P. L.* 147 col. 117).

Hereford.

In the morning the Blessed Sacrament and relics are carried from the cathedral to the appointed place. The place is not specified, but it was clearly outside the city walls (see (8) below).

. . . ad locum constitutum in quo reliquiae et Corpus Domini, quod illuc mane sit deportatum, consistant . . . (*Missal*, Henderson's reprint, 1874, p. 80).

1645. In Ecclesia Cathedrali, noctu antequam incipiatur matutinum, sacerdos comitantibus aliquot clericis cum luminaribus accedit ad maius altare, pixidem aperit in qua sacra Eucharistia asservatur, accipit unam ex hostiis consecratis, eamque ponit in alia pixide, quam reverenter defert ad portam alae dexterae chori, et deponit in tabernaculo portatili super mensam decenter apparatam: ubi Sanctissimum Christi Corpus a fidelibus devote confluentibus adoratur usque ad finem laudum: ac subinde ex eodem loco per medium chori cum multo populi concursu defertur in Ecclesiam S. Gildardi (quae olim erat extra civitatem) a clero et populo adorandum. Circa horam vero octavam diei, post aspersionem aquae, facta benedictione et distributione ramorum in navi Ecclesiae Cathedralis, clerus eiusdem Ecclesiae processionaliter pergit in atrium S. Gildardi ordine infrascripto (*Processionale Ecclesiae Rothomagensis*, 1645, p. 100).

Rouen.

(2) At the cathedral, after Terce and the sprinkling of holy water, procession is made to the altar of the Holy Cross, where the palms are to be blessed.

During the procession are sung the Antiphons—

Ante sex dies solemnitatis.
Ante sex dies passionis.

c. 1450. Tertia cantata clerus et populus totius civitatis ad matrem ecclesiam conveniant; et processione ordinata cum cruce discooperta et candelabris ad altare crucis, in quo benedictio palmarum fiet, pergat. Et cantor incipiat ant. *Ante sex dies solemnitatis.* Sequitur alia antiphona *Ante sex dies paschae* (Migne ibid. col. 117; for 'paschae' read 'passionis' according to the Rouen Missal of 1499).

Hereford.

At the cathedral, after Terce and the sprinkling of holy water, procession is made to the altar where the palms are to be blessed. This altar is not named, but it must be other than the high altar or procession would not be in place.

During the procession are sung the Antiphons—

Ante sex dies solemnitatis.
Ante sex dies passionis.

Post aspersionem aquae benedictae, dicta tertia eat processio ad altare coram quo sunt palmae benedicendae. Interim cantentur sequentes antiphonae—

Ante sex dies sollemnitatis.
Ante sex dies passionis.

(*Missal*, reprint 1874, p. 79.)

1645. Facta post tertiam aspersione aquae in Ecclesia Cathedrali, ubi rami benedicuntur ad altare sanctae crucis, processio cum sacerdote et ministris paratis ut in aliis benedictionibus, praeeuntibus cruce discooperta et candelabris, descendit in navem Ecclesiae ante Crucifixum cantando sequentem antiphonam *Ante sex dies solemnitatis* (*Proc. Eccl. Rothom.*, 1645, pp. 100–101). The antiphon *Ante sex dies passionis* had, in 1645, fallen into disuse; but the last portion of it was added to the antiphon *Ante sex dies solemnitatis.*

Rouen.

(3) The procession arrived at this altar, the officiant said a prayer.

This is followed by a Lesson (*Dicite filiae Sion*, 1450; but *Venerunt filii Israel*, 1645).

Then ℟ *Circumdederunt.*
Quoniam.

and the Gospel *Cum appropinquasset.*

Hereford.

The procession arrived at this altar,

the Lesson *Venerunt filii Israel* is read; then

Ant. Fratres, hoc enim sentite.
Ant. In nomine enim Iesu.

and the Gospel *Cum appropinquasset.*

c. 1450. Finita antiphona dicat archiepiscopus vel sacerdos super ramos orationem *Actiones nostras quaesumus Domine.* Finita oratione subdiaconus revestitus, verso vultu ad populum, in pulpito legat quasi lectionem, cum titulo, *Dicite filiae Sion.* Qua finita cantor incipiat ℟ *Circumdederunt.* ℣ *Quoniam.* Quo finito Evangelium a diacono dalmaticato legatur in pulpito, *Cum appropinquasset Iesus* (Migne ibid. col. 117).

Deinde legatur sequens lectio sine titulo Exodi *Venerunt filii Israel.* Postea cantentur hae antiphonae, *Fratres, hoc enim sentite.* Alia ant. *In nomine enim Iesu.* Deinde legatur evangelium. . . . *Cum appropinquasset* (*Missal*, reprint 1874, p. 79).

1645. Deinde Sacerdos stans in cornu epistolae, non vertens se ad populum, dicit in tono orationis missae *Dominus vobiscum* et orationem *Deus quem diligere* ut in Missali. Postea subdiaconus vestitus tunica in pulpito seu in alio loco cantat lectionem *Venerunt filii Israel* in tono epistolae. Qua finita exuitur tunica, et cantatur a choro pro graduali sequens responsorium, cantore incipiente. ℟ *Circumdederunt.* ℣ *Quoniam.* Interim dum cantatur Resp. diaconus dalmaticatus accipit librum de altari, petit benedictionem a sacerdote : postea cum subdiacono et acolythis candelabra accensa ferentibus vadit in pulpitum seu in locum consuetum, ubi cantat evangelium *Cum appropinquasset* more consueto ; quo finito subdiaconus defert librum osculandum sacerdoti et diaconus exuitur dalmatica (*Proc. Eccl. Rothom.*, 1645, pp. 102–103).

Rouen.

(4) The actual blessing of the palms was accompanied by a prayer, the preface sung, their sprinkling with holy water,

and a second prayer.

Hereford.

At Hereford the rite was more simple still: a single prayer differing from that used as a preface at Rouen by a few slight variants only ; with the sprinkling and censing of the palms.

c. 1450. Quo lecto sequitur benedictio ramorum, et dicantur orationes *Deus qui dispersa congregas . . . Aeterne Deus* (more praefationis) *cuius filius pro salute.* Postea dominus archiepiscopus vel sacerdos super ramos aquam benedictam aspergat ; et haec oratio sequitur *Deus qui per olivae ramos* (Migne ibid. col. 118).[1]

Quo finito sequatur benedictio palmarum hoc modo. *Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.* Oratio. *Deus cuius filius pro salute.* Deinde aspergantur palmae aqua benedicta et incensentur (*Missal*, reprint 1874, pp. 79–80).

1645. Sacerdos vero stans in eodem cornu epistolae dicit in tono orationis *Dominus vobiscum* et orationem *Deus qui dispersa congregas* cum praefatione in cantu et orationibus *Deus qui per olivae* et *Benedic quaesumus* etiam in tono orationis : quibus finitis ter aspergit ramos aqua benedicta dicendo anti-

phonam *Asperges* secreto et sine versu. Postea vero dicit in tono orationis *Dominus vobiscum* et orationem *Deus qui filium tuum* (*Proc. Eccl. Rothom.*, 1645, pp. 103–104).[1]

(5) During the distribution of the palms, the antiphons sung at Rouen, Hereford, and Salisbury are the same, and the same as those now in use in the Pian, or Common, rite.[2]

Rouen.

(6) The procession then set out for the church of St-Godard, where the Blessed Sacrament had been carried in the early morning, and where was to be the first station. On the road were sung three antiphons.

c. 1450. Hoc finito pergat processio ad locum destinatum, cantore incipiente

℟ *Cum audisset turba.*

℣ *Et cum appropinquasset.*

Sequitur ant. *Fratres hoc enim sentite.* Sequantur aliae antiphonae ad placitum cantoris quantum necesse fuerit. Ant. *Cum audisset populus.* Alia ant. *Prima autem.* Alia ant. *Cum appropinquaret Dominus* (Migne ibid. col. 118).

Hereford.

The procession then set out for the appointed place, where the Blessed Sacrament had been carried in the early morning, and where was to be the first station. On the road were sung two antiphons (the same as the first two used at Rouen).

Et his dictis eat processio ad locum constitutum in quo reliquiae et Corpus Domini, quod illuc mane sit deportatum, consistunt; cantando has antiphonas *Cum audisset* et caetera [. . . antiphonas sequentes: Ant. *Cum audisset.* Ant. *Cum appropinquasset.* Ordinale, Harl. MS 2983, fol. 28 a.] Si autem progressio ulterior fuerit, cantentur responsoria sequentia de historia. ℟ *Insurrexerunt.* ℣ *Et dederunt.*

[1] The Add. MS 10048 at the British Museum, a Rouen Missal of the twelfth century, shews that the Ordinarium of *c.* 1450 represents the ancient practice. It gives the prayers *Actiones nostras* (above § 3), *Deus qui dispersa congregas*, the *Aeterne Deus cuius filius* as a preface (shewing the Rouen, not the Hereford, readings), and *Deus qui per olivae* (ff. 35–36). The Rouen Missal of 1499 does not mention the censing of the palms: 'Sacerdos ramos aspergat et postea dicat *Deus qui per olivae*,' &c. *Benedic quaesumus, Asperges*, and *Deus qui filium tuum*, as in the Processional of 1645, are additions to the Rouen order from the Pian Missal.

[2] At Rouen *Pueri Hebraeorum tollentes* was the first antiphon, and *Pueri Hebraeorum vestimenta* the second (see Ordinarium of 1450, Missal of 1499, and Processional of 1645). At Hereford this order was reversed according to the Missal. The Hereford Ordinale of the fourteenth century, Harl. MS 2983, f. 28 a, omits *Pueri Hebraeorum vestimenta*, and has: 'Clero canente has antiphonas sequentes. Ant. *Pueri Hebraeorum tollentes. Cum angelis.*' The full text of this latter seems to be '*Cum angelis et pueris fideles inveniamur triumphatori mortis clamantes Osanna in excelsis.*' This antiphon *Cum angelis* occurs also in Lanfranc's order for the Palm Sunday procession, immediately before the *Ave rex noster*.

The Rouen Processional of 1645 (p. 105) adds after the distribution the prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui Dominum*, adapted from the Pian Missal.

1645. Postea omnibus ramos in manibus tenentibus fit processio ex ecclesia quidem cathedrali ad Sanctum Gildardum . . . cantando quae sequuntur. Resp. *Cum audisset turba.* ℣ *Et cum appropinquasset.* Ant. *Fratres hoc enim sentite.* Sequentes antiphonae omitti possunt ubi via processionis est brevior. Ant. *Cum audisset populus* ; alia ant. *Prima autem azymorum* (*Proc. Eccl. Rothom.*, 1645, pp. 105–109).

Rouen.

(7) On reaching St-Godard, a sermon was preached, and the Blessed Sacrament was brought from the choir to the south door of the church (so 1645), which was the place of the station. It was then censed and adored with genuflexions during the singing of versicles, which are the same in the three rites, Rouen, Hereford, and Salisbury, and with practically the same ceremonies.

c. 1450. Cum autem ventum fuerit ad locum ubi statio debet fieri, fiat sermo ad populum.

Quo finito quinque de secunda sede cantent in albis hos versus ante feretrum ubi Corpus Domini fuerit portatum privatim ante lucem illius diei. ℣ *En rex venit.* Quo finito dominus archiepiscopus vel sacerdos, cantor, diaconus et subdiaconus cum choro de statione sua, flectendo genua, respondeant *Salve quem Iesum* incensando.

Quinque clerici ℣ *Hic est qui de Edom venit.* Dominus archiepiscopus, cantor, diaconus et subdiaconus et

℟ *Noli esse.* ℣ *Confundantur.*

℟ *Dominus mecum est.* ℣ *Vidisti.*

℟ *Conclusit.* ℣ *Factus sum.*

Quae disponente cantore sic protrahantur quod durent usque ad locum stationis (*Missal*, repr. 1874, p. 80).

Hereford.

On reaching the place of the station, the Blessed Sacrament was censed and adored.[1]

The Gospel, *Turba multa*, was then read ; after which a sermon was preached.

Cum autem perventum fuerit ad stationem, tres canonici vel clerici ante reliquias stantes versis vultibus ad chorum cantent ant. *Cum rex venit.* Tres alii ex maioribus personis ex opposito respondeant *Salve quem Iesum* ; et sic secundo et tertio antiphonae sequentes subiungantur.

Quo facto accedant predictae personae maiores ad reliquias et ante illas stantes cantent ant. *Dignus es Domine.* Chorus idem repetat cum genuflexione. Interim incensent reliquias, et sic secundo et tertio idem faciant.

Deinde legatur evangelium secun-

[1] [The text mentions 'relics' only ; but from what precedes it appears that relics and the Blessed Sacrament go together ; and, as the pieces sung evidently relate to the latter, I presume the statement in my text will be allowed.]

chorus *Salve lux mundi*, incensando et flectendo genua.

Quinque praedicti clerici ℣ *Hic est ille qui ut agnus.* Interim sicut prius dominus archiepiscopus, cantor, et alii *Salve nostra salus.*

Quo finito dominus archiepiscopus, cantor, diaconus et subdiaconus vertant se ad feretrum et incensent Corpus Domini honorifice, cantore incipiente cum domino archiepiscopo et revestitis, incensando, et ter repetatur, et chorus ducat ad finem *Dignus es Domine*; alia ant. *Hosanna filio David* (Migne ibid. coll. 118–119).

dum Iohannem xii. *In illo tempore turba multa quae convenerat.*

Quo lecto fiat sermo ad populum (*Missal*, repr. 1874, p. 80).

1645. Cum pervenerit processio ecclesiae cathedralis ad atrium Sancti Gildardi, ordinata cleri populique multitudine, habetur sermo in tribuna lignea decenter et commode praeparata, vel, si per temporis inclementiam non liceat, in proxima ecclesia S. Laurentii. Quo finito SS^mum^ sacramentum effertur e loco ubi mane positum fuit in choro ecclesiae S. Gildardi ad portam meridionalem eiusdem ecclesiae; ibique clero et populo devote occurrentibus, quinque de secunda sede albis induti ante tabernaculum cantant versus sequentes. Vers. *En rex venit*, &c. [Then substantially as in the Ordinarium of *c.* 1450, except that the three Resp. *Salve*, &c., are begun by the archbishop, &c., and continued by the choir.] Postea D. archiepiscopus vel sacerdos genuflexus incensat Corpus Domini, incipiens cum cantore et ministris hanc antiphonam *Dignus es Domine Deus noster.* Chorus flectendo genua respondet *Dignus es Domine Deus noster.* D. archiepiscopus vel sacerdos cum cantore et ministris iterum dicunt *Dignus es*, idemque chorus respondet. Item D. archiepiscopus vel sacerdos cum cantore et ministris tertio repetunt *Dignus es.* Chorus vero genuflexus prosequitur antiphonam dicens *Accipere gloriam et honorem.* D. archiepiscopus vel sacerdos cum cantore et ministris incipiunt et chorus finit *Hosanna filio David*, &c. (*Proc. Eccl. Rothom.*, 1645, pp. 110–114).

Rouen.

(8) The adoration finished, the procession returned to the cathedral singing an antiphon and responsories. On reaching the city gate, the place of the second station, six boys from the summit of the tower of the gate sang the *Gloria laus*; after which the antiphon *In nomine Iesu* was sung with genuflexions.

Hereford.

The sermon finished, the procession returned to the cathedral, singing three responsories (two of them as at Rouen; Sarum here has one of four like Rouen). On reaching the city gate, the place of the second station, five or seven boys from the top of the gate sang the *Gloria laus.*

c. 1450. Hoc finito processio redeat, cantore incipiente antiphonam *Coeperunt omnes turbae.* Sequantur Resp. *Dominus Iesus.* ℣ *Convenerunt*; ℟ *Cum audisset turba.* ℣ *Et dum appropinquaret.*

Cum autem processio ad portam civitatis ordinatam (*al.* ornatam) venerit, sex pueri turrim ascendant et hos versus festive cantent *Gloria laus et honor.* Dominus archiepiscopus vel sacerdos, cantor cum revestitis, incensando incipiat *Gloria laus* flectendo genua, et chorus ducat ad finem. Item sex pueri ℣ *Israel es tu rex.* Chorus flexis genibus, dominus archiepiscopus, cantor et alii *Gloria laus.* [And so with the two next verses *Coetus in excelsis* and *Plebs Hebraea.*] Hoc finito dominus archiepiscopus vel sacerdos cum revestitis incipiat antiphonam, et omnes flectant genua, et chorus finiat *In nomine Iesu* (Migne ibid. col. 119).

Finito sermone redeat processio cantore incipiente ℟ *Dominus Iesus.* ℟ *Cogitaverunt.* ℟ *Cum audisset turba.*

Quae cum venerit ad portas civitatis, claudantur portae; in quarum summitate appareant septem vel quinque pueri cantantes *Gloria laus.* Chorus idem repetat. Pueri versum *Israel.* Chorus *Gloria laus*; et sic deinceps (*Missal*, repr. 1874, p. 80).

1645. His finitis cantor incipit sequentem antiphonam, et praeeunte clero Sanctissimum Sacramentum honorifice refertur ad Ecclesiam Cathedralem. Ant. *Coeperunt omnes turbae*, &c. Resp. *Dominus Iesus*, &c. Si necesse sit additur Resp. *Cum audisset turba.* Cum processio pervenerit ad locum ubi antiquitus erat porta civitatis, tabernaculum Sanctissimi Sacramenti deponitur super mensam decenter ornatam, ibique fit statio, tribus de secunda sede versum *Gloria laus* et alios sequentes sursum e loco consueto decantantibus, et D. archiepiscopo vel sacerdote cum cantore et ministris ante Sanctissimum Sacramentum genuflexo ad singulos versus eumdem ℣ *Gloria laus* repetente, quem chorus musicorum prosequitur. . . . His finitis . . . D. archiepiscopus vel sacerdos cum cantore et ministris . . . flectendo genua incipit sequentem antiphonam quam chorus flexis genibus prosequitur *In nomine enim Iesu*, &c. (*Proc. Eccl. Rothom.*, 1645, pp. 114–118).

The *Office de l'Église à l'usage du diocèse de Rouen pour la commodité des laïques* (1711), partie d'hyver, p. 533, is more particular in its details:— 'La procession étant en la ruë du Grand-Pont, au lieu où étoit autrefois la porte de la Ville, qui fut démolie en l'année 1539 . . . on fait une station, en laquelle le vers *Gloria laus* et les autres suivants (que l'on chantoit dessus ladite porte, avant qu'elle fût abbatuë) sont chantez maintenant dans une maison prochaine par trois de la seconde forme du chœur,' &c. The windows from which the *Gloria laus* was sung here before the Revolution could still be shewn a few years ago; the house is probably yet standing.

Rouen.

(9) The second station finished, the procession entered the city singing the responsory *Ingrediente Domino.* This was followed by another responsory.

Then at the entrance of the Aitre-Notre-Dame, in front of the cathedral,

the cantor began the antiphon *Collegerunt pontifices.* At the door of the cathedral four priests in cope sang the verse *Unus autem.* After which the procession entered the church in silence, passing underneath the Blessed Sacrament, which was held aloft transversely in the doorway (so in 1450; by 1645 this ceremony had been transferred to the entrance of the choir, and the rite was in some respects altered, see remarks on (9) and (10)).

c. 1450. Qua finita cantor incipiat ℟ *Ingrediente Domino.* ℣ *Cum audisset.* Et intret processio urbem. Sequitur ℟ *Cogitaverunt autem.* ℣ *Testimonium.* Ad introitum atrii cantor incipiat *Collegerunt pontifices.* Quatuor presbyteri de maiori sede cum rubeis et viridibus cappis induti ante ianuas ecclesiae cantent hunc versum *Unus autem ex ipsis*; chorus *Ne forte.* Hoc finito intret processio ecclesiam, et feretrum in quo Corpus Domini fuerit, ante portas ecclesiae a duobus presbyteris in transversum ablatum teneatur, et clerus et populus subintrent (Migne ibid. col. 119).

Hereford.

The second station finished, the procession entered the city singing the responsory *Ingrediente Domino.* This was followed by an antiphon, which was timed to last until the choir came to the door of the cloisters, and at that spot was begun the antiphon *Collegerunt pontifices.* At the door of the cathedral two canons, or clerks, in copes sang the antiphon *Unus autem.* After which the procession entered the church, passing underneath the Blessed Sacrament; but, instead of in silence as at Rouen, at Hereford the antiphon *Occurrunt turbae* was sung.

Postea apertis portis intret processio in civitate cantore incipiente ℟ *Ingrediente Domino.* Deinde sequatur ant. *Prima autem,* quae sic protrahatur quousque chorus venerit ad ostium claustri; et ibi incipiatur ant. *Collegerunt.* Cum vero perventum fuerit ad ostium ecclesiae duo canonici vel clerici capis induti versis vultibus ad populum [in ipso introitu, Harl. MS 2983, f. 28 a] cantent ant. *Unus autem*; chorus repetat *Ne forte.* Postea in ipso introitu feretrum reliquiarum[1] in transversum teneatur a duobus presbiteris, et subintret clerus et populus, cantore incipiente ant. *Occurrunt turbae.* Alia ant. *Turba multa* (*Missal,* repr. 1874, pp. 80–81).

[1] See above, p. 283 n. 1.

1645. Finita antiphona . . . tabernaculum Sanctissimi Sacramenti effertur e mensa, statimque omnibus surgentibus cantor intonat sequens Resp. quod chorus in itinere prosequitur . . . Resp. *Ingrediente Domino*, &c. Aliud resp. *Cogitaverunt autem.* Ad introitum atrii cantor incipit sequens resp., quod finitur ad portam ecclesiae clausam, tabernaculo Sanctissimi Sacramenti interim stante in medio cleri. Resp. *Collegerunt pontifices.* Quatuor de maiori sede nigris cappis induti intra ecclesiam versa facie ad ianuas clausas cantant ℣ *Unus autem.* Chorus respondet *Ne forte*, &c. Finito responsorio aperiuntur valvae ecclesiae in quam infertur tabernaculum Sanctissimi Sacramenti, clero subsequente sine cantu (*Proc. Eccl. Rothom.*, 1645, pp. 119–124).

(10) The fourth and last station was before the great Crucifix at the entrance of the choir, which was saluted with the *Ave rex noster*. The three rites of Rouen, Hereford, and Salisbury are here substantially at one.

Rouen.

c. 1450. Hoc finito statim discooperiatur crucifixus et dominus archiepiscopus vel sacerdos, cantor, diaconus et subdiaconus incipiant, flectendo genua, *Ave rex noster*, et chorus similiter *Ave rex noster.* Dominus archiepiscopus et alii dicant *Ave rex noster.* Et chorus *Aver ex noster*, et totam deinceps finiat antiphonam *Fili David* (Migne ibid. col. 119).

Hereford.

Deinde facta statione ante crucifixum discooperiatur crucifixus. Quo facto episcopus vel decanus et duo [vel duo, Ordinale, f. 28a] de senioribus canonicis presbiteris cantent *Ave rex noster.* Chorus idem repetat cum genuflexione. Interim incensent crucifixum: et sic secundo et tertio illud idem faciant. Deinde Chorus prosequatur *Fili David* et cetera (*Missal*, repr. 1874, p. 81).

1645. By this date the procession under the Blessed Sacrament at the west door of the cathedral had fallen into disuse; for it was substituted a ceremony somewhat akin. An elevated estrade with a passage way under it ('un reposoir haut élevé', says the *Office* of 1711) was erected in the nave; on it the Blessed Sacrament was placed, and in front of this estrade the station was held. As a natural and an almost inevitable consequence the salutation *Ave rex noster* was transferred from the Crucifix to the Blessed Sacrament. At the close of the procession, before entering the choir for the Mass, the clergy passed underneath the estrade. This was popularly called 'passer sous le joug'. Le Brun Desmarettes (*Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 340) gives the old practice, not that of his own day. The passage 'sous le joug' was continued until recent years; it was abolished by the late Cardinal de Bonnechose. The following is the rubric of the Processional: 'Et in medio navis collocatur (sc. SS^{mum} Sacramentum) super mensam altius elevatam. Interim vero discooperitur Crucifixus. Tunc disposito clero in modum stationis, D archiepiscopus vel sacerdos cum cantore et diacono accedit ante tabernaculum, et genuflexus incensat Sanctissimum Sacramentum, incipiens antiphonam *Ave rex noster.* Chorus flexis genibus respondet *Ave rex noster.* D. archiepiscopus vel sacerdos cum cantore et diacono flexis genibus iterum

dicit *Ave rex noster.* Quod chorus flexis genibus denuo repetit. D. archiepiscopus vel sacerdos, cum praedictis, flectendo genua idem tertio dicit. Chorus vero flexis genibus prosequitur antiphonam dicens *Fili David*, &c. (*Proc. Eccl. Rothom.*, 1645, pp. 124–125).

Rouen.

(11) After the salutation of the Crucifix four deacons in black copes, standing behind the Crucifix in the rood loft, facing each other two and two, sang the responsory *Circumdederunt me viri mendaces*, with its verse and repetition. After which the cantor began the antiphon *Principes sacerdotum*, and at the singing of this with, if necessary, *Multa turba*, the procession passed into the choir. The archbishop gave his blessing, and the Mass began. (For the change in 1645 see remarks on (10) above.)

Hereford.

After the salutation of the Crucifix two priests in black copes, standing underneath the Crucifix in the rood loft[1] with their hoods up, with looks bent on the ground, sang the resp. *Circumdederunt*, with its verse and repetition. After which, during the singing of the antiphons *Principes sacerdotum* and *Multa turba*, the procession passed into the choir, and the Mass began.

c. 1450. Qua finita quatuor diaconi de secunda sede nigris cappis induti in pulpito retro crucifixum versis vultibus ad se ipsos cantent hoc resp. *Circumdederunt* cum versu et regressu. Quo finito ad introitum chori cantor incipiat ant. *Principes sacerdotum*, et cantando intret processio chorum. Sequitur alia ant. si necesse fuerit, *Multa turba Iudaeorum.* Qua finita dominus archiepiscopus, si praesens fuerit, benedicat populum ; et incipiatur missa (Migne ibid. col. 119).

1645. Finita Antiphona . . . quatuor diaconi nigris cappis induti in pulpito cantant resp. *Circumdederunt* cum versu et regressu. . . . Postremo ad introitum chori dicitur sequens

Postea duo sacerdotes in capis nigris velatis capitibus et demissis vultibus in terram, subtus crucifixum humili voce cantent ℟. *Circumdederunt* cum versu et repetitione, nullo eis respondente. Ad introitum chori Ant. *Princeps* (*sic*) *sacerdotum.* Ant. *Multa turba.* ℣. *Dederunt in escam.* Oratio *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus.* [So the printed Missal (p. 81). The fourteenth-century Ordinale omits this prayer altogether, and after the ℣. *Dederunt* passes on at once to the Mass. The prayer was probably borrowed in the fifteenth century from Sarum.]

[1] In view of the Rouen rubrics it would seem that the words 'subtus crucifixum' at Hereford are to be strictly interpreted and bear the meaning placed on them above. If 'underneath the rood loft' were meant, the natural expression would be 'in introitu chori'.

antiphona ; et interim . . . omnis clerus ordine processionis flectendo genua reverenter transit sub tabernaculo. Ant. *Principes sacerdotum*, &c. (*Proc. Eccl. Rothom.*, 1645, p. 126).

In spite of occasional divergences, it has been possible to follow the order of Rouen and Hereford in the procession of Palm Sunday together. At Salisbury the difference of observance begins with the first step.[1]

SALISBURY.

(1) There was no station outside the city walls, nor was the Blessed Sacrament carried anywhere within the city in the early morning. It was not indeed taken from the cathedral until after the procession had left the church.

(2) The palms were blessed at the high altar, not as is expressly provided for at Rouen and Hereford at some other altar. There was consequently no room for a procession before the blessing of palms, and accordingly there is no singing here of the antiphons *Ante sex dies*.[2]

(3) The Office began straightway with the Lesson, immediately after which (there being no intercalated responsory for quasi-gradual as at Hereford and Rouen) followed the Gospel *Turba multa* (not *Cum appropinquasset* as at Rouen and Hereford).

Post aspersionem aquae benedictae legatur haec lectio, ad gradum altaris ex parte australi. . . . cum suo titulo *Lectio libri Exodi. In diebus illis Venerunt filii Israel.* Statimque sequatur evangelium ; et legatur ubi leguntur evangelia ferialibus diebus. . . . *In illo tempore, Turba multa* (*Missal*, Burntisland reprint, 1861–1883, coll. 253–254).

(4) The actual blessing of the palms was accompanied by an exorcism and four prayers.

Finito evangelio sequatur benedictio florum et frondium a sacerdote . . . super gradum tertium altaris. . . . *Exorcizo te, creatura florum*, &c. . . . Oratio *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus ; qui in diluvii*, &c. *Deus, cuius filius pro salute*, &c. (this prayer occurs in Rouen and Hereford books). *Deus, qui dispersa con-*

[1] The numbering of the sections as previously given is kept for convenience of reference.

[2] [Dr. Legg's MS C (the Crawford MS now in the Rylands Library at Manchester adopted by him for his text) simply says: 'Deinde fiat benedictio florum et frondium' (p. 92); 'Post hec aspergantur flores et frondes' (p. 93); 'Hiis ita peractis statim distribuantur palme' (p. 94). There is no specification of *place*.]

gregas, &c. (this prayer occurs in Rouen books). *Domine Iesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi, mundi conditor*, &c. (Ibid. coll. 255–257).

(5) It has been already stated that the distribution of the palms was accompanied by the same antiphons as at Rouen and Hereford.

(6) The procession passed through the west door of the cathedral round by the southern alley of the cloisters to the north-east angle of the church where the first station was held. On the road were sung two antiphons; if necessary others were sung, two of which were those beginning *Ante sex dies* (see Rouen and Hereford (2), *ante*). At the station, the Gospel *Cum appropinquasset* was read by the deacon (this was the Gospel before the blessing of the palms in Rouen and Hereford).

Meantime the Blessed Sacrament was being brought from the church by two clerks of the second form with cross, lantern, and two banners; they took the short way, passing along the north side of the church, appearing in sight of the multitude just as the words *Benedictus qui venit*, &c., at the close of the Gospel were being said by the deacon.[1]

Deinde per medium chori et ecclesiae exeat processio per ostium ecclesiae occidentale . . . et sic circa claustrum et ita per portam canonicorum usque ad locum primae stationis, quae fit ex parte ecclesiae boreali in extrema parte orientalis cimiterii laicorum (*or* 'videlicet ante crucem in septentrionali cimiterio', *Processionale*, ed. Henderson, pp. 47–48). In eundo antiphona *Prima autem azimorum*. Antiphona *Cum appropinquaret*. Si autem non sufficiunt hae duae antiphonae praedictae usque ad locum primae stationis, tunc sequantur hae antiphonae, scilicet ant. *Cum audisset*, ant. *Ante sex dies sollennitatis*, ant. *Ante sex dies passionis*. Hic fiat prima statio, videlicet ex parte ecclesiae boreali in extrema parte orientali; et legatur hoc Evangelium *Cum appropinquasset Iesus* . . . ab ipso diacono . . . ad borealem converso (*Missal* coll. 258–261; *Process.* pp. 48–49).

Dum distribuuntur rami praeparetur feretrum cum reliquiis in quo Corpus Christi in pixide dependeat et ad locum primae stationis a duobus clericis de secunda forma (deferatur); non procedatur sequendo, sed ad locum primae stationis obviam veniendo . . .; lumen deferatur in laterna praecedente cum cruce denudata et duobus vexillis praecedentibus (*Missal* col. 258). Et in fine Evangelii ad haec verba *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini* primo se ostendant (*Process.* p. 49).

[1] [As the *Corps-Saint* procession did not (see above pp. 278–279) at the close of the thirteenth century as yet form part of the Sarum rite, MS C simply says: 'Deinde eat processio ad locum prime stacionis cantore incipiente ant. *Prima autem*', &c. (p. 94).]

(7) It has been already pointed out that the particular ceremonies of the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament at the first station were substantially the same at Salisbury as at Rouen and Hereford.[1]

(8) The adoration finished, the procession retraced their steps to the south side of the cathedral singing various antiphons and responsories; a second station was made near the entrance of the cloister, the *Gloria laus* being sung by seven boys *in loco eminentiori*.[2]

Deinde eat processio ad locum secundae stationis; et feretrum cum capsula reliquiarum pariter cum luce in laterna inter subdiaconum et thuribularium deferatur, cum vexillis ex utraque parte, cantore incipiente antiphonam *Dignus es Domine*. Ant. *Occurrunt turbae*. Si autem non sufficiant hae duae antiphonae ad locum secundae stationis, tunc cantentur haec duo responsoria vel unum eorum. ℟ *Dominus Iesus*. ℣ *Convenerunt*. ℟ *Cogitaverunt*. ℣ *Testimonium*. Hic fiat secunda statio, videlicet ex parte ecclesiae australi, ubi septem pueri in loco eminentiori simul cantent ℣ *Gloria laus*, &c. (*Missal* coll. 261–262).

The Processional, Harl. MS 2945 (f. 36 b), is more precise: 'Tunc procedant et intret processio per portam cimitorii canonicorum, praecedente feretro cum omnibus ministris praedictis usque locum secundae stationis quae fit in extrema parte occidentali eiusdem cimitorii ante ostium claustri ubi pueri cantent *Gloria laus*; cantore incipiente istam antiphonam *Dignus es Domine*, &c. Alia ant. *Occurrunt turbae*. Si vero non sufficiant', &c.

(9) After the second station the procession, singing the antiphon *Collegerunt pontifices*, passed again into the cloister, this time keeping the straight route along the north alley, and so out before the west door of the church. Here was held the third station. The ℣ *Unus autem* was sung by three clerks, and the procession entered the cathedral, passing underneath the Blessed Sacrament held aloft in the doorway[3] (as explained above). Meantime the Resp. *Ingrediente Domino* was sung.

Peracta hac statione eat processio per medium claustri a dextera manu usque ad ostium ecclesiae occidentale, cantando ℟ *Collegerunt pontifices*. Hic fiat tertia statio, scilicet ante praedictum ostium, ubi tres clerici de

[1] The introduction of the Prophet at Salisbury (*Processionale* pp. 50–51), here omitted, is interesting for liturgical drama, but is no part of the rite.

[2] [I think it worth while expressly to note that MS C uses the same words: 'in eminenciori loco'; MS A: 'in eminenti loco' (ibid. note 2).]

[3] [Dr Legg's MS B (MS 2565 of the University Library at Bologna) has this rubric: 'Tunc intrent in ecclesiam sub capsula reliquiarum ex transverso ostii elevata, cantando', &c. (p. 96 note 9). From this we may gather that previous to the adoption of the *Corps-Saint* ceremony at Salisbury relics were carried instead of the Blessed Sacrament.]

superiori gradu in ipso ostio . . . conversi ad populum cantent ℣ *Unus autem*. Repetitio *Ne forte*. His finitis intrent Ecclesiam per idem ostium sub feretro et capsula reliquiarum ex transverso ostii elevata, cantando ℟ *Ingrediente Domino* (*Missal* col. 262).

The Processional, Harl. MS 2945 (f. 38 b), has: 'per medium claustri vel cimitorii a dextra manu usque ad ostium ecclesiae occidentale non circueundo.'

(10) The fourth station was before the great Crucifix, with *Ave rex noster*, and ceremonies like those of Rouen and Hereford.

(11) After the salutation of the Crucifix the procession straightway entered the choir singing the responsory *Circumdederunt* with its verses. The prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui humano generi* was said, and the Mass began.

Qua finita (the full Antiphon *Ave rex noster*, &c.) intrent chorum. . . . In introitu chori ℟ *Circumdederunt*, &c. ℣ *Eripe me*. *Oremus*. Oratio *Omnipotens*, &c. (*Processionale* p. 54).

On a review of the foregoing there can be no doubt that, so far as the Palm Sunday procession is concerned, the rite of Hereford, whether in regard to its general arrangement or its particular details, comes incomparably nearer to that of Rouen than does Sarum. Indeed, it may be called a close copy. There are one or two points of resemblance which are the more significant from their minuteness, so that they may easily escape observation. For example, at Rouen it was expressly prescribed that the antiphon *Collegerunt pontifices* was to be begun by the cantor at the entrance of the Aitre-Notre-Dame. At Hereford there was no atrium to enter; but for all the change of circumstance there is the precise direction that the *Collegerunt pontifices* is to begin when the choir reaches *the door* of the cloister, with this special direction—that the antiphon immediately preceding is to be so lengthened, and that the choir shall reach the cloister with its finish.

[What precedes represents the case as, on the basis of the documents then available, it stood twenty years ago. To-day, 1916, as regards Salisbury, we are able with the text of the Missal of about 1300 in print to see into the earlier history of the rite. We can now, so it appears to me, say: (1) that the Sarum rite as originally settled in the thirteenth century knew nothing of the *Corps-Saint* in the Palm Sunday procession; (2) but that already by the close of the thirteenth century some Sarumites (whether of Salisbury or not *non liquet*) had adopted this element; (3) that from whatever quarter the Salisbury people borrowed their *Corps-Saint* ceremonies (unless indeed they made up a 'rite' of their own) it was not from Hereford or Rouen; (4) that, as regards the sum and substance of their rite for the Palm

Sunday procession, that is as regards the stuff that matters, namely what was said or sung, prayers, lessons, antiphons, &c., they kept their old and traditional texts intact; and these, as we have seen, were quite distinct from those of Rouen and Hereford. It may or may not be possible from examination of existing documents to fix some day the date at which the church of Salisbury adopted the *Corps-Saint* in the Palm Sunday procession. This is, I think, a matter of mere curiosity. What is of more importance is to notice its introduction as a symptom of the increasing prominence given, even by the insular English Church, to the public worship of the Blessed Sacrament which has obtained such extension in post-Tridentine times. But this particular form of devotion, it is necessary to insist, has a long history behind it, going back indeed to the eleventh century. It was a sort of natural process, essentially a popular movement, cropping up or bursting forth in the last two or three centuries of the Middle Ages in the most unexpected places and in the most unexpected forms among the common Christian people; and in those centuries the inferior clergy, the secular priests, or the bulk of them, could still be ranked, in spite of their official character and functions, as really part and parcel of that people. The method of imposing pieties and devotions on the people from above by superior order *urbi et orbi* is a much later developement; and from what I sometimes read it may not be amiss, I think, even in the interest of historical enquiry, to recall the fact and emphasize the entirely different processes of those earlier ages in which are to be sought the origins of so many of our so-called modern popular devotions.]

But Sarum did not stand alone in adopting change; and before passing on it is in place to say a word as to York also. So far as it is possible to judge from the printed missals and the manuscripts used by Dr Henderson for the reprint, which seem to contain the best evidence on the question, the *Corps-Saint* at the Palm Sunday procession looks like a mere addition, a loan from the use of other churches, awkwardly and ungraciously foisted into the original rite. Nor was the practice to be found at St Mary's Abbey at the close of the fourteenth century, as appears from the MS Ordinale of that house.[1] But

[1] By the kind permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge, a copy has been taken of the original manuscript in their possession. The book is the most curious and important of the English monastic ceremonials which have survived; it was drawn up as a record of existing observance and for practical use by a commission appointed under the authority and by command of the archbishop in the year 1390. It has a further value as a witness to the monastic routine at a time when the great Benedictine houses were in their most relaxed state.

this is not peremptory evidence for the cathedral, since experience shews that, given a great monastic church in a cathedral town, the two, cathedral and abbey, seemed to like to find as many small opportunities as possible of differing in ritual observance.

In dealing with the second part of the subject, the question whether the rest of the offices of Holy Week shew other points of agreement between Rouen and Hereford, with a different custom at Salisbury, it will not be necessary to quote the same detail of rubric. Taking each day, such agreement and divergence are found in the following cases:—

On Holy Thursday.

(1) The lesson of Holy Scripture at the *Mandatum* (viz. chapters xiii and xiv of St John's Gospel) is at Salisbury[1] divided into two portions, one (ch. xiii 1–15) read before the washing of the feet, the other (the rest of ch. xiii and ch. xiv) after. [The thirteenth-century MSS direct that the whole lesson be read before the washing of the feet (p. 107).]

At Rouen[2] and Hereford[3] the whole lesson is read after.

(2) At Salisbury the washing of the feet is performed by the two priests who had washed the altars.[4] At Hereford by the bishop and dean;[5] at Rouen by the archbishop, and (in 1450) some dignitaries of the chapter.[6]

(3) As regards the Psalms and antiphons sung during the *Mandatum*,[7] though the differences are considerable, still those of Rouen and Hereford much more nearly resemble each other than does Sarum correspond to either.

(4) Salisbury has preces and a prayer before the second lesson from St John.[8] [In the thirteenth-century MSS there is of course no second lesson, only preces and the prayer (p. 108). See at (1) above.] These do not exist at Rouen[9] and Hereford.[10]

[1] *Missal*, Burntisland reprint, col. 311, 313.
[2] *Ordinarium* of *c.* 1450, Migne *P. L.* 147 col. 129; *Processional* of 1645, p. 140.
[3] *Ordinale*, Harl. MS 2983, *s.* xiv, printed in the *Missal*, ed. Henderson, p. 460.
[4] *Missal* col. 311. [5] *Missal* p. 460.
[6] *Ordinarium* of *c.* 1450, col. 127–128; *Processional*, 1645, p. 131.
[7] *Salisbury Missal* col. 311; *Hereford Missal* p. 460; *Rouen Ordinarium* of *c.* 1450, col. 129. The *Processional* of 1645 is so far altered that it does not enter into terms of comparison.
[8] *Missal* col. 312.
[9] According to the *Ordinarium* of *c.* 1450, col. 129. The *Processional* of 1645, however, shews preces and a prayer *pro consuetudine locorum* (p. 139).
[10] *Missal* p. 460.

Good Friday.

(5) At Rouen[1] and Hereford[2] the cross to be venerated is uncovered *cum baculo*, i. e. by the bishop or officiant; at Salisbury[3] it is uncovered by the priests who hold it.

(6) At Rouen[4] and Hereford[5] the cross is placed in the Sepulchre between the rite of its veneration and the procession to bring the Blessed Sacrament to the altar for the Mass of the Presanctified. At Salisbury the ceremony takes place after the Vespers.[6]

(7) At Rouen[7] and Hereford (*the genuine rite*) the cross only was placed in the Sepulchre; at Salisbury[8] the Blessed Sacrament was placed there also.

A few words are necessary to explain the parenthesis, '*the genuine rite*' of Hereford. The fourteenth-century Ordinale directs as follows: 'Afterwards let the holy cross be carried by the priests to the door of the Sepulchre, and let it be there washed with wine and water and wiped with a towel, the choir meantime singing in an undertone the resp. *Tenebre facte sunt*, &c., &c. Whilst it is being placed in the Sepulchre let them sing the antiphons *In pace in idipsum*, *Caro mea*. Let the bishop cense the Sepulchre and the cross, and, a candle being lighted within, let him close the Sepulchre. The choir humbly continues *Sepulto Domino*.'[9] The printed Missal preserves this rubric; but for the words 'let the bishop cense the Sepulchre and the Cross', substitutes the following: 'Meantime let the bishop honourably depose the Body of our Lord in the Sepulchre with the cross, and cense the Body of our Lord and the cross.'[10] It would appear therefore that the practice of placing the Blessed Sacrament in the Sepulchre

[1] *Ordinarium*, *c.* 1450: 'Dominus archiepiscopus vel sacerdos crucem cum baculo discooperiat genibus flexis' (col. 130). The Rouen Missal of 1499 has: 'Tunc sacerdos crucem totaliter discooperiat genibus flexis.'

[2] *Missal* p. 94.

[3] *Missal* col. 329.

[4] *Ordinarium*, *c.* 1450, col. 130.

[5] *Missal* p. 96.

[6] *Missal* col. 332.

[7] *Ordinarium*, *c.* 1450, col. 130.

[8] *Missal* col. 332–333. [The following is the rubric in Dr Legg's MS C: 'Deinde exuat sacerdos casulam et assumens secum unum de prelatis reponat crucem in sepulchro cum corpore dominico', &c. (p. 115).]

[9] 'Postea sancta crux ante hostium sepulchri deportetur et lavetur cum vino et aqua et lintheo tergatur, choro interim submissa voce cantante vel potius lamentante hoc responsorium *Tenebre facte sunt*. . . . Dum ponitur in sepulchro cantent ant. *In pace in idipsum*. Ant. *Caro mea*. Episcopus turificet sepulchrum et crucem, et accenso intus cereo claudat sepulchrum. Chorus humiliter prosequitur resp. *Sepulto Domino*' (Harl. MS 2983, f. 30 a).

[10] *Missal* pp. 95–96.

was not a part of the genuine Hereford rite, but was borrowed from Sarum in the course of the fifteenth century.[1]

(8) At Rouen[2] and, as has been seen, at Hereford the cross was washed before being placed in the Sepulchre. Not so at Salisbury; [and no such washing is mentioned in the thirteenth-century MS].

Holy Saturday.

(9) The prayer for the benediction of the incense at Rouen[3] and Hereford[4] is the same: *Veniat omnipotens Deus.* At Salisbury there are three prayers, of which this is not one.[5]

(10) In the second Litany at Rouen[6] and Hereford[7] the procession started from the choir to the font at the invocation *Sancte Iohannes Baptista*; at Salisbury,[8] punctually at *Sancta Maria.*

(11) The same invocation in the third litany was the signal at Rouen[9] and Hereford[10] for the return from the font to the choir. At Salisbury[11] this litany was replaced by a doggerel which hardly deserves the name of litany or hymn—*Rex sanctorum angelorum.*

Here it may be allowed to break off for an incidental note; the survival is too interesting to be passed over. At the end of the third litany of Holy Saturday, which of course was finished in the choir,

[1] This clears up the awkwardness of the printed Hereford rubrics in which, as they originally stood, 'Corpus Domini' referred only to the Host of the Mass of the Presanctified. The Holy Thursday rubric, 'Ponantur a diacono *tres* hostiae ad consecrandum, quarum *duae* reserventur in crastinum, una ad percipiendum a sacerdote, *reliqua ut ponatur cum cruce in sepulchro*' (*Hereford Missal* p. 87) is a mere copy of the Sarum rubric (*Missal* col. 303 ll. 3–7). The Hereford Ordinale (Harl. MS 2983) reads: 'Ponantur *due* hostie quarum *una* consecrata reservetur in crastinum' (fol. 29a); and below, 'Episcopus interim hostia*m* in crastinum reservanda*m* cum luminaribus', &c. (f. 29a); instead of '*tres* hostiae . . . quarum *duae* reserventur', 'hostia*s* in crastinum', as in the printed Missal, pp. 87, 89.

[2] *Ordinarium* of *c.* 1450, col. 130.

[3] *Parochiale sive Sacerdotale Ecclesiae Rothomagensis*, 1651 (published by archbishop François II de Harlay), pars ii p. 399. There are one or two slight variants (insertion of *quaesumus*; *accende* for *intende*, &c.), but these are later changes; the Rouen Missal of 1499 runs according to the Hereford text.

[4] *Missal* p. 97.

[5] *Missal* col. 336–337.

[6] *Processional* of 1645, p. 144.

[7] *Missal* p. 461.

[8] *Missal* col. 350; *Processional*, ed. Henderson, p. 84. [There is no direction on this point in MS C; but MS A has the rubric thus: 'cum qua (i.e. the second litany) eat processio ad fontes benedicendos, scilicet ad pronuntiationem *Sancta Maria o(ra)*' (Dr Legg, p. 122 n. 1).]

[9] *Processional* of 1645, p. 149.

[10] 'Tres clerici tercie forme in capis incipiant terciam letaniam *Sancte sanctorum deus*, et sic in choro redeant cum perventum fuerit ad versum *Sancte Iohannes Baptista*' (Harl. MS 2983, fol. 31a).

[11] *Missal* col. 347–349.

the cantors, according to the Hereford rubric, said in a loud voice (on a high note) *Accendite*, 'Light up'. Then all the candles are lighted throughout the church, and the ruler of the choir sings the *Kyrie eleison*,[1] which is at once the concluding *Kyrie* of the litany and the *Kyrie* of the Mass. The origin of this evidently lies in one of those traits of directness and simplicity which characterized the old Roman rite before it was elaborated, polished up, and made fine with Gallicanisms. According to the earliest extant Roman Ordos the Pontiff, being fully vested in the sacristy ready to go to the altar, gave a nod to a sub-deacon, a member of the schola, who thereupon went to the sacristy door and called out to the seven acolytes, who, carrying seven candles, were to precede the Pope to the altar: *Accendite*, 'Now, light up'. The practice long survived, at least on Holy Saturday, in many churches of France, of which Rouen was one.[2] There is no such *Accendite* in the Sarum books.

The foregoing examples of resemblances in the rites of Holy Week between Rouen and Hereford, and dissidence as between Rouen and Sarum may suffice to confirm the view that an intimate connexion exists between the two former, not the two latter. One further detail, however, must be noticed which will lead up to the final section of this paper, viz. the question how and when Rouen customs came to Hereford. In the *Exultet*, or blessing of the paschal candle, of the Hereford Missal there occurs this passage after the mention of the Pope and the bishop of the diocese:—'Necnon et pro Anglorum rege N. et principe nostro N.' This passage of the *Exultet* in liturgical books has been a very common pitfall. People have been determined, or have found it convenient, to see more in the varying formulae occurring at this point than there is any warrant for, although the practical lesson taught by the present Roman Missal, in which we may read, but do not say, a commemoration of the 'Emperor' might be thought a sufficient warning. In the Irish Missal of the twelfth century, edited by the Rev. F. E. Warren, there occurs the expression: 'Pro gloriosissimo rege nostro N. eiusque nobilissima prole.' The editor regarded this as a formula which must have 'a special historical significance', and considered any other view as an 'unreasonable and improbable hypothesis'. He accordingly spends some time and trouble over hard Irish names to identify the superlative personages whom the scribe had in mind. The same formula, though unknown in England

[1] *Missal* p. 112.

[2] The rubric of the Missal of 1499 is already carelessly expressed: 'Statim accensis cereis incipiatur celebratio misse; et incipiant cantores solenniter *Accendite*. Sequitur *Kyrie el.* iii.' In the Processional of 1645 there is nothing but an ordinary rubric: 'Accenduntur luminaria in altari et cantores incipiunt solemniter *Kyrie*' (p. 150).

and in Rome, is scattered about in odd quarters over Europe; thus an *Exultet*, copied by chance by a fourteenth-century hand in the martyrology of the Celestines of Sens, has precisely the same form.[1] In fact, it is very difficult and very unsafe to attempt strict historical deductions from liturgical formulae, new or old. The formula of the Hereford Missal would, in view of the nearness of the Welsh border, make it an easy matter to theorize on its possible historical significance. But in consideration of what has gone before, it will be more to the point to call attention to the fact that the Hereford form is found also in the missals of Rouen, of course with the necessary variant 'King of the French' for 'King of the English', and must have been used almost in living memory some six centuries after it had lost its meaning. The twelfth-century sacramentary of Rouen (Addit. MS 10028) unfortunately does not contain the *Exultet*. The abbé A. Tougard has been kind enough to examine for me the earliest missals of the diocese of Rouen at the Public Library of that city. The manuscript numbered 'Y 50', of the thirteenth century, reads: 'cum antistite nostro N. necnon Francorum rege N. et principe nostro N.,' which is also the form of the Missal of 1499, and it is maintained in the 'reformed' Missal of 1728 issued by archbishop de Lavergne de Tressan, and abolished less than forty years ago.[2] At the risk of offending against sound principles in the matter of historical deductions from liturgical formulae, I will venture to suggest that the words in question, occurring in unbroken tradition in the Rouen *Exultet*, date from a time when there were Dukes of Normandy who owned the King of France as their suzerain; and it may perhaps be considered safe, in view of all that has been said hitherto, to conclude further that the Hereford form was simply borrowed from Rouen at some time during that period.

We may now address ourselves to the question, When and how were the Rouen observances copied in Hereford? Who brought them thither?

There is one certain point of departure: their introduction must have taken place before the loss of Normandy in the reign of King John; and this, which hardly advances the solution much, is all that can be asserted with anything like confidence. After a careful consideration of the history of the see of Hereford in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the following seems to offer the most likely clue.

[1] Addit. MS 17942, fols. 65 b and 66 a. The *nobilissima proles* occurs also in Augsburg books, manuscript and print.

[2] Abbé Tougard communicates the readings of two other manuscripts of the Rouen library: H 459, *s.* xiii, a missal of the abbey of St Ouen, reads, 'antistite nostro et abbate nostro et principe nostro'; MS H 33, *s.* xiv, has 'necnon et gloriosissimo rege nostro', but the calendar is not a Rouen one. The book is said to come from Eu, on the borders of Picardy.

First, it is necessary to put aside one apparently promising indication. Just outside the walls of the city of Hereford there existed up to the time of the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century a church of St Owen, approached by a road from St Owen's gate; the church was founded towards the close of the eleventh century. Here is a direct reminiscence of Rouen. Circumstances which it would be tedious here to detail make it difficult to bring this church into connexion with the present enquiry.

There is another indication, however, which promises better. From the Life of Robert Betun, bishop of Hereford 1131–1148, it is evident that he was a man of what is called an essentially 'ecclesiastical' spirit; and that, like prelates of this type in all ages of the Church, he devoted time, care, and thought to all that concerned the celebration of the divine service.[1] In the civil troubles early in the reign of King Stephen, Hereford suffered severely; the cathedral was sacked, divine service was suspended, and the bishop himself had to retire and seek refuge elsewhere for two or three years. When Stephen recovered possession of the city in 1141, bishop Betun returned, recalled the dispersed clergy, restored and reformed his cathedral church, which had been turned into a fortress or made part of the castle, and renewed the celebration of the divine offices.[2] Of course, all this is no evidence that he in any way changed the ritual observances; but it must be allowed that here was an occasion offered when, if there were a desire to do so, such changes could be made with less than the usual difficulty.

On the other hand, there is proof that the tractate of John of Avranches, which is in fact a Rouen ceremonial of the eleventh century, was known in the twelfth in the monastery of Llanthony, from the priorship of which Betun was called to rule over the diocese of Hereford. The Royal MS 8 D viii, at the British Museum, is a miscellaneous collection which has been entitled *Excerptiones variae ex patribus*. From a calendar at folios 11–13, it is certain that this was written at Old Llanthony; the calendar does not give the feast of St Thomas of Canterbury, and the manuscript may from the handwriting be fairly assigned to the middle of the twelfth century. Folios 132–133 contain an extract '*Ex consuetudinario Rotomagensi*'; this is nothing else but a fragment of John of Avranches. It appears therefore that a copy of what is practically the most ancient Rouen

[1] See, for instance, in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* vol. ii, the passages: 'Porro quam sedulus, quam devotus fuerat in divinis officiis', &c. (p. 309); 'in Coena Domini quotannis', &c. (p. 310).

[2] 'Episcopus igitur cum, pace restituta, in sua redisset, ecclesiam suam reformavit, hostica de foris munimenta diruit et complanavit, spurcitias de intus eliminavit, clerum dispersum revocavit, divinum officium innovavit' (ibid. p. 314).

Ordinarium now extant was known in the first half of the twelfth century under the title of 'The Rouen Consuetudinary' in the house of Llanthony, and that it can be thus brought into at least close connexion with bishop Betun. It would be satisfactory, if it were possible, to push the case further home. But after all, the question who introduced Rouen books into Hereford is a point more curious than important; whilst the main fact, that they were so introduced, seems assured.

No examination is here made of the actual text of the three Missals —Rouen, Sarum, Hereford. Of course in the Middle Ages the liturgy of each particular church was not stereotyped; each use was from time to time borrowing from its neighbours, adding, retrenching, changing. Moreover, the extant material on which a proper comparison can be instituted is most inadequate. Still, taking even the Rouen, Hereford, and Sarum Missals as they stand at the close of the fifteenth century, it is impossible to go far in the work of confronting the texts without observing that, where differences occur among the three, the balance of agreement is between Rouen and Hereford rather than between either and Sarum. What has been hitherto adduced is perhaps sufficient to shew that such a thorough and systematic comparison is desirable. When the precise relation of any one of the chief Norman rites to our English uses has been fixed, a considerable step will have been taken towards clearing up the obscurity in which the whole subject of the origins of these latter is involved.[1]

In saying that the Palm Sunday procession at Hereford has been copied from the observances of Rouen, it is not intended to imply that the practice of carrying the Blessed Sacrament on that day is of Norman and not of English origin. Although the observance is in fact prescribed in Lanfranc's statutes for Canterbury Cathedral (which in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were known as 'the Bec Customs'), and is not mentioned by John of Avranches, the question is not at all an easy one to settle, and the difficulties are considerable either way. It seems to me that we can deal with the question only by way of (possibly quite deceptive) verisimilitudes.

[1] [The Bayeux Ordinarium has since been printed, and shews that it is not from Bayeux any more than from Rouen that Sarum derives. Is not 'Sarum', the Missal, simply, and no more than, a good sort of thirteenth-century compilation, and had not St Edmund of Canterbury (of Abingdon, that is) a hand in it? Whenever I read the book this comes to me as patent enough on the surface; and it is long indeed that it has been a wonder to me that our experts can imagine it to be an eleventh-century book and a production of St Osmund's episcopate.]

XIII

OF SIX CANDLES ON THE ALTAR: AN ENQUIRY[1]

A FEW months ago Father Gavin, S.J., of Farm Street, kindly sent me a little book which he had published on the mass: 'an explanation of its doctrines, rubrics and prayers'. He told me that he thought it was 'hardly worthy of (my) perusal', because it was so 'elementary'. To say the truth, I thought this to be somewhat of a slur on my character. I have perused it, and I hope to some purpose: herein let the copy itself, underlined and marginated, and that amply, from beginning to end, bear witness; and perused it too with profit doubtless no less than interest. I came to it beforehand as a reader with a kindly liking for these expositions of the mass, the mass prayers that is, from the early efforts of the ninth century downwards to this day. It is such an exposition that attracts one, I think, most in Le Brun; more than his curious observations on the usages of French churches, and his elaborate, or laboured, demonstration of the unity of the liturgical tradition and exposition of the breach of such unity in the sad sixteenth century. I was so far interested in F. Gavin's book that I determined to write a paper on it. Then doubts arose with inevitable consequences; for alas! I must put myself in the category which good and wise bishop Westcott found represented among his own boys; of those with whom 'second thoughts'—by which I understand thoughts duly informed, as distinguished from those involved in first or theoretical impressions—'are best'.[2]

Still, I am not going to part with Fr Gavin's book on any such ambiguous terms. It is, he tells us, written 'to increase the love for Holy Mass', and is meant for all classes, 'Catholics and non-Catholics' alike; but why 'especially for converts'? As now an old stager, I think a good case could be made out for the converse intent. But this consideration may make all of us only the more readily accept and receive the little book that is offered. As it consists of a col-

[1] From the *Downside Review*, July 1906.
[2] The curious can read the delightful letter itself in Vol. i of the bishop's *Life*.

lection of twenty-eight Wednesday evening Instructions in Farm Street Church, and is expressly dedicated to the 'members of the Sodality of the Immaculate Conception' there, I rather suspect that Fr Gavin has a secret leaning to my view that his book is most needed to do common and general duty and not to serve 'especially' for a restricted class. That the discourses have been appreciated the title-page itself tells us. They were delivered in 1901; first printed, seemingly, in 1903; early in 1906 the book is in its 'fourth edition, revised, enlarged, and corrected (Seventh Thousand)'. What words of mine could add anything to commendation such as this?

But, in spite of second thoughts, I was not going to be baulked of a paper at Fr Gavin's expense after all. Putting aside graver matters and leaving them behind with at most such gentle protest as may be implied in the question self-addressed: 'Have not I too "power" of treating of weightier matters in concern *sicut et caeteri*?' &c. . . . leaving, I say, all such reflections, let us come with a good heart to the tithing of mint and cumin and exercise ourselves therein. Looking rapidly over my marginalia I see there is choice among a dozen items for such discourse, easy, plain and ready at hand. I select six candles because I see it is a subject of living interest, as evidently appears from the fact that, along with the new Education Bill, it has since May 16 up to June 20 (the last number before me) been discussed, and indeed with a certain natural heat, in the columns of the *Guardian* itself. There is the item of 'vestments' also which is much in the same case: perhaps just now that is too burning a question altogether to be dealt with by a stranger, although I think I have some things to say on the subject that I have not at all events read elsewhere.

Now let us come to the text for our present discourse drawn from Fr Gavin; it is this: 'At the head of the procession [accompanying the Pope from the sacristy to the altar for mass in the eighth and ninth centuries] walked the seven regionary acolytes bearing lighted candles. . . . The candles of the acolytes, which were eventually ranged in a row on or before the altar, explain in the clearest way the origin of the seven candles in a Pontifical High Mass, and through an obvious differentiation, the origin of the six candles on the altar in a High Mass which is not pontifical' (p. 187. I see, by the way, that this is not Father Gavin but Father Thurston: the differentiation does not matter—the text is the thing).

It may be the churlishness of uncorrected age, it may be only increased experience, that makes me in matters concerning the liturgy diffident, untrustful, suspicious, when I am told in regard to

things not of common knowledge or observation that they are 'obvious', or 'in the clearest way' appear; yet more when such round and simple affirmations are made in respect of technical questions which no one—the affirmers particularly included in this universal negative—has ever really examined. I must not be understood as objecting in any degree to 'happy thoughts', guesses happy or unhappy, or hypotheses, either 'working' or such as will not work, provided all these are given and proposed as such and no more. Thus they will be understood as inviting, not barring the way to, investigation. The present case is however somewhat different. I see, of course, there were in the eighth and ninth centuries seven candlesticks on the floor and that now there are seven (or six) on the altar. What I want to know is, are these the same as those? and if so, how did they get there?—that is to say, so far as I want to know anything about the case at all. And indeed, in regard to ritual matters generally this elementary notion I believe to be a sound one: that as to the thing in itself that forms the subject of the enquiry, apart from the question of taste, good or bad, its virtue (if any) lies in its actual prescription: its interest or value for common folks, the non-rubrician, the non-Lazarist (to give the class a proper name), lies in the consideration or the knowledge how the thing just came to be. I am not going here to ask Fr Thurston to give me the information; to explain, that is, the passage from floor to altar, if only for the reason that I am precluded from this course by two little words in his account: 'on or'. The correspondents in the *Guardian*, at once more prudent and more pointed, evidently too more interested if not more interesting, carry us a step further forward, and, by the way, exemplify a common weakness of the ritualist in adducing great causes for very small effects, or (like the symbolists) seeing wonders and profundities where there is only the common-place. Here for instance is what I read: 'Turning to the row of six lights [on the altar] they appear to have originated in the Roman basilicas where there were no reredoses to be obstructed by them. The seven lights carried before the Pope, placed of old upon the pavement, about the time of the Italian Renaissance began to be set upon the altar it would seem, and are (if I mistake not) first heard of in this position at Rome at the end of the fifteenth century. From Rome they spread with the Renaissance largely under the influence of the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum*, first printed in 1600, and priests used them without the middle one as a row of six, the seventh being reserved for bishops. Concurrently with the spread of this Roman custom, the old Gothic arrangement of the altar began to be broken up . . . huge gradines . . . long candles . . . average Roman Catholic church in this country' (*Guardian*, June 6, p. 952). This

reads like a theoretical and actual commentary on Fr Thurston. Another correspondent in the same issue cannot get behind 'John Burchardt, 1493'; and from Burchard's use of the expression '*more debito*' instead of '*more consueto*' nicely infers that 'six lights were a novelty in his time': then as a deduction from 'the vigorous way he had of enforcing new ideas of his own upon the Roman Church and abolishing old customs' we arrive at the verisimilitude that 'he (Burchard) himself invented this *morem debitum*'.

So far as I have read Burchard's diary and can combine the impressions so derived with the impressions gathered from the fifteenth century MS missals of the curial type that have come in my way at the Museum or elsewhere, I have been disposed to think the new school of liturgiologists are on the score of Burchard too superstitious, and that they have not caught his character aright. But to do this, it is necessary, I fancy, to be interested in this class of persons, the ceremoniars, quite apart from 'liturgiology'.[1] But be this said by the way; what I want to come to is something plain which I wish to deal with plainly. The writer in the *Guardian*, last quoted, says: 'in view of the notion that the use of these six lights is non-Roman, can anyone shew an earlier reference?' I at once cut this sentence in two, and send the first part of it to the right about, but take a hint from the second to go henceforward in this matter my own way.

The first mention in the diary of a papal ceremoniar of six (or is it seven?) candles on the altar, occurs in what is, so far as I know, the earliest specimen of such a document extant, namely, that kept in the first decade of the fifteenth century by the ceremoniar of the anti-Pope Benedict XIII (Peter de Luna), and printed by Muratori *Scriptt.* iii 2. It is many years since I read or even referred to it; and as the volume of Muratori is not at hand I must speak from recollection.[2] It covers a time when Benedict's curia had its shifting

[1] I may perhaps say so much, as having once in the *Downside Review* (Dec. 1892) ventured on a little study of Burchard's successor [see Paper No. XXIV below]. Catalanus, who from his own point of view had carefully read all these ceremoniars, from Burchard to his own day, finds only one intelligent man among them, Mucantius. As for the rest, what he has to say of them is this: that '*ceremonias ipsas ex usu callebant*' only: that all their business was carried on '*perfunctorie*': and in a word they were of the class of '*ignorantes ceremoniarii* (who) *si de ritibus interrogentur prompte respondent "sic voluere priores"*'.

[2] [The Diary is printed coll. 777–830. The passage referred to in the text is at col. 782 in the account of Saturday, 29 May, 1406, Vigil of Pentecost; at the Office before the Mass: 'et erant candelae sex super altare, sed non accensae'; the litany finished, the priest vesting for Mass, the cantors 'pro introitu missae cantaverunt solemniter *Kyrie eleison*, et candelae accensae sunt, et tunc facta confessione', &c. A 'feast of seven candles' was with the diarist a technical term, designating what is now called a 'double of the first class', as it was still many centuries later in several churches of France (e.g. Reims).]

residence in southern France on the shores of the Mediterranean. The diarist is somewhat of a good gossip and gives a lively, sometimes comical, picture of the straits to which this curia was reduced. Benedict was a stickler about many things, his own dignity first of all and ritual among the rest, under whom the *mos consuetus* or *debitus* was not likely to suffer by excess or defect so far as things lay under his control. But these are mere presumptions. Let us go further and consult the predecessors of 'Christopher Marcellus's Ceremonial, printed at Venice in 1516', which has been already cited in one of the letters to the *Guardian*: observing by the way that the author of that book itself seems to be A. P. Piccolomini, bishop of Pienza, and its date about 1488.

The ceremonial that first concerns us is Mabillon's fifteenth Ordo, printed under the name of Petrus Amelii.[1] In its primitive form this book seems to have been compiled about the middle of the fourteenth century and in the pontificate of Clement VI (1342–1352). Our text does not present, however, but only embodies this original, and is drawn from a private copy that passed through the hands of successive ceremoniars.[2] The book continued in practical use at all events as late as Eugenius IV (1431–1447). Our print, then, presents it in the form of a working copy for current sacristy and curial practice, in which, besides the necessary changes involved in the transfer of the papal chapel from Avignonese to Roman surroundings, it takes account from time to time of a great number of minute variations, novelties, failures, or changes, extending over the course of nearly a century, not infrequently induced by the express order of the Most Holy at the moment when he was officiating in his chapel, and entered in the book with exact note of year and day: sometimes with the curt expression '*et bene*', *et male*', of the high approval or disapproval of the ceremoniar himself.

The following are, so far as I see, the details in this Ordo proper for our present purpose. In regard to the third mass of Christmas day, it is said that, after the second mass at St Anastasia's, the Pope returns vested to St Mary Major's, rests awhile, and at the proper hour goes with his crowd of attending clerics, from cardinals downwards, to the sacristy, says terce and is vested *sollemniter*; others concerned vest themselves too, and then they proceed processionally to the altar with cross and seven torches (*faculis*), 'et curia debet dare presbyte-

[1] See Kösters (J.), *Studien zu Mabillons römischen Ordines* (Münster, Schöningh, 1905) p. 77 sqq. and p. 100.

[2] [For the succession of ceremoniars at this time see Father Ehrle's *Historia Bibliothecae Romanorum Pontificum* vol. i (1890) p. 740.]

rium, &c.'[1] As to what is done with our seven candles or what becomes of them nothing is said beyond this: 'at the Latin gospel seven *candelabra* are carried, and immediately after is said the Greek gospel with two *candelabra* lighted, and the other five are carried *in altari*.'[2]

It is evident that in this passage our text is not that of the original Avignonese draft, but a later adaptation to the circumstances of Rome; at what date, whether immediately on the return of the papal court or some time after, does not appear. A deviation from the ancient practice may, however, be noted: from the earliest times of which we have record two lighted candles were considered sufficient for the reading of the gospel at the Pope's mass; here there are seven at the Latin gospel, and at the Greek only two. Again, what does *in altari* mean? Commonly of course '*on* the altar'; but here the expression is combined with *portantur*. Does *portantur* here mean the same as *ponuntur* (or *reponuntur*), or does it mean something else? I have no intention of making nice inferences or introducing to notice any important verisimilitude, if only because on these ticklish subjects we are so commonly ready, from some particular gust or other, to land ourselves in mistakes; besides it is a matter of common experience for all of us how there are in this world so many differences without any distinction. Let us then see whether by going further backwards we can get any light thrown on our present difficulty. But before passing on let us observe that according to this Ordo XV the seven candlesticks are noted as carried in the procession of the Pope's mass on the feast-days of the very first rank only: Christmas day, Holy Thursday (chrism), Easter day, Whitsunday, SS. Peter and Paul, Assumption ('prout in aliis sollemnibus'), All Saints;[3] on other occasions the Pope, so far as I see, seems to have been content with two candles, whether in procession or otherwise.

[1] The *presbyterium* is a distribution of money or fees among the Court, from high cardinals to officials who are nobodies; or it means handfuls of coin thrown to be scrambled for among the crowd.

[2] Here is the original text of the account so far as is necessary: 'intrat sacrarium seu vestiarium cum episcopis, presbyteris, diaconibus cardinalibus, capellanis, subdiaconis et reliquis ordinibus; et cantant tertiam; qua dicta induunt eum sollemniter sacris vestibus albis, et quilibet in ordine suo; et sic processionaliter procedunt ad altare cum cruce et septem faculis: et curia debet dare presbyterium, &c. Quod si Papa non sit in Urbe (the cardinal of the title of St Anastasia says mass there). . . . Notandum quod si Papa (alternatives according as the Pope will or will not take upon himself the various items making up the burden of this tiring day). . . . Hora ergo competente indutus sollemniter summus Pontifex cum capellanis, subdiaconis, acolythis processionaliter cum septem faculis cruce et incenso incipit missam. . . . Ad evangelium latinum portantur septem candelabra, et immediate dicitur evangelium graecum cum duobus candelabris accensis, et alia quinque portantur in altari' (Mabillon *Museum Italicum* ii p. 453).

[3] *Mus. Ital.* ii pp. 453, 482, 504, 512, 517, 519, 521.

Mabillon's next ceremonial in order of antiquity—his fourteenth—grew gradually under the hands of its compilers during the first fifty years of the fourteenth century. These compilers were in the main two cardinals, Jacopo Stefaneschi (called Gaetani) and Napoleon Orsini. It goes under the name of the former, who was nephew of Boniface VIII, was created cardinal in 1296, and died in 1341. Stefaneschi seems to have begun to gather materials and notes in his uncle's lifetime, perhaps with a view to the composition of his metrical work on the election and coronation (Dec. 1294, Jan. 1295) of this latter. The book was completed in its present form by about the middle of the fourteenth century, but it must have been in constant course of compilation and correction, as occasion served or required, under Stefaneschi's hand up to the time of his death, and indeed also in the pontificate of Clement VI (1342–1352).[1]

In the two orders of the coronation, that for Rome and that for Avignon, mention is made of the seven subdeacons in the procession carrying seven torches. It is said in the later form that at the gospel of the mass they accompany the Latin and Greek gospellers 'according to custom' (p. 266, cf. P. Amelii's account of Christmas day). But a coronation is a case of secular parade, it may be said, and John XXII was crowned in the cathedral of Lyons. What was the ordinary rite of the Avignonese court? How did the traditional rite fare when the Pope celebrated great functions in his own chapel: and especially in those earlier days of the exile before the great palace was built, with a chapel (and the same may be said of the neighbouring cathedral) that was at best a poor substitute for the great basilicas of Rome? For, after all, even papal ceremonies must forcedly yield to the exigencies of the space in which they have to be carried out. And it has to be remembered that, whilst to a secular prince court is paid in the halls of his palace, it was the special privilege of the Pope that court should be made to him most specially in church; suitors of all kinds flocked to Avignon in proverbial crowds; what then happened to processions with the subdeacons and seven torches, &c., when the whole confined space of the chapel was packed so that there was not room to stir?

Although our ceremoniars, being here good rubricians and not

[1] Chapters 1–9 must have been noted down between the years 1304–1328: ch. 10–23 are the order of the Pope's coronation in Rome in the latter part of the thirteenth century: ch. 24–44, the order of the coronation outside Rome, drawn up specially for that of John XXII in 1316: ch. 45 is an interpolation of the year 1389. There are other large interpolations in about twenty chapters, from ch. 64 onwards, besides extracts from ceremonials belonging to Cardinal d'Estouteville. The passages of interest for us are all part of Stefaneschi's own work. See Kösters, pp. 66 sqq.

diarists, have left us no detailed record of the shifts to which they were put in the days of the exile, a lengthy chapter[1] in Stefaneschi's work is instructive from this point of view. Like the immediately preceding chapter (47) it speaks throughout of the *Pontifex*, and in ch. 47 this (according to the title) is the Pope himself; but the title of ch. 48 (+53) states that it is concerned not with the Pope but with a cardinal-bishop only, and it gives the full and detailed order of his mass. This ch. 48 (+53) contemplates the ceremonies from three points of view: where there is a sacristy; where there is no sacristy but it is the custom to vest at a distance from the altar and go to it processionally; thirdly, the case where there is neither sacristy nor room in the building itself for the full and ancient ceremonial. In this last case the 'Pontiff' is to be vested at the side of the altar (*iuxta altare*) where he is going to say mass; as to his ministers, this only is mentioned in particular, that the two *ceroferarii* are to be ready vested by the side of the altar (*ceroferarii sint parati iuxta altare*) and the thuriferar is to be on the other side (*sit paratus in sinistra parte cum thuribulo*).[2] As regards their candles, it is directed that the ceroferars are to take the candlesticks with the lighted candles off the altar (*et accipiant de altare candelabra cum cereis accensis*, p. 295). From chapter 47 (p. 282) it appears that the Pope's mass days were divided into two classes: processional days, and days when the Pope vests near the altar (*prope altare*). We have seen from Petrus Amelii that these processional days, at least with the seven candlesticks, were even after the return to Rome but seven in number. From a list that seems to have formed part of Stefaneschi's own compilation it would appear that in the middle of the fourteenth century the Pope's mass days were, in round numbers, about fifty in the course of the year (p. 377 sqq.); but our ambiguous text from Petrus Amelii as to lights *in altari* relates only to the seven processional days. How stands it with the others?

Chapter 69 of Stefaneschi will throw light on the question. This chapter relates to Christmas day: its text, given in the footnote,[3]

[1] Ch. 48 and ch. 53 from l. 5 are to be read continuously (pp. 288-9, 291-310).

[2] In the text is given what I think is the actual meaning as regards place; still if the critic will prefer to read *iuxta* as 'in front of' or 'behind', I have nothing to say.

[3] 'intrat sacrarium cum episcopis cardinalibus, diaconis et subdiaconibus, et reliquis ordinibus, et dicunt tertiam; qua dicta, induunt se sollemniter vestimentis albis et processionaliter vadunt ad altare sicut moris est. Nota quod semper, quando Papa celebrat sollemniter, debent poni super altare faculae septem, nisi aliquibus paucis diebus, et curia debet dare. Deinde dominus Papa incipit missam . . . legitur primo latina epistola et postmodum graeca; sicut etiam legitur evangelium latinum et graecum' (p. 327).

should be compared with that of P. Amelii cited above, p. 306 n. 2. But Stefaneschi has a passage to which there is nothing in P. Amelii to correspond, unless it be the incidental notice already mentioned that after the Latin gospel two lights only are used, and the other five '*portantur in altari*'. Stefaneschi's rubric runs: 'Note that always when the Pope celebrates solemnly, seven torches ought to be put upon the altar except upon some few days.' The last five words taken in connexion with the 'always' shew, I think, that this prescription must apply to the fifty days with 'some few' exceptions, and not to the seven only. Moreover these words occur in a chapter on the masses of Christmas day the terms of which expressly apply to the city of Rome, which chapter (unless it be no part of Stefaneschi's work, and of this there seems no evidence or indication) therefore dates from the thirteenth century. We know from Innocent III that in his time, in the last days of the twelfth century or the early years of the thirteenth, even on 'processional days' it was the practice in Rome at the papal mass to have only two candles on the altar (*De sacro altaris mysterio* lib. ii cap. 21). Are we to suppose the change was made from two to seven in the course of the thirteenth century? Or is this note an Avignonese interpolation in an old Roman rubric? The text in itself would seem to read as if this latter were the case; moreover on the very next page of the print of Stefaneschi is an interpolated extract from an 'old ceremonial of Cardinal d'Estouteville'[1] which is couched almost in the same words, but at the critical point omits the passage as to the seven candles on the altar.[2] The presumption of interpolation might seem then fairly strong.

But we may not stop here. A contemporary, and indeed the successor, of Innocent III has also to be heard. Towards the close of the twelfth century Cardinal Cencio Savelli, Camerlengo of the Roman Church, afterwards Honorius III, wrote an Ordo of the customs and ceremonies of that church on the chief feasts of the year. Referring to Mabillon's print, on the very first page, for the Pope's third mass on Christmas day, we find as follows: 'after terce they vest and go processionally to the altar as is the custom. *It is to be noted that seven torches ought to be on the altar during the mass:* and "curia debet dare"' (*Mus. Ital.* ii pp. 167–168).[3] Are the words printed in italics part of the genuine text of Cencius, or an interpolation?

[1] This is the only place in which I observe the designation 'ex ceremoniali *antiquo*'; elsewhere 'ex ceremoniali' only. Whether our book is in question, or whether Cardinal d'Estouteville had besides his current copy an old book also, can only appear on examination of the cardinal's manuscript still extant (see Kösters, pp. 68, 70).

[2] 'sic processionaliter accedunt ad altare cum cruce et septem faculis, et curia debet dare' (p. 328).

[3] The following is the text, to be compared with Stefaneschi's, p. 308 n. 3 above:

[The real state of the case as to the so-called 'Ordo Romanus auctore Cencio de Sabellis cardinale' of Mabillon deserves to be disentangled and simply and clearly described; it is as follows:

The original MS of the *Liber Censuum* of the Roman Church compiled by him dates from the year 1192, and is now MS Vat. 8486. It originally contained in its tenth and eleventh gatherings an Ordo Romanus. These two gatherings are now wanting (*Le Liber Censuum de l'Église Romaine*, ed. by P. Fabre and L. Duchesne, vol. i (1905) p. 26. It is as well to remark that the portions of this volume to be cited below are by Mgr Duchesne).

This MS Vat. 8486 was, with certain omissions and additions, copied between the years 1228 and 1231. Among the pieces omitted by the copyist was the Ordo (ibid. pp. 18, 28). This copy is now at Florence, Riccardi MS 228; and between f. 72 and f. 111 of the MS in its present state, a number of new gatherings were inserted. On two of these gatherings inserted in 1254 is a Roman Ordo (see details ibid. p. 28; cf. p. 20). It is this Ordo (printed by Duchesne pp. 290–314) which was printed by Mabillon, not directly from the Riccardi MS, but from a copy two or three times removed. Mabillon in his print gives it the title 'Romanus Ordo de consuetudinibus et observantiis, presbyterio vel scholari, et aliis ecclesiae Romanae in praecipuis sollemnitatibus. Auctore Cencio de Sabellis cardinale' (*Mus. Ital.* ii p. 167). And thus it comes that the Ordo is always cited as written by Cencius; for no one of course, until the case of the MSS of the *Liber Censuum* was investigated by the late M. Paul Fabre and Mgr Duchesne, knew any of the circumstances explained above. In the Riccardi MS the Ordo bears the title 'Romanus Ordo &c. . . . sollempnitatibus' simply, without any attribution of authorship to Cencius. And Mgr Duchesne says (p. 290 col. 1) that the Riccardi MS 228 is the original from which 'les autres MSS (i.e. all other extant MSS except MS Vat. 8486) dérivent' (cf. also his genealogical tree, p. 32).

Mgr Duchesne in his 'Avis' before his edition of the Ordo says that there is nothing to shew that the Ordo in Cencius's original MS of 1192 (Vat. 8486) was an Ordo compiled by himself: 'Cencius s'est borné à transcrire, en le complétant, un texte d'un usage courant,' &c. But I can see nothing to shew that the Ordo now found in the Riccardi MS, and inserted in it in 1254, is textually and verbally that now missing in the original MS Vat. 8486, or that in the text of 1254, so

'et intrat sacrarium cum episcopis, cardinalibus, diaconibus, subdiaconibus et reliquis ordinibus, et dicunt tertiam; qua dicta induunt se et processionaliter vadunt ad altare, sicut est moris. Notandum quod septem faculae debent esse in missa super altari, et curia debet dare. Deinde dominus Papa incipit missam . . . legitur prius atina epistola et postmodum graeca. Expleta vero missa', &c.

far as its ritual directions are concerned, we have anything else than the text giving the then 'usage courant' of the Curia; in fact nothing to evidence the practice of having seven candles on the altar at the Pope's mass in Rome in the last decade of the twelfth century. For it is to be recalled that it is but this one point that we are concerned with, and the question is simply this: Did the words in relation to the Pope's mass 'Notandum quod septem faculae debent esse in missa super altari' stand in the now missing Ordo of the MS of 1192, or is this an addition recording the later usage of 1254?[1] This, then, is the case as regards the so-called 'Roman Ordo of Cencius'.

Now that we have full information as to the state of the MSS and know what the Ordo printed by Mabillon as Cencius's really is, it seems to me that there is nothing necessarily, indeed probably, contradictory in the witness of Innocent III and that of the Ordo printed by Mabillon. Innocent III says that in his time (he wrote whilst still Cardinal, that is before 1198) only two candles were on the altar when the Pope celebrated solemn public mass. Nothing can be more categorical and precise than his words, and it seems to me impossible for that ingenious class of persons, the harmonists, to get over them or round them. First he says that it is the actual, present, practice that he means to record. 'Consuetudinem autem apostolicae sedis, non illam quam olim legitur habuisse, sed eam quam nunc habere dignoscitur prosequendam proposui' (*De sacro altaris mysterio*, praefat. vers. fin.). Next, that it is the Pope's mass on a great feast, a stational solemnity, that he means to describe (lib. ii cap. 5). Finally, lib. ii cap. 21 is given up to our special point; its title runs: 'De candelabris et cruce quae super medio collocantur altaris'; and in the text he writes, and his words are so precise that we cannot get behind them either: 'in cornibus altaris duo sunt constituta candelabra, quae, mediante cruce, faculas ferunt accensas, &c. . . . Inter duo candelabra in altari crux collocatur media'.

To make a long story short, until better instructed by some friendly neighbour I should say that the case is simply this: That some time between the last decade of the twelfth century and 1254, the date at which the Ordo was inserted in the Riccardi MS 228, a change took place in regard to the number of candles on the altar when the Pope said public mass. This was the period of the constitution of the Rite or Custom of the Curia, the Pope's Chapel. Those who are more or less acquainted (and it is quite easy to learn enough) with that very modernizing epoch, with the upcrop of curial Franciscans and other

[1] It is to be remembered that the chapter cited does not relate to the uses or customs of the churches of Rome, but only to the practice in a public mass celebrated by the Pope himself.

up-to-date persons who were ready on slight encouragement or none (and there was plenty) *omnia nova facere*, will not be surprised at the mere jump from two to seven candles; and the 'Ordo sanctae Romanae ecclesiae' (as that stickler for law, order, and tradition, Ralph of Tongres, still loved to call it nearly two centuries later) might easily become in this detail, or in any detail indeed, a thing of the past.[1]]

Here I should have ended were it not for a historical generalization quite slowly arrived at on my own account, which I may formulate thus: with a long record of progressive victory in the Church where 'regimen' is concerned, Rome has, in the course of centuries, in the matter of 'religion' (and of ritual as an item included herein) suffered defeat steadily all along the line; has been, in a word, 'catholicized'. When therefore I wish to find the origin or early examples of usages, devotion, piety, which friends or the public prints tell me are specially characteristic of 'modern Romanism', an acquired instinct sends me now as it were naturally to 'Teutonic and Celtic' sources. I notice that with others really, though it may be quite unconsciously, the instinct is much the same. And so I find F. Gavin select for commendation, as more specially agreeable to our modern sentiment, not the mass prayers for the feasts of the Blessed Virgin in the Roman missal, which are of genuinely Roman origin, but those in the *Gelasian Sacramentary* (p. 39), which are of Gallican origin. As to usages that I know to be genuinely modern, the mere habit has now grown upon me to turn for their genesis or primitive exemplification first of all to Northern Germany—the region from Poland to the shores of Holland—in the fifty or sixty years preceding the outbreak of the Protestant revolt. Thus, for instance, in this *Review*, I pointed out (March 1893) how mass before the Blessed Sacrament exposed was a recognized practice at that time in Westphalia.[2] I keep, however, no books of mediaeval liturgy by me; only one book of the kind that I now want happens by chance to be at hand, the Sacrist's Register of the old Minster at Utrecht (St Saviour's—is that a reminiscence of Canterbury, or the Lateran?) a manuscript of about 1525–1530. Its title was promising: 'Ordo ornamentorum exponendorum secundum exigentiam cuiuslibet festi (et) candelarum lampadumque ardere consuetarum in ecclesia Sancti Salvatoris Traiectensis per totum annum.'

[1] It may be useful to add the reminder that because this or that change was made in the ritual of the Papal Chapel, it does not follow that the same changes were made in the 'Basilicas of Rome'. There are many reasons; among the rest this one, that in the thirteenth century (as any one may see who will look at the itineraries of the Popes in Potthast's *Regesta*) the Papal Chapel as a rule was not in Rome to set a pattern to anybody.

[2] See Paper No. XXV, p. 450 below.

On glancing through the contents I found not six lights indeed but five on the high altar on ferias, and seven and nine on feast days according to grade. It is not likely that chance should have thrown in my way a case that is unique, but I am content with this sample verification and—having first made sure by a careful examination of the text throughout, and of the old Dutch translation, that our five, seven, nine lights are altar lights 'as a row' just like the six on our high altars to-day—now leave others to pursue further enquiries.

XIV

ANGILBERT'S RITUAL ORDER FOR SAINT-RIQUIER[1]

THIS Ritual Order[2] was noticed by Mabillon nearly two centuries ago,[3] but as yet has never appeared in print, although it is some years since the late Professor Waitz, then the Director of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, said of these directions drawn up by Angilbert, 'sane sunt digna quae edantur'. I had been in hopes that Dom Suitbert Bäumer, whose attention I had called to this document, might, on a not distant visit to Rome, copy it and print it himself. But this can never be. Now, unexpectedly, the opportunity comes to me, and it was the first task immediately undertaken

[1] From the *Downside Review*, March 1895. [This piece was edited by F. Lot in App. VI of his Hariulfus in the *Collection des textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire* (1894). I had no idea that any such volume was even contemplated; it appeared about the same time as this paper. Doubtless, however, the liturgist will not be sorry to have Angilbert's text accessible in such a volume as the present. I had intended to collate my print with the original MS, but by some mistake the paper was published without my having so much as seen the proofs; the text as issued shewed several errors. These are now corrected.]

[2] The Vatican MS Regin. 235, from which this document is taken, is a quarto of 84 leaves: ff. 1–72 are of the twelfth century, and contain various works of Guibert of Nogent; f. 73 is, but for some half-erased scrawls, blank; ff. 74–84 have nothing to do with the foregoing, are in other hands, and all relate to the Abbey of St-Riquier. Waitz assigned these last leaves to the eleventh century. This is exact so far as concerns ff. 74–82[a] (to the end of the *Institutio* of Angilbert); the rest, which need not detain us further here, comprises scraps in various hands, some as late apparently as even the thirteenth century. It is hard to see how this can be the manuscript found by abbot Gervinus in the abbey of Gorze (as conjectured by Waitz *M. G. SS.* xv pp. 173–174), since (*a*) it gives no account of the abbats of St-Riquier, (*b*) it does not contain obits of brethren. It seems, for reasons indicated below, very doubtful also whether it could have been the manuscript used by Hariulfus (see ibid. p. 173 n. 4); the extract from Nithard, who it is now ascertained was also abbat (commendatory) of the monastery, could easily have been obtained by Hariulfus from some other source.

The ff. 74–78[a] contain Angilbert's account of his works at St-Riquier and of the relics and treasury he gathered together there. This had, with some variations, been incorporated by the chronicler of the abbey, Hariulfus, in his work (lib. ii capp. iv–vi; ed. Lot capp. viii–x) and printed by d'Achery more than two centuries ago; Waitz has printed the account (*M. G. SS.* xv pp. 174–179) from the manuscript.

As regards his copy, Hariulfus, who completed his work in the year 1088, writes: 'Huc usque sanctissimi viri Angilberti scriptura de constructione et dedicatione sive

on sitting down at last in the work-room of the Vatican Library, in delightful liberty to make use of its treasures. In the circumstances perhaps it may be allowable to print in the *Downside Review*, which is record as well as reading, a piece in itself well deserving attention, which could, there is reason for believing, find without difficulty hospitality in such well-established specialist periodicals as the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* or the *Neues Archiv*. But from the nature of its subject also, it cannot be out of place here, for it is in more than one respect the most curious document relating to the monastic ritual and observance of the age of Charles the Great, and precedent to the reforms of St Benedict of Aniane in the second decade of the ninth century; and almost certainly it is the only one of its kind of any value which still remains inedited. Though it does not contain, as I had hoped might be possible, new information as to liturgical changes made by Alcuin, it is of particular interest from its highly personal traits, as illustrating the later years of one of the most interesting and prominent characters of the great Carolingian revival, Angilbert, perhaps Charles's most intimate friend.

But, it will be asked, where was Saint-Riquier? and who was Angilbert that he should be thus concerned with such matters as this Order deals with? I will answer briefly both questions; and first for Saint-Riquier. How many travellers who have just crossed

ornatu ecclesiae Centulensis digesta est, quae ab ipso venerabili viro usque ad haec nostra tempora per CCC annos et amplius valde inveterata, non sine labore ad futurorum eruditionem a nobis huic operi inserta est' (lib. ii c. vi ad fin.; c. x ed. Lot). From these words it would appear that Hariulfus had copied either Angilbert's autograph or a contemporary copy, hard to read either from indifferent writing (which might indicate an autograph) or from the bad state of the original through damp or neglect.

This is just the impression also given by the condition of the document here printed, Angilbert's *Institutio*, which occupies f. 78 line 11 to f. 82. The chapters i to iv, viii and ix, perhaps part of x, and the close of the work are wanting. Chapters vii and xvii both break off imperfect in the middle of a sentence; a fact which the scribe emphasizes by the word *Interruptio* in capital letters; moreover the state of the text at the end shews that the original here must have been in a bad state when the copy was taken. Hariulfus tells us that the originals from which he copied contained 'alia multa ... ad decorem divini officii ... ab eo (Angilberto) honeste statuta' (lib. ii c. vi; c. x ed. Lot). He evidently refers to the ritual order here printed; and he devotes his next chapter (vii; c. xi ed. Lot) to an extract from this order, not identical however with any portion contained in the MS Regin. 235. [M. Lot seems to take Hariulf's extract (see his note *i* p. 70) as the close of Angilbert's *Institutio*; to me it seems as if from the beginning, and to be much of the nature of a preface.] The probabilities would seem to be that the copyist of this manuscript and Hariulfus worked independently; that both had before them the original manuscript of Angilbert or a contemporary copy; but that the *Institutio* was, when the Regina copyist used it, in a more imperfect state than when it was used by Hariulfus. Chapters i–iv related probably to Christmas, Epiphany, Purification, and Lent.

[3] *Annal. Bened.* lib. xxvi num. 68. It seems clear that Mabillon never saw the manuscript, but relied on an account of it, drawn up perhaps by Dom Estiennot or some other of his brethren in Rome.

the Channel and hurry off from the coast in the Paris train think of stopping at Abbeville? A few curious persons go up to look at its big, unfinished, dilapidated church, and look at the old 'dragon's skin' in the nave with more curiosity probably than at the gloomy old building itself. And how many of those who stop at Abbeville hear of, or think of seeing, Saint-Riquier, numbered once among the greatest monasteries of the West? It is now many years since a traveller, who had just sought in vain some traces of the Cluniac priory of Saint-Pierre-d'Abbeville,[1] found himself circling the town on his way, by the then recently opened line of rail, to the now forgotten village of Saint-Riquier, or, as it was called in the old days, Centule. The village was some distance from the little shanty of a roadside station; the country seemed unlike Picardy, with its bare cultivated wolds or formal poplar plantations; there were hedgerows and lanes, and trees and bushes that recalled somewhat the English west country. There was nothing to break the stillness of the air on that bright summer's day but the hum of the insect tribe or the footfall of some chance wayfarer in that *pays perdu.* Suddenly, at a bend of the road, there rose up, as on a bank, a tall edifice with ranges of lofty windows of the type so common in the new buildings erected almost everywhere by the Maurists in their numerous monasteries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This is Saint-Riquier. The very simplicity, solidity and size of the structure makes it effective; but this is, after all, a poor substitute for the picturesque south side of the monastery with its irregular range of buildings, Gothic and Renaissance, figured in the *Monasticon Gallicanum* (pl. 79). Ascending the gentle hill as far as the wide square or place, on the right hand is the great gateway, a sort of ample *porticus*, doubtless occupying the site, as it recalls also the idea, of the *arcus occidentales* of Angilbert's document here printed. The Church stands opposite the entrance gate, a noble and perfect specimen of fourteenth-century Gothic, admirable in its lines, proportions, and symmetry. How comes it that this lovely building—a little monotonous, perhaps, from its very perfection—is so little known and visited? High up on beams around the sanctuary, as at Winchester or Laon, are relic chests set there at the close of the seventeenth century by a commendatory abbat, a model for men of that class, of whom, as a rule, little good is to be said. This one employed his revenues, his credit, his influence, and spent his best energies in restoring to Saint-Riquier something like its ancient

[1] [In the church of which was buried Dom Claude de Vert, a writer to whom I must ever feel indebted as introducing me to the study of liturgy and teaching me that it is (or should be) first and foremost a study in life.]

splendour. His humble tomb—a mere flat stone—is in front of the choir gates. But not even his stringent injunctions could prevent the grateful community from recording his good deeds and giving him his just title—our 'new Angilbert'. The monastic buildings are (or were) used as a *petit séminaire*, but the church with its ample choir, though decently—nay, well—cared for, is desolate and silent. Though monumental still and not unworthy, either in its buildings or in its small but highly curious treasury, of the long history of now well-nigh thirteen centuries since its foundation by Saint Richarius, Saint-Riquier, with its handful of village folk, a contrast to the busy town of the thirteenth century, is now little more than a memory.

And Angilbert? Forgotten too, though he was a true Knight of the true Table Round. The names have got all mixed in that romancing way the poets love so well; the real value of the Arthurian cycle and the cycle centering round Charlemagne has somehow, thanks to these deft-witted folk, become transposed; and we hear of Sir Lancelot, and Sir Gawain, and Sir Bedivere—phantoms—when the real living men, who gathered round Charles the Great, the true knights who fought in their day the battle for mankind against darkness, and ignorance, and barbarism, and unbelief in God and man, and misbelief, aye and against themselves, are very dim figures in most people's minds. But these are the heroes, the heroes of a true tale, our benefactors now, even after the lapse of a thousand years and more. And a chief among these knights of old was Angilbert. Whether it was in matters of war or matters of peace, diplomacy, the council chamber, the schools, literary labours, in sports or worldly festivities, or the solemn rites of the high days of Holy Church, the best of these men seem to have found themselves at home in all, to have found time for all, to be interested in all. With all their faults and their failings, and these were not a few, they were animated by a noble enthusiasm. With the material and artistic achievements of that later epoch we call *the* Renaissance theirs cannot be considered as coming into rivalry; but in what was good and best—in high courage that no difficulty could daunt, in the sense of the responsibility and the fullness of life, in an intense realization of its worth in all, even its lighter manifestations, the Carolingian Renaissance of the eighth and ninth centuries need fear no comparison.

Angilbert had been brought up from his earliest years in the Frankish court, and when Charles's son, Pippin, was in the year 781 crowned King of Italy, the keen eye of the father, that ruler of men, saw no one more fit than Angilbert, though still a young man,

to place by the side of his son, as ruler, mentor, guide, governor, in the newly-formed Italian court. This was a task demanding equally personal tact in the common intercourse of daily life to keep the youthful monarch in hand and control, and those higher qualities, the larger grasp, necessary to secure the general interests of the newly-planted foreign dynasty. Angilbert met all these demands upon him. But his was a genius as versatile as, when engaged in responsible duty, it was sure. He had not in him merely the stuff of which the courtier and the statesman are made. His was a mind readily open to every current of liberal and honourable endeavour. He had already, before passing into Italy, met Alcuin, and seems to have exercised over the proved and sober scholar that same fascination and quality of charm which made itself felt in all Angilbert's relations with his kind. 'My son most dear,' 'My sweetest son,' 'The son, the inheritor, of all my scholarship,' are Alcuin's familiar words in his regard. And during his residence in Italy Angilbert did not fail to profit by the help which the schools of that country afforded. After the lapse of some seven years or so, Charles recalled Angilbert from Italy to have him once more at his own side. At the court of Charles he found the warmest welcome, not merely from a grateful sovereign, but by and by also from one who, as her husband[1] describes her in later years, was the very picture of her illustrious father; for he found favour at a proper age, at once, and without delay, in the eyes of Bercta, Charles's second daughter. The lady did the wooing, it would seem; and well she might, for with all his singular endowments and his power to deal with men, Angilbert betrays also a weakness, a fastidiousness, that might easily make him, unless roused by a stronger countervailing call of duty, yield to force of fate. Bercta, young as she was, was a woman of masculine vigour, inheriting all her father's imperious spirit, with a voice deep and firm, and a countenance that expressed command; she appreciated to the full her position, and used all the opportunities it gave. Two sons were the issue of this union, one of whom, Nithard, soldier and man of mark in the reign of Lewis the Pious, son of Charlemagne, inheriting his father's literary talents, was also the historian of his own times, the Clarendon of his day. A man of letters himself, Angilbert was the patron and happy companion of men of letters too; and here, in days when rivalry in such matters was keen, he kept his liberty apart from fashion, and patronized, or pleased himself to call to his table, those whom he would, not those whom fashion or influence might point out as

[1] ['husband'—of course *secundum quid*. Charles objected to his daughters marrying; and there were several.]

the most proper objects for such distinction. His own particular part in the literary tournament was marked out for him by the very name with which his father-in-law chose to greet him in familiar intercourse—Homer. He was to be the epic poet who should celebrate in stately verse the heroic deeds of the monarch. Only a fragment of the poem still remains, a description of a great hunting scene. After a glowing panegyric of Charles, a mere debt of duty, of Pippin his quondam pupil, of Bercta his imperious spouse in the glittering splendour of attire and equipment she loved so well, Angilbert describes the scene with all the spirit and verve of one who knows how to enter to the full into the pleasures of the chase. Into the amusements of life, though by disposition of a distinctly religious tone of mind, Angilbert had entered with all the zest of a free and generous nature.[1]

But other prospects open too before him, and about 793 he becomes abbat of Saint-Riquier; lay abbat, that is, like so many of his suc-

[1] [In here reprinting this paper I think it due to the reader to say why this poem is in the text above unequivocally assigned to Angilbert, though this explanation may seem to savour of scrupulosity or be judged as merely tedious. It is a piece of 536 lines, seemingly but part of a larger scheme, an epic glorifying Charles the Great. It survives in a single MS, of the eleventh century, which gives no name of author. There can be on this point no question of 'certitude' or 'knowledge', only of a cumulation of 'probabilities'; and the field is free for any kind of conjecture or argument. The piece has commonly passed as Angilbert's since G. H. Pertz assigned it to him nearly a century ago. In the last forty years or so objections have been raised mainly by the neo-Latin philologists on the technical points of vocabulary, style, use of earlier poets, versification, &c., as compared with known productions of Angilbert; as if, for instance, the 'Elegy' and the 'Long Story' could not come from the same pen. The philological objectors have found allies, and also hearers, in other camps. The general result of these discussions may be summed up in the words 'not proven', or in a profession of simple agnosticism. But considerations left in the background by these critics must also come into play: the literary sense, and ideas derived from intimate acquaintance with contemporary writers as well as with the history of the times. These, as things stand, are not altogether common qualifications.

This poetical piece, in the judgement of the competent critics, stands alone in its age: it is essentially the production of a layman, and it breathes an atmosphere instinct with the life of that vigorous age. The writer is also possessed in a marked degree among his contemporaries of a real poetic gift. When we place the poem in its age and look round at the literary men of the time, considered in themselves and in the verses they have left us, one name, and one name only, suggests itself as fittingly that of the man who, from his natural character also, could write it: the man designated by Charles, in the Academy of Literature and Learning which it was his pride to have gathered around him, as 'Homer'; Charles's 'Homer' was Angilbert.

In spite, then, of the phalanx of the philologists and their allies, it seems to me only reasonable to conclude, on the probabilities, that this poem is really his. This indeed was the conclusion of Ebert, a man possessing in a particular degree the qualifications mentioned above. As venturing to feel myself not altogether without claim to sharing in those qualifications, I have no hesitation in saying that this conclusion is, on a view of all the elements of the case, the only 'right judgement' on the matter. Nor let it be thought that this matter itself is a slight one and not worth the trouble of concluding on. On the contrary it is one of notable account for the just appreciation of Charles's age itself.]

cessors, among the rest his son Nithard. As if urged by premonitions of what was by and by to come, he threw himself into work there with his accustomed freshness and energy. It would require an article by itself to give some idea of the wonderful institution that arose under his hand in the course of the next seven or eight years. But though his whole heart was in his work he could not rid himself of his past life and make it as though it had not been. Charles's reliance on his discretion and tact was complete, and it was now that he was called on to undertake the most delicate task perhaps that fell to any diplomatist in the long and difficult reign of Charles the Great. Thrice in these eight years he went, on his master's behalf, as ambassador to the Pope, once in regard to the troublesome question of the worship of images which involved awkward political considerations also; the second time (an easier matter) as to the Adoptionist controversy; and the third time as the confidant of Charles's most secret plans and aims, on the one hand to recall the Pope to a sense of his personal dignity and the conduct befitting it, on the other to obtain from him co-operation in the plans of the King of the Franks for his own temporal aggrandizement. It is a curious evidence of the singular capacity and versatility of the man that in everything Angilbert undertook he was successful. But he had other interests more immediately and more intensely absorbing; it is in this period that fall his relations with Bercta. Then suddenly[1] the scene changes. A word of warning comes, and he listens to it. Alcuin writes to him with affectionate solicitude; he fears that Angilbert, now freed from the highest responsibilities, may allow himself to be carried away by the current of pleasure; he bids him give up the world. This advice is backed by that of Adalard, afterwards abbat of Corbie, who at this time and for the next forty years or so never found the atmosphere of a court or the tortuous wiles of policy and intrigue any particular snare for himself. Bercta's part at this juncture and her influence in this resolution is not stated. It is characteristic of Angilbert that he goes at once; and so the most gifted spirit and finest gentleman of his day cuts short his brilliant career, and retires now permanently; and, devoting himself to the monastic life, he buries himself in seclusion at Saint-Riquier.

By the year 800 the new buildings were ready, and Charles, with a splendid court, came there to spend the Easter of that year with his friend and favourite, the abbat, who had perhaps more than any one else contributed to prepare the way for the scene that was enacted the

[1] 'Suddenly'; this is clear and evident on the face of the facts. But Angilbert himself says so in the epitaph he wrote for himself: 'Sed *subita ereptus* tanto de culmine sorte' (see below, p. 321 n. 1).

subsequent Christmas Day, when Charles, amidst the applause of Romans and of Franks, was crowned Emperor by the Pope at St Peter's in Rome. From this time forth Angilbert concentrated his attention on, and became absorbed in, the interests of his beloved foundation, on promoting good studies there, and in rendering glorious in every way possible in the eyes of men the service of God. The document now printed shews the minute care he took in regard to every detail. He breathed his last on February 18, 814, just three weeks after his master and friend, Charles the Great, between whom and himself, from the days of their youth upwards, there had reigned a constant affection. In accordance with his last wish, he was buried just immediately on the threshold of the great church, with no better monument than a flagstone, so that none could well enter the noble building which he had raised to the glory of God without treading under foot the dust of Angilbert.[1]

Institutio Sancti Angilberti abbatis de diversitate Officiorum.

Dominica Palmarum omne vespertinum et nocturnum officium in ecclesia Sancti Salvatoris et Sancti Richarii celebretur. Post capitulum vero procedentes veniant ad Sanctam Mariam, ubi tertia cantata, et ramis ac palmis acceptis, per viam[2] monasterii una cum populo accedentes ad portam beati Archangeli Michaelis paradisum

[1] [Angilbert wrote his own epitaph. It is printed, but unrecognizable, in *M.G. Poet.* i p. 420 (No. xxii, the first thirty lines only) as if the composition of an unknown bishop Bernowinus, whom Angilbert seems to have patronized. This piece, along with others, was restored to its true author by Traube in his first book, brought out under the auspices of Dümmler (*Karolingische Dichtungen*, Berlin, Weidmann, 1888, p. 51 sqq.). I cannot forbear quoting the first lines, so perfectly do they illustrate the nature of the writer:

Haec qui sacra petis venerandi culmina templi,
Eximios cultus quae pietatis habent,
Hoc relegas carmen nostri miserabile casus,
Ultima quem vitae contulit hora mihi.
Dives eram quondam, lato famosus in orbe,
Principibus multo carus amore piis.
Gloria me rerum magni referebat opima,
Sed regum solita pluris amicitia.
Propterea populi largo venerabar honore
Muneribus nimiis atque favore precis.
Sed subita ereptus tanto de culmine sorte . . .

Thus he looks back over his earlier career. Then he turns to his later life, the home he had chosen for his 'rest', and to the final resting-place of his mortal remains. The Angilbert of former days and of his last years is ever the same man; not even the experiences and cares of these years could quench the fire of that living soul.]

[2] The five words following, 'monasterii . . . accedentes', omitted by the copyist, are inserted in margin by a contemporary, and probably the same, hand.

ingrediantur; et coram Sancta Nativitate oratione facta, per ostium medianum et per cocleam[1] meridianam ascendentes ad Sanctum Salvatorem perveniant, ubi honore condigno ab illis missa celebretur. Quod si ratio aeris hoc non permiserit, de Sancta Maria per longaniam[2] terratenus usque ad ascensorium ipsius longaniae quo sursum ascenditur veniant. Quibus ibidem sursum ascendentibus per ipsam longaniam pergentes ingrediantur per ostium Sancti Mauricii; atque sic per medium aecclesiae accedant ad Sanctum Salvatorem missam ad perficiendam.

VI. De Cena Domini et Parasceve.

In vigilia Cenae Domini omne officium in aecclesia Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae et Omnium Apostolorum celebretur. In Parasceve vero vigiliae in tribus choris impleantur: quorum sit unus fratrum coram altare ipsius Sanctae Crucis; alius puerorum in throno Sancti Richarii ab occidente; tertius vero infra buticum,[3] hinc et inde, sicut iam supra scriptum est.[4] Sollemnes autem orationes et adoratio crucis per choros quatuor dividatur. Ex quibus unus sit fratrum coram Sanctae Crucis altare; alius puerorum in prescripto throno Sancti Richarii ab occidente (fol. 78[b]) . . . Dei; quartus vero coram Sancto[5] Salvatore. Cum autem ad adorandam crucem perventum fuerit, statuatur crux una coram eodem altare, quam fratres, antiphonam *Ecce lignum crucis* canendo, ibidem adorent. Alia statuatur coram altare sanctorum martyrum Quintini,[6] Crispini et Crispiniani, quam populus vulgaris adoret. Tertia vero ponatur ad Sanctum Mauricium, quam pueri descendentes ordinabiliter per choros, primus de Sancto Salvatore, secundus de Sancto Richario, et tertius de throno eiusdem, eandem antiphonam canendo venientes adorent.[7] Eadem vero nocte, vigilie diei Sancti Sabbati more solito per tres choros in Sancto Richario impleantur.

[1] *Coclea.* The bell turret at Downside (including its spiral staircase) is precisely a *coclea* in the sense of Angilbert.

[2] *Longania.* A gallery.

[3] *Buticum.* Mabillon suggests a ciborium or baldachin on four columns; but this can hardly by any possibility be right.

[4] This shews that the lost early chapters must have been, like those preserved, of a ritual character, and not have consisted of the inventories drawn up by Angilbert as M. Lot is disposed to think (see his p. 297 n. 1).

[5] The first line of this page is almost entirely cut off by the binder. What remains is however sufficient to leave no doubt of the accuracy of the reading of the second half of the line as printed in the text. From the context above it would seem the missing words were 'tertius infra buticum'.

[6] *Quintini* originally omitted; added by scribe in margin.

[7] Opposite this the same scribe has added *Nota* in margin.

VII. De Sabbato Sancto, et die Pasche.

In Sancto etenim Sabbato omne officium quod fieri debet antequam perveniatur ad fontes, ad Sanctum Richarium impleatur. Hoc autem facto descendant ad fontes letaniam ad faciendam, illam tamen in qua continentur CXXXV nomina sanctorum, excepto ordine angelorum, patriarcharum et prophetarum, atque deprecationes diversas,[1] quae quarta in scripto nostro in quo reliquae continentur habetur. Haec enim semel tantummodo dicatur. Ibique omnia [1] quae ad hanc conveniunt rationem peracta,[1] scola cantorum ascendat ad Sanctum Salvatorem officium suum ad perficiendum. Ceteri vero ministri ad ea quae tunc expediunt agenda revertantur in secretarium, unde iterum preparati procedant ad Sanctum Salvatorem, ibique missam condigne perficiant. Ad quam missam illa letania fiat primum septenaria quae in eodem scripto prima habetur. Deinde quinaria, quae secunda ibi continetur. Novissime autem ternaria, quae illic tertia constare videtur. Eadem vero nocte nocturni et matutini eo ordine ut supra scriptum est per tres choros in Sancto Salvatore peragantur. In die autem sanctissimo Paschae tam de processione et reliquo officio quam et de missa ita ut in Nativitate Domini [2] omnia peragantur.

Ordinavi enim ut in die sanctissimo Paschae et in Nativitate Domini fratres et ceteri omnes qui in aecclesia Sancti Salvatoris ad missam audiendam steterint in eadem aecclesia communionem percipiant. Dum vero fratres vel reliqui clerici ab illo sacerdote qui ipsa die missam cantaverit communicantur, sint duo sacerdotes alii cum duobus diaconibus atque subdiaconibus, quorum unus viros, alter in eadem aecclesia communicet mulieres, ut clerus et populus simul communicati benedictio(fol. 79[a])nem sive completionem missae pariter possint audire.[3] Qua finita, laudantes [4] Deum et benedicentes Dominum simul egrediantur. Hoc autem facto remaneant iamdicti sacerdotes duo, ex quibus unus ad unum ostium, alter ad alterum, pueros ex ambulatoriis descendentes communicent. Et cum haec omnia adimpleta fuerint, descendat unus ex una parte, alter ex altera, cum eorum ministris, et sic ad extremum stantes gradum communicent illos qui ad cetera supranominata loca communicare non occurrerint. Nam et in illis diebus cum missae in eadem Sancti Salvatoris aecclesia celebrantur, ordinavimus ut quatuor sacerdotes quatuorque diaconi [5] et quatuor INTERRUPTIO.[6]

[1] So in MS. [2] Cf. footnote 4, page 322.

[3] The binder has so far snipped the top margin as to cut away the contraction marks of the first line of the page.

[4] *laudentes*, MS.

[5] *Sub* originally written before *diaconi*, and then erased.

[6] Here occurs in MS blank space of two lines.

Ad sollemnes letanias faciendas conveniant cruces et processiones vicinarum aecclesiarum ad Sanctum Richarium. De Durcapto i; de Drusciaco i; de Bersaccas i; de Villaris i; de Monte Angelorum i; de Monte Martyrum i; de Angilbertivilla i. Quae omnes simul coniungant se in paradysum coram Sancta Nativitate, ubi oratione peracta cruces in eodem loco hinc et inde ordinate persistant. Populus autem in ingressu porte Beati Archangeli Mychaelis honeste ordinatus, ita tamen ut viri a septentrione, femine vero a meridie prestolentur, donec fratres cum scola de aecclesia beati Richarii egrediantur. Qui eo ordine exeant ut primum tres situle cum aqua benedicta per portam eiusdem Beati Mychaelis precedant; deinde thuribula tria cum thymiamate. Tunc cruces septem sequantur, ex quibus sit media crux Sancti Salvatoris; quas sequatur capsa maior ipsius Sancti Salvatoris: ad cuius dextram partem vadant sacerdotes tres cum aliis capsis minoribus tribus; ad levam similiter. Post quos sequantur diaconi vii, subdiaconi vii, accoliti vii, exorcistae vii, lectores vii, et ostiarii vii. Deinde reliqui monachi septem et septem per loca convenientia ambulent. Et ideo eos septenos ambulare decernimus ut (fol. 79[b]) in nostro opere gratiam septiformem Sancti Spiritus demonstremus; et quia tantam fratrum multitudinem, si bini vel terni incederent, unum vix miliarium caperet. Tunc sequatur scola laicorum puerorum cum flammulis septem.[1] Quos statim subsequantur nobiles viri septem et septem, a preposito vel decano electi; feminae vero nobiliores similiter observent. Tunc iterum procedant septem iamdictae forinsecae cruces; ipsas sequantur pueri et puellae quae canere sciunt orationem dominicam et fidem, vel cetera quae eis auxiliante Domino insinuare precepimus. Hos statim subsequantur honorabiliores viri vel femine ex familiis quae in eo loco fuerint constitutae. Deinde mixtus populus, infirmorum videlicet ac senum, pedestri ordine sicut ceteri septem et septem; novissime autem qui aliter non possunt equitando per loca congrua eo ordine subsequantur.

His ita constitutis, eodem primo die vadant per medium monasterii per publicam viam et per portam meridianam murum girando; revertantur per portam septentrionalem. Ordo itaque psallentium talis esse debet, ut cum primum promovendi sunt cantent antiphonam *Exurge Domine, adiuva nos*; et facta oratione secundum consuetudinem, continuo egrediantur, et mox omnes antiphonam *Exclamemus omnes ad Dominum* cantare incipiant. Quam subsequantur aliae tres, id sunt: *Iniquitates nostrae, Domine, multiplicatae sunt*, et *Exaudi nos, Domine*, et *Domine, non est alius Deus preter te*, donec egrediantur portas, meridianam scilicet et septentrionalem. Et tunc

[1] Long floating banners ending in two or three sharp angles.

fratres psalmos eorum alternis versibus cantare incipiant. Scola siquidem puerorum, et ceteri qui possunt, simbolum Apostolorum protinus cantare incipiat; deinde, post pauca, simbolum Constantinopolitanum; inde fidem Sancti Athanasii; novissime autem orationem dominicam; post haec laetaniam generalem quae prima in nostro continetur scripto. Deinde vero scola puerorum faciat laudes pro salute totius Christianitatis. His siquidem finitis cessent (fol. 80ª) fratres a psalmis et faciant letanias simul cum eisdem pueris, primo Gallicam, secundo Italicam, novissime vero Romanam. Nam pueri forinseci et puellae sine litteris auxilium habeant de scolariis et geniciariis, ut in his que ceperant et sciunt psallentes existere possint, donec illa quae dicta sunt impleantur; ut precedentes et sequentes haec omnia audientes Deo Omnipotenti referant grates. Hoc etenim cavendum est ut omni sic temperentur qualiter, cum revertentes in monasterium introierint, omnia quae superius leguntur possint esse completa, et tunc omnes incipiant *Te Deum laudamus*, *Te Dominum confitemur*, quem versibus alternis psallendo compleant. Et si evenerit ut ante finiatur, tunc cantent *Kirie eleison* et *Christe eleison* quousque perveniant ad Sanctam Nativitatem, quatenus per omnia et in omnibus a cunctis laudetur Deus et benedicatur nomen Domini nostri Iesu Christi qui est benedictus in saecula, Amen. In quo loco ab omnibus simul oratione finita, et repositis simul[1] in Sancto Richario crucibus vel ceteris quae portaverant, ascendant fratres ad Sanctum Salvatorem cum illis qui nobiscum cotidie cruces sequuntur missam ad perficiendam. Qua peracta, cruces quae venerant cum nostris maneant, et populus ad domum suam revertatur. Et his duobus diebus tam cruces quam et populus in locis supranominatis sibi constitutis in processione et missarum sollemnitatibus eandem observent rationem.

Secundo etenim die eundem ordinem quo supra et viam usque ad iamdictam portam observantes, pergant recto itinere per ecclesiam Sancti Martini in Villaris; et inde iuxta eandem villam, ad sinistram tamen partem eam dimittentes, perveniant ad illam aecclesiam in Monte Angelorum. Inde vero per mansum et per brogilum[2] ipsius aecclesiae exeuntes revertantur per ipsam septentrionalem portam ad Sanctam Nativitatem; ubi oratione finita accedant omnes ad Sanctum Richarium missam ad perficiendam. Qua audita forinsecus populus redeat ad domum suam.

Tertio autem die de sepedicta aecclesia promoventes per prefatam

[1] *Simul.* This word is underlined in MS, as if (it might be thought) for omission. The word evidently has reference to the crosses brought from the surrounding villages which were to be left along with 'ours' for these Rogation days.

[2] *Brogilum, broilum, brolium,* a wood or plantation.

portam egrediantur; inde recto itinere perveniant ad illam aecclesiam in Monte Martyrum; ubi finita oratione revertantur per Angilberti Villam; et inde iuxta murum per portam meridianam et per viam publicam, et sic coram mansionibus fabrorum vel ceteris usque ad portam quae ipsis mansionibus coniungitur. Inde perveniant ad Sanctam Mariam missam ad celebrandam. Forinsecus autem populus cum crucibus suis, propter (fol. 80[b]) vigiliam Ascensionis Domini, laudantes Deum et benedicentes Dominum redeant ad aecclesias suas ad audiendam missam. Quarto nanque Ascensionis Domini die fratres in Sancto Benedicto vestes induant, et in eadem aecclesia Sanctae Mariae tertia cantata, acceptis reliquiis et crucibus vel ceteris quae ibi dimiserant per medium monasterii et per portam Sancti Gabrielis accedant ad Sanctum Salvatorem, ibique honore condigno missam perficiant.

XI. Qualiter pro tribulatione cruces sequi debeant.

In tempore autem illo cum pro qualibet tribulatione cruces sequendae, ieiunia observanda, et Dei Omnipotentis misericordia maxime est deprecanda, primo die per medium paradysi, et per portam beati Archangeli Mychaelis exeant, et inde per viam publicam usque ad ianuam per quam ingreditur in Baldiniacum campum. Inde recto itinere aquam transeant per pontem iuxta murum, et inde per ianuam occidentalem quae habetur in platea, et per arcus similiter occidentales revertantur per portam beati Mychaelis usque ad gloriosam Nativitatem. Ubi oratione peracta, et crucibus vel ceteris quae portaverant in Sancto Richario remissis, ascendant ad Sanctum Salvatorem ad missam audiendam. Secundo die per supradictam portam beati Mychaelis exeant et inde per arcus orientales et per ianuam orientalem quae habetur in platea ingrediantur broilum. Unde recto itinere introeant per posterulam orientalem in hortum[2] fratrum, et sic per curticulam domni abbatis et per salam vel portam monasterii necnon et per portam beati Gabrihelis perveniant ad Sanctam Nativitatem. Ubi oratione finita veniant ad Sanctum Richarium ad missam perficiendam. Tertio namque die, de prefata aecclesia promoventes, ipsam viam teneant quam pridie tenuerant quousque supradictum hortum[1] egrediantur. De quo egressi per campum Centulensem et per broilum fontem girando, recto (fol. 81[a]) itinere exeant per ianuam iuxta portam meridianam. De quo loco per viam publicam coram supradictis mansionibus fabrorum ad portam quae eis coniungitur accedant ad Sanctam Mariam ad celebrandam missam.

[1] *ortum* cod.

Nam his diebus tres cruces et tres capsae minores, tria vasa cum aqua benedicta (et) tria turibula tantum portentur, nisi aliter a priore vel a fratribus consideretur.

XII. De Sancto Pentecosten.

In sancto Pentecosten vigiliae ad Sanctam Mariam fiant. Inde vero fratres ad Sanctum Richarium tertiam cantent; unde vestibus ornati exeant per portam Sancti Gabrihelis et canendo perveniant ad Sanctam Dei Genetricem et ad Apostolos, ibique missa celebretur.

XIII. De Assumptione vel Nativitate Sanctae Mariae.

In Assumptione etenim beatae Mariae omne officium tam in die quamque in nocte in aecclesia ipsius impleatur. In Nativitate autem illius tam de officio quamque de processione ita ut in Purificatione ipsius, exceptis candelis, omnia perficiantur.

Capit(ulum) XIIII. De Festivitatibus Beati Richarii.

Omne officium nocturnale seu matutinale in aecclesia ipsius perficiatur. In die vero fratres post capitulum ad Sanctum Benedictum vestes induant, et in aecclesia Sanctae Mariae tertiam cantent. Inde per medium monasterii cum populo procedentes per portam Sancti Gabrihelis paradysum ingrediantur, et coram Sancta Nativitate oratione finita perveniant ad altare beati Richarii, ibique honore condigno missam perficiant. Quod si hoc ratio aeris non permiserit, sicut in diebus dominicis ita processio agatur.

XV. De Sollemnitatibus Sanctorum Apostolorum et Martyrum, Confessorum atque Virginum.

Omnia officia in festivitatibus sanctorum coram altaribus in quibus reliquie eorum sunt positae vel in aecclesiis quae in eorum veneratione sunt consecratae percelebrentur. Ceterae vero horae seu sollemnitates sicut superius comprehensum est apud Sanctum Richarium omni tempore impleantur.

XVI. De Vigiliis vivorum Hominum seu et de Agendis Defunctorum.

(fol. 81[b]). Precipue autem, quod omnibus Christianis necessarium esse duximus, statuere curavimus qualiter fratres in predicto sancto coenobio Deo militantes ob amorem Dei et dilectionem proximi non

solum tantum pro nobis et illis seu etiam pro salute vivorum omnium, verum quoque ob memoriam cunctorum fidelium defunctorum per singulos dies ac noctes vespertinos, nocturnos atque matutinos[1] devotissime eo ordine ut in sequentibus declaratur celebrare studerent; quatinus nobis et cunctis successoribus nostris, qui per tempora, divina disponente clementia, in prefatum sanctum locum successuri sunt, et haec quae summa cordis devotione statuimus conservare voluerint, ad perpetuam mercedem, illisque pro quibus haec omnia aguntur ad remissionem proficiant peccatorum.

XVII. De circuitu orationum.

Omnibus horis vespertinis more solito celebratis, quando ad Sanctum Richarium expleverint omnia, pergant fratres psallendo usque ad Sanctam Passionem. Ubi oratione facta in duos dividantur choros, quorum unus pergat ad Sanctam Resurrectionem, alter ad Sanctam Ascensionem. Deinde oratione peracta veniat unus chorus ad Sanctum Iohannem, alter ad Sanctum Martinum; et post exinde per Sanctum Stephanum et Sanctum Laurentium ceteraque altaria psallendo et orando coniungant se ad Sanctam Crucem; et ibi peracta oratione accedant simul ad Sanctum Mauricium, ubi per singulos cotidianos dies ac noctes, sicut superius est insertum, vesperos, nocturnos et matutinos ob memoriam omnium fidelium defunctorum persolvant. Quibus illic ita expletis subsequatur continuo ipso ordine quo supra officium aliud pro salute vivorum; ea tamen ratione ut per longaniam deorsum pergendo vesperos, et iuxta temporis qualitatem nocturnos, usque ad Sanctum Benedictum impleant. Quicquid autem in ambulando remanserit diligenter in aecclesia ipsius in nomine Domini perficiant.

Cum enim vesperos et matutinos ad Sanctum Salvatorem cantaverint, tunc descendat unus chorus ad Sanctam Resurrectionem, alter ad Sanctam Ascensionem, ibique orantes vadant similiter ut supra canendo usque ad Sanctum Iohannem et Sanctum Martinum; ubi oratione (fol. 82ª) facta ingrediantur hinc et inde per arcus mediae aecclesiae et orent ad Sanctam Passionem. Inde ad Sanctum Richarium perveniant, ubi oratione finita dividant se iterum sicut ante fuerant, et veniant per Sanctum Stephanum et Sanctum Laurentium psallendo et orando usque ad Sanctam Crucem. Inde vero iterum ad Sanctum Mauricium et per longaniam usque ad Sanctum

[1] [In M. Lot's print the words 'nocturnos atque matutinos' have fallen out. I mention this on account of their importance for the earliest history of our present Office for the Dead. The expression is repeated below where M. Lot has the correct text.]

Benedictum omnia sicut paulo superius scriptum est ad laudem et gloriam Domini nostri Iesu Christi perficere studeant.

In diebus autem dominicis vel ceteris precipuis sollemnitatibus post peracta officia et omnium orationum circuitum, tam de aecclesia Sancti Salvatoris quam et Sancti Richarii seu Sanctae Mariae ceterorumque Sanctorum revertentes, vesperos ac matutinos pro salute vivorum per longaniam deorsum pergentes, ita ut in cotidianis fieri solet, implere non negligant. Nocte[1] vero in aecclesia Sancti Benedicti vigilias celebrantes[2]

In sollemnitate etenim Sancti Mauricii ordinavimus ut post peractum officium omnis chorus simul pergat psallendo et orando per Sanctum Laurentium et Sanctum Martinum; inde per arcum ipsius aecclesiae vadant per Sanctam Passionem ad Sanctam Resurrectionem. Ibi oratione finita veniant ad Sanctam Ascensionem; inde vero per Sanctum Iohannem et per arcum eiusdem aecclesiae veniant ad Sanctum Richarium. Ubi peracta oratione, per Sanctum Stephanum et Sanctum Quintinum veniant ad Sanctam Crucem.

Pueri INTERRUPTIO.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

[The most convenient starting-point for a consideration of the history of the development of the Litany of the Saints in the new period opening with the last two or three decades of the eighth century is furnished by the Ritual Order of Angilbert, abbat of St-Riquier, printed above. So far as I know this is incomparably the most instructive document of the time in regard to the part taken by the people in the religious services. In a letter of Alcuin's we get a glimpse of the people joining in a litany of sorts; but in fact it all seems the noisy shout of a crowd just repeating the ejaculation of *Kyrie eleison.* Or again, in another document, we see the people joining the priest in singing the *Sanctus* of the mass preparatory to his silent recitation of the Canon. Angilbert gives us a fully detailed account of the celebration of that thoroughly popular devotion, the procession of the Rogation Days as carried out at St-Riquier about A. D. 800, and affords such a picture as we can find nowhere else.

[1] *Nocte*, on an erasure, seemingly written by another hand.
[2] The sentence here breaks off, and a blank space of two lines follows in MS.

All is on the grandest scale, and all is a pattern of order and good organization. The procession went seven abreast: 'if we all went two and two, or three and three, the procession of the brethren only would extend nearly a mile in length,' says Angilbert. It is well to give the composition of the piece in some detail. First the people of the seven neighbouring parishes, each with its cross, assembled and were ranged in order in the *parvis* before the Church of the Nativity. Before the gate of St Michael were ranged the inhabitants of St-Riquier itself, men on the north side, women on the south. Then came out the monks' procession through St Michael's gate, three carrying holy water vats, three with smoking thuribles. Then (beginning the arrangement of seven abreast) came seven crosses—that of the Church of St Saviour in the middle; then seven carrying capsae of relics, with the great capsa of St Saviour's in the middle; then seven deacons, seven subdeacons, and acolytes, exorcists, lectors, ostiarii, seven of each; then the monks, seven and seven. Going seven and seven, says Angilbert, we shew forth the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Ghost. Now comes what is the most interesting part of the procession (where shall we find such details elsewhere?)—the school of lay boys, the abbey school, headed by seven banners floating in the breeze; immediately following whom come *nobiles viri*, seven and seven, chosen by the dean and provost of the monastery; then *feminae nobiliores*, also in ranks of seven. Then the seven crosses of the neighbouring parishes, close following on which are the boys and girls who (rustics as they are, villagers) know how to sing the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, 'and other things which by the help of our Lord we have caused them to be taught'. Then come the *honorabiliores viri vel feminae* of the town of St-Riquier itself and the neighbouring parishes; then the *mixtus populus*, the lower classes of St-Riquier and the villages, the old and the feeble, all seven and seven. Lastly, such of the old and weak as cannot walk close up the procession on horseback.

All this was just the *mise en scène*; the actual piece was the singing. After an antiphon and prayer at the start, whilst the community were filing out of the monastery precincts, all the brethren joined in singing four antiphons; and when they had passed out of the monastery gates they began to sing psalms *alternis versibus* —an arrangement I fail to understand with precision. But at any rate it is clear that psalmody still survived as the substantial and primitive devotion of the Rogation days as centuries before (see p. 128 sqq. above); the times, however, were no longer as in the fifth or sixth century, when Latin was the native tongue of all: the lay folk must be content now with something simpler. This is what was provided

for them: the boys' school, 'and others who can', sing the Apostles' Creed, and then after a while 'the Creed of Constantinople', then 'the faith of St Athanasius', and last the Lord's Prayer. 'After all this, the General Litany, which stands first in our book; then the boys' school sing *laudes* for the good estate of all Christendom.' Then comes a stop: the monks and the school and 'the rest who can' having done their separate devotions, the monks now join forces with the boys, and all sing litanies together, 'first the Gallic, then the Italic, then the Roman'; not these alone, however, for Angilbert means all to join in, learned and ignorant alike; and so he writes: 'The village boys and girls who have no learning are to have help in joining in from the scholars and the *geniciarii*,[1] so that after all they may be able to join in the singing.' We are not concerned with the final *Te Deum* as they approach the monastery on the procession's return. What is interesting to note is that the village boys and girls, *sine litteris*, are supposed to be able, with the help of better instructed comrades, to sing these litanies: and why not? with their short responses, 'Ora pro nobis', or 'Miserere nobis', or 'Te rogamus audi nos', or 'Christus vincit', repeated over and over again. Such prayers might, under the proud instruction of the children who 'have grammar', well be said in all the solemnity of the Latin tongue by the *gamins* also of these Picardy villages, at least on Rogation days. Such litanies, once adopted, were sure in the long run to become the essentially popular and the dominant feature of the Rogation processions; they were sure to spread, whilst the psalm singing was sure to dwindle until to-day there is just a faint trace of the original element, viz. in Psalm lxix (lxx) sung immediately after the Litany of the Saints on the Rogation days.

Next, for the first litany sung in the procession as ordered by Angilbert he refers to a particular compilation of his own, '. . . laetaniam generalem (he says) quae prima in nostro continetur scripto'. The litany of '135 names of saints, besides the order of angels, patriarchs, prophets and divers *deprecationes*' was the fourth in that *scriptum*. It was a collection. In it were included also the Holy Saturday litanies called *septenaria*, *quinaria*, *ternaria*;[2] and doubtless

[1] M. Lot (p. 358) is puzzled about this word, as I was; he suggests 'écolâtres'. The case is a particularly troublesome one; I am disposed to think that as used by Angilbert the word is rather to be connected in idea with *genitium* (see Ducange s. v.) than, as M. Lot suggests, with *gynaeceum* (for which also see Ducange), and that we are to understand here 'the school boys and the young gentlemen', much as centuries later in, say, abbat Whiting's *curia* at Glastonbury, which was for boys and young lads of gentle birth an introduction to polite life in the world and service at court or in the houses of the great nobility. St-Riquier in those days was no ordinary monastery, and Angilbert no ordinary abbat.

[2] There seems, however, to be some confusion, due probably to the eleventh-

also the *laudes* and the Gallic and Italic and Roman litanies ordered to be joined in by all the company together, from the learned monks down to the boys and girls of the neighbouring villages, who were *sine litteris.*

This is the state of the case then at one place about the year 800: but that was at princely St-Riquier, under that man of pre-eminently princely spirit among his contemporaries, the abbat Angilbert. How stood it elsewhere? Just as the first half of the eighth century is the English, or insular, period of the origins of the Litany of the Saints, so the second half, when we hear nothing from England, is the period of the continental origins of that Litany. That is to say, so far as evidence is concerned, the preceding period, the sixth and seventh centuries, is no more than darkness and void, into which we can, of course, project any purely imaginative 'history' of litanies that we please. I keep here, for discipline, to the evidence. What we want for our purpose is a complete survey of all the extant psalters of the eighth century with a view to ascertaining exactly which contain litanies of the saints and which do not. This would not be so difficult a task, seeing that in the disputes or discussions over the Athanasian and other Creeds in the last fifty years the psalters of the eighth century have probably all been laid under contribution. But unfortunately for our particular purpose, enquirers have been little interested to note the presence in or absence from them of Litanies of Saints. Our statistics are at present at fault.]

century scribe in copying a but half-legible original; for the three Holy Saturday litanies are described as the *first*, second and third *in eodem scripto.*

XV

A LETTER OF ABBAT HELISACHAR[1]

[When this letter of Helisachar, arch-chancellor of the Emperor Lewis the Pious, to his friend Nibridius,[2] archbishop of Narbonne, was first printed by me in 1886, my sole object was to illustrate the reforms of the Roman Antiphonar carried out in France in the ninth century as explained in § 1 below. My object in reprinting it here is quite different: namely, to shew that Helisachar's letter betrays an intimate acquaintance with the *Hucusque* preface which separates the *Gregorianum* of Pope Hadrian from its Carolingian Supplement; and that this is the case too with Benedict of Aniane's preface to his *Concordia Regularum*; whilst the compiler of the Supplement to Alcuin's *Comes*, or list of lessons at mass throughout the year, in his preface utilizes *Hucusque* wholesale.[3] The ultimate aim is to shew how all this supports, and indeed makes practically certain, Alcuin's authorship of *Hucusque*, and accordingly of the Carolingian Supplement to the *Gregorianum*.

I.

Before we can properly estimate the particular value of the witness thus borne by our letter to *Hucusque*, it is necessary that we should know

[1] Originally printed in *Neues Archiv* xi (1886) pp. 564-568; the introductory matter in the *Neues Archiv* is wholly different from the present paper.

[2] The name occurs as Nibridius, Nidibrius, Nimfridius, and Nifridius.

[3] What is thus attempted has been overdue some twenty years. So far back as 1894, in a note to his edition of Thalhofer's *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik* (1894) i p. 73 n. 5, the late Adalbert Ebner explained that he was not satisfied as to the *Hucusque* being an original document, and was disposed to think that the original was the preface to the Supplement to Alcuin's *Comes* which the writer of the preface *Hucusque* had utilized and adapted to his own purposes. So soon as this first part of Ebner's edition of Thalhofer came to my hands and I saw what he had said, I wrote to him pointing out that a third document, Helisachar's letter, must be taken into account at the same time, shewing him by the favourite method of a large and full table in parallel columns how, when the texts of the three documents are confronted with each other, it is the *Hucusque* that clearly appears as the original document known to and utilized by the other two writers; and known indeed in such a way and so familiarly (and I now add that this applies also to Benedict of Aniane) that, writing independently and with different liturgical or quasi-liturgical objects, they rendered its terms as if instinctively, and adapted them, each in his own way, to their individual needs of the moment. Ebner, when the three texts were thus put before him, at once recognized that this was the true state of the case, and in his *Quellen und Forschungen* (1896) p. 386, like the true savant that he was, in plain and simple terms corrected himself accordingly.

something about the writer of that letter. Although he exercised an influence more considerable perhaps than any of his contemporaries, unless it were his closest and dearest friend Benedict of Aniane, over the ecclesiastical order, and also over the mind of his master Lewis the Pious, his very name may not improbably be unknown to most readers of this paper. I have therefore to give in the briefest form a sketch of his career; and the rather inasmuch as I do not know of any book in which this has been done—at all events from our special point of view. But first it will be necessary to say something (*a*) as to the subject-matter of Helisachar's letter; and (*b*) as to the date of the events to which it relates.

As to (*a*):—

Amalar thus writes in the prologue to his work (written after 831) *De ordine Antiphonarii*—that is to say, the 'Roman' antiphonar (of course he was a strong 'Romanist') compiled by him according to his ideas of what a Roman Antiphonar ought to be:[1] 'On the verses, which any one using the present volume will find wholly changed [i.e. from the Roman text, and chant?], the priest of God Elisagarius laboured and sweated—a man learned among the first and most deeply versed in Scripture and the divine worship, a man also first among the foremost (*inter priores primus*) of the Palace of the most excellent Emperor Lewis. And not only he, but such men skilled and versed in the matter as he could bring together, sweated in the present business also' (Hittorp *de divin. Eccl. officiis*, Paris 1610, col. 503–504; Migne *P.L.* 105. 1244 B).

To be clear as to the precise subject of Helisachar's reform to which Amalar alludes in the passage just quoted, we cannot do better than take up the Roman Breviary. At the end of each lesson for matins, i.e. the night office, is a long responsory which, in its simplest form, is thus made up: first, a biblical text (or an adaptation of one), which is the 'responsory' in a strict sense; on which follows a 'verse', also from Scripture; and after that the second half (or part) of the preceding 'responsory'. For instance, to take a case at the very beginning of the book, the responsory at the end of the

[1] It is to be observed, however, that Amalar had the conscience, or condescendence, to indicate by a letter attached to each item of his new Roman Antiphonar the source whence he derived it: he uses the letter 'R' to indicate the pieces he drew from the Roman Antiphonar actually in use in Rome; 'M' for the pieces of the old Roman Antiphonar introduced into Metz nearly a century before, as improved on and developed there since; 'I C' 'ubi nostrum ingenium cogitavit aliquid posse rationabilius illis ordinare'—'I C' standing, as he says with modest deprecation of judgement on his own compositions, for 'Indulgence and Charity'; not, be it observed, for 'i(ngenium) c(ogitavit)'. So that at all events it was possible to distinguish in Amalar's Antiphonar his own modern and modernest compositions from the rest.

eighth lesson at matins of the first Sunday of Advent:—*Responsory*: 'Audite verbum Domini gentes, et annuntiate illud in finibus terrae ∗. Et insulis quae procul sunt dicite: Salvator noster adveniet.' *Verse*: 'Annuntiate, et auditum facite: loquimini et clamate.' And then comes a *repetition* of the second half of the 'responsory' proper: 'Et insulis quae procul sunt dicite: Salvator noster adveniet.' It is obvious that, with an arrangement of this kind, to be tolerable at all the 'verse' must be such that its last words, when followed by the second half of the 'responsory', will make sense and form a continuous phrase. But the authentic and native Roman method of singing these responsories knew no need for such clever dovetailings; for according to that Roman method the 'responsory' was simply repeated in its entirety after the 'verse'.

It is interesting to observe what was done by the early Romanizing reformers and cantors when the Roman *Responsale* and *Antiphonarium* were introduced into Gaul in the eighth century: they took the new text, but instead of adopting the Roman method of using, and singing, this text, they continued the old Hispano-Gothic method of *dimidiation* of the 'responsory' (i.e. repetition of its *second half* only) after the 'verse', and continued solemnly to sing nonsense until the Goths appeared at court: it was at this period that was initiated the work to which Amalar alludes, and which Helisachar in his letter presently details—namely, a systematic revision of the 'responsories' and their accompanying 'verses', so as to adapt them to the non-Roman method of *dimidiation* described above.[1] Helisachar may be left himself to describe the situation as he found it: 'I think your holy paternity remembers (he says to Nibridius) that now some time ago, when the Emperor's order obliged you to come to the palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, for the settlement of some ecclesiastical affairs, and attached me to his immediate service (*offitium palatinum*) there, often, when we assembled to celebrate the night office, whilst the Scripture-reading left our minds tranquil and at peace, the responsories (sung thereafter), as you were wont to say, were wanting alike in significance and good sense (*auctoritate et ratione*), and the verses sung by our cantors [i.e. at the court] and yours [i.e. at Narbonne] oftentimes did not fit into the responsories, and they left your mind in a state of mystification what was the meaning of it all.'

It did not strike these venerable men, any more than it struck Amalar some fifteen years later when he in his turn set himself to

[1] One may well ask what a man like Alcuin thought of it all. That excellent and wary old scholar probably thought that he had enough to do in carrying out what was entrusted to him to do, without stirring up a hornets' nest about his ears by affronting self-satisfied musical people.

compile a new antiphonar, that the proper remedy was simply to sing these Roman responsories as they were sung in Rome itself. On the contrary they must stick to their own local and traditional system of dimidiation; and so there was nothing for it but to alter the text by substituting 'convenient' new texts that would fit their own system. And the Roman Breviary still to-day shews in the responsories of the night office how successful in the long run were these Hispano-Gallic reformers of the liturgy and chant, for the system of 'dimidiation' now in the Roman book reigns supreme. As to the original texts thus suppressed, in the absence of any authentic local Roman Antiphonar of the eighth or ninth century, who shall say what has become of them, or what remains of the original Roman stock, or what is the composition of the reformers?[1] How Helisachar dealt with the situation, and the thoroughness of his measures, may be read in his letter.

As to (*b*): What is the probable date of the letter?—

Ernst Dümmler (the editor in *M. G. Epp.* v, 1899, pp. 307–309) assigns it to some time between 819 and *c.* 822. Now Helisachar arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle with his master Lewis, as said before, at the end of February or in the first days of March 814. Being the man he was, and always near the monarch's person, we may be sure that he was not wanting in assiduous attendance at the Palace Chapel. Nor would it take a man of Helisachar's qualities and acquirements very long to recognize that, with mind engaged doubtless on their side of the business, the cantors were quite content to sing what was too often nonsense. Again, we know that his friend Nibridius of Narbonne actually spent the Christmastide of 814 at Aix-la-Chapelle: of this there is the best

[1] In the text above I speak only of responsories of the night office, as to which all is plain sailing. But something was done also to the 'antiphons', i. e. here the introits, offertories, and communions of the mass. In this matter, whilst the Mozarabic books—missal and breviary alike—give us ample assurance (even apart from any other evidence) that the system of 'dimidiation' was the native Spanish one in mass as at office, the present Roman books will not help us to understand the difficulty about antiphons; for the simple reason that at some time which has yet to be accurately determined the offertories and communions were reduced to a simple antiphon without verse or repetition. In the case of the introits, whilst there is a repetition after the verse (or 'psalm'), it is a repetition of the entire antiphon in the ancient and Roman manner. But all this, as a whole, seems a comparatively late reform, or rather reversion; for it is evident from the Missal MS B VIII of the Vallicellian Library, which has disappeared since 1870, of the tenth or eleventh century, that, so far as the offertory is concerned, the system of 'dimidiation' was at that date in full vogue in Rome (see Tommasi's *Responsorialia . . . Romanae Ecclesiae*, 1686, praef. p. 34; ed. Vezzosi iv pp. xxx–xxxi of the second pagination). Thus we have the offertory for the first Sunday of Advent: *Antiphon*: 'Ad te Domine levavi . . . inimici mei: Etenim universi qui', &c.; *Verse*: 'Dirige me in veritate', &c.; *repetition*: 'Etenim universi', &c.; and dimidiation of the antiphon of the Offertory seems to have been the system of the Vatican Antiphonar of the twelfth century edited by Tommasi (*Antiqui Libri Missarum*, 1691; ed. Vezzosi vol. v). It would thus seem that at some undetermined date, in the ninth or tenth century probably, under either Gallic or Teutonic influence, the Hispano-Gallic system of dimidiation found its way even into the mass chant in Rome.

warrant in a privilege dated December 28 of that year in which the Emperor Lewis records the fact—'quia vir venerabilis Nifridius Narbonensis urbis archiepiscopus adiens obtutibus nostris, deprecatus est', &c. (Bouquet vi 469). It would seem that the confidential grumblings in the imperial chapel between the two friends recorded in the letter may, in all the circumstances of the case, be assigned with more probability to that than to any later occasion. Accordingly the compilation of Helisachar's antiphonar may, with some confidence that we are right, be assigned to the early years of Lewis's reign.]

II.

The following is Helisachar's letter as to the Antiphonar:—

Reverentissimo meritoque venerando Nidibrio, Narbonensis ęcclesię flore virtutum exornato archiepiscopo, Helisachar inutilis et omnium exiguus in Domino Deo aeternę prosperitatis salutem.

Meminisse credimus sanctam paternitatem vestram, quod dudum quando apud Aquasgrani palatium me offitium palatinum, vosque propter ecclesiastica dirimenda imperialis iussio obstringeret, et frequenter una nocturnis horis ad divinum celebrandum offitium conveniremus, animumque nostrum sacrę scripturę lectio serenum efficeret; sed ut referre solebatis responsoria auctoritate et ratione carentia, versusque qui in quibusdam responsoriis a nostris vestrisque cantoribus inconvenienter aptabantur, animum vestrum magna ex parte obnubilarent, mihi imperando iniunxeritis, ut adhibito sollerti studio pro captu ingenii in divinarum scripturarum pratis versus convenientes indagarem, et in responsoriis auctoritate et ratione refertis, congruis in locis aptarem. Sed licet hoc negotium vires meas excedere, meamque insipientiam tale quid nullo modo posse iudicaverim, non pręsumpsi tamen omittere quin id quod vestra sanctitas imperaverat summa cum devotione exequerer, fisus in illius gratuita misericordia qui potens est per inutilem et exiguum servum vestro sancto desiderio satisfacere, et quod vestrę devotioni et meritis debebatur meę quoque imperitię administrare. Adgrediens itaque hoc opus, aggregatisque[1] hinc inde antiphonariis cantoribusque, adhibita etiam librorum copia et peritis lectoribus, coepimus diligenter concordiam probare antiphonariorum. Sed quamquam in gradali cantu qui solummodo auctoritate sanctarum scripturarum nitet minime discordare possent, in nocturnali tamen qui sive ex auctoritate divina seu ex sanctorum patrum dictis compositus extat,[2] paucissimi in unum concordare reperti sunt; quoniam quędam

[1] 'aggregatosque' cod.

[2] Originally 'erat'; corrected by same hand.

in eis scriptorum vitio depravata, quędam imperitorum voto ablata, quędam etiam sunt admixta. Unde liquido patet quod antiphonarius bene apud urbem Romanam ab auctore suo editus in nocturnalibus officiis, ab his quos supra memoravimus magna ex parte sit violatus.

Quamquam igitur ab his qui capacitatis ingenio pollent, facile queant approbanda eligi et improbanda reici, propter simplices tamen minusque capaces modis omnibus imperiis vestris parendum fuit. Collatione ergo antiphonariorum celebrata eorumque lectione diligenter approbata, utque magna dissonantia perspecta est, antiphonas et responsoria quę erant auctoritate et ratione carentia, quę etiam digne in Dei laudibus cantari nequibant, respuimus. Ea vero quę auctoritate plena sunt locis suis ordinavimus, eisque ex eadem auctoritate amminiculante eorundem librorum copia versus congruentissimos iuxta capacitatem ingenii nostri adscivimus, ut videlicet iuxta sanctionem[1] vestram, unde responsorium erat, inde etiam conveniens foret et versus. Erant sane quędam antiphonę vel responsoria auctoritate plena et in Dei laudibus decentia quę neque a nostris neque a vestris cantoribus sciebantur. Unde nostri fuit studii quosdam melodię artis magistros advocare, a quibus vestri nostrique ea avidissime didicere. Ita vero res divina amminiculante gratia successit, ut quod auctoritas et ratio vindicabat in eodem opere poneretur, et quod deerat plurimorum documento suppleretur;[2] quodque vitio scriptorum, insolentia cantorum, aliquibus in locis depravatum erat aut quorundam imperitorum demptum vel additum fuerat, artis studio corrigeretur limaque rectitudinis poliretur. Quia ergo hoc opus vestra iussione peractum vestręque devotioni est dedicatum, etsi non illis quibus forte non placebit, nostris tamen vestrisque cantoribus precipue necessarium, humiliter exoro, ut a paternitate vestra benigne suscipiatur et in Dei laudibus devotissime utatur. His vero quibus animo sedet ad diligenter transcribendum hoc opus commodate. Fastidiosis autem et ingratis ad reprehendendum potius quam ad discendum paratis minime pandite. Eos itaque quibus commodatum fuerit deposcite, ut nihil ex eo demant, nihil in eo addant vel mutent; quoniam iuxta beati Hieronimi sententiam[3] nihil profuit emendasse libros, nisi emendatio librariorum diligentia conservetur. In prędato namque opere si quippiam quolibet modo non humilitatis, sed mordacitatis voto reprehendi potest, sciatur potius id simplici dissimulatione actum quam neglegentia aut imperitia pretermissum; quoniam oportebat quod multorum longo et devotissimo usu in divinis cultibus detritum erat,

[1] Originally 'sanctitatem'; corrected by same hand.
[2] Originally 'supplementor'; corrected by same hand.
[3] 'Ad Domnion. et Rogatian. Opp. ed. Vallarsius ix 1523–24' (*M. G. Epp.* v p. 308 note 2).

nostro etiam silentio potius comprobari quam presumptione[1] aliqua tangendo preiudicari. Quicquid namque in eo ordinatum sanctitas reppererit[2] vestra, nisi neglegentia rursus aut incuria depravatum fuerit, nihil reor repperiri posse quod non in Dei laudibus aut auctoritate sicut premissum est sacra, aut sanctorum patrum dictis compositum, aut multorum usu pia devotione longo iam tempore vindicatum, decenter assumi potest. Quia autem sicut premisimus nostris vestrisque cantoribus hoc opus oportunum esse iudicavimus, oportet ut sive ab his sive ab illis summopere observetur, quatinus versus convenienter positi atque ordinati secundum artis cantilenç modum honeste canantur et in responsoriorum convenientibus locis aptentur. Quapropter necesse est, qui ad melodię artis normam decoremque compositi sunt, et cantoribus magnum documentum et, ut ita dixerim, quendam ducatum in eadem arte prebent, bene intelligantur; ut his bene notis nullatenus in quoquam ab eiusdem artis auctoritate oberretur. Sancta deus Trinitas te mei memorem in sua sancta militia prolixo tempore conservet, honorabiliter venerande et venerabiliter honorande pater. (MS Harl. 2637 foll. 53^{b}–55^{a}, saec. x.)

III.

Helisachar was a 'Goth'—by which we understand a native of 'Gothia' or 'Septimania', the sunny land which runs along the Mediterranean from the mouth of the Rhone to the Pyrenees; the people whereof in feeling, sense, mind, soul, were as unlike the Germanic Franks as the Irish peasant of to-day is unlike the peasant race of the soil of Somerset. It was a land ideally loved by its children. Any one who cares to know how the Goth, in even high honour and station in the realm of the Franks, loved and sighed for the country of his birth, can find satisfaction in the verses in which the gifted Theodulph, bishop of Orleans, describes a journey back to the bright home of his boyhood.[3] There is another characteristic of 'Gothia' which recalls the Ireland of more modern times: it possessed somehow a power of fascination of its own that made aliens who came to dwell there *Gothis ipsis Gothiores.* This is well evidenced in the tragic history of the family of that hero and monk known to ecclesiastical history as St William of Gellone; it is also exemplified curiously—perhaps fatally would be the juster word—in the case of Lewis the Pious, the youngest, weakest, and most devout of the three legitimate sons of Charles the Great, who was destined to inherit, for his

[1] 'sumptione' cod.
[2] 'repperererit' cod.
[3] *M. G. Poetae aevi Karolini* i p. 497 sqq.

own and their misfortune, the whole of his father's vast dominions. Born in 778 literally in the purple, for his father declared him king of Aquitaine at his birth, on Easter day 781 consecrated with unction of royalty by Pope Hadrian I in Rome, he the same year, infant as he was, took possession of his kingdom in Toulouse, the capital. It was thus, with southern influences all about him, that Lewis grew up and lived; and by the time that, in 814, he succeeded to the imperial dignity, he had passed body and soul, it may be said, into the hands of the Goths: Helisachar and Benedict of Aniane were his most intimate confidants and trusted friends.

Of the beginnings of Helisachar nothing is known. Although by and by he enjoyed the abbatial dignity and the revenues of several Benedictine houses, and those of the greatest like St-Riquier and St Maximin at Trèves, he himself was not a monk but a canon. This appears quite clearly from the letter which St Benedict of Aniane wrote from his deathbed—'in extremis positus' he says; and indeed it is dated the day before he died—to his monks at Aniane giving them his last farewell, his last words of counsel: 'Elisacar quoque, qui pre omnibus super terram omni tempore nobis extitit amicus fidelissimus *canonicorum*, et fratres ipsos in meo habetote semper loco, et ad eum semper sit refugium vestrum'.[1] The first public notice of Helisachar is in April 808, when he appears as chancellor of the kingdom of Aquitaine; in other words, in a position betokening personal and confidential relations with the king his master. Two acts only are extant during the time of Helisachar's Aquitanian chancellorship: one in favour of Fridegisus, abbat of St Martin's at Tours, who was later on to succeed him when in August 819 he relinquished the archchancellorship of the Empire;[2] the other in favour of certain members of the monastery (of canons) of St Hilary at Poitiers who, wishing to embrace an *arctior vita*, had retired to Nouaillé, where they might live as monks, the rest remaining at St Hilary's to live, strictly, as canons: 'sub lege regulari, sicuti cenubiales more antiquo, secundum constitutionem beati Benedicti, vivere consuerunt, et actenus vivunt . . . ut, sicut isti in hanc cellulam [Nouaillé] divoluti monachicam vitam ducere videntur, ut illi qui ibi [at St Hilary's] remanent canonicam institutionem pleniter in Dei voluntate nostroque servitio debeant observare'.[3] In this passage

[1] *M. G. SS.* xv p. 220. The sense is: for your monastic observance hold close to the thirty brethren of Inde (the imperial monastery which Lewis had built close to Aix-la-Chapelle that he might have Benedict always near him) and look up to them as if it were I still living; but for all business matters always call on Helisachar.

[2] *Gallia Christiana* xiv Instr. p. 14 no. xi.

[3] *Bibl. de l'Éc. des Chartes* ii pp. 79-80.

we have as it were a kind of premonition of what was to be a great feature of Lewis's imperial legislation whilst he was under the dominant influence of the two Goths, Benedict of Aniane and Helisachar: his legislation, namely, as to canons and monks, proceeding three or four years later from the two great assemblies at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Charlemagne died January 28, 814; Lewis arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle a month later: by April 8 Helisachar—'Helisachar amatus', 'carus Helisachar', as he is called in the versified panegyric of Lewis written in the Emperor's lifetime by Ermoldus Nigellus,[1] himself a Goth—is found acting as archchancellor of the empire. The advent of the Goths was signalized by a general clearing out of the court of Charlemagne, from those veteran statesmen the brothers Adalard and Wala, sons of Charles's younger brother Bernard, who from early years had been trained and had long exercised themselves in all the arts and responsibilities of government, down to Charles's numerous unmarried daughters and their various belongings. These measures reached indeed the height of a general vengeance on all those who had been powerful or influential in the past. And so rose the day of the new men: and it was the hey-day of Gothic power.

All that we are concerned with here is those two great measures regulating monachism and the canonical life, but also embodying the aims and desires of the two men who now formed what in later days would have been called the monarch's 'conseil de conscience', Benedict of Aniane and Helisachar. These two measures were the 'forma institutionis canonicorum' issued by the council held at Aix-la-Chapelle in August and September 816, and the monastic reform, of the council at the same place, in 817:[2] both enactments which influenced and indeed determined the direction of the later ecclesiastical life of the Middle Ages. Though the records of these two assemblies are included in the collections of the Councils, they must be viewed, if we are correctly to understand the contemporary situation, distinctly as monuments of imperial legislation; but this is the case especially with the assembly of 816 as to canons and the canonical life, the life of the clergy that is. It is Lewis himself who intervenes

[1] Lib. ii l. 389; lib. iii ll. 295–296. At the baptism of Heriold king of the Danes at Aix-la-Chapelle in 826 (see Dom Bouquet, vi p. 56 note *d*) 'Hilduinus habet dextram [of Heriold], Helisacharque sinistram sustentat' (lib. iv ll. 413–414).

[2] The documents relating to the Council of 816 are now at length available in a critical edition in *Mon. Germ. Concil.* ii pp. 307–456. At pp. 464–466 is a notice only of those relating to the meeting of 817, which must be sought for in various collections besides the Councils, in Herrgott's *Vetus disciplina monastica*, and in vol. i of Boretius's edition of the *Capitularia*. A useful collection, with texts for the most part revised on MSS, is to be found also in vol. iii (1907) of Dom Bruno Albers's *Consuetudines Monasticae*. I follow the dates adopted in the *M. G.* volume: hitherto this whole question has been involved in considerable obscurity.

in settling this form of institution of the clergy;[1] it is he who issues a circular letter couched in stringent terms to the archbishops of his dominions containing instructions as precise as they are minute for bringing into force the new regulations. Moreover he intimates that special *missi* coming from himself will see to the enforcement of the new code punctually and at once; and he directs that any person recalcitrant is not to be left to be dealt with by the local bishops, but is to be sent to the Palace, to him, Lewis—'ante praesentiam nostram'—to be reckoned with: 'quatenus a nobis iuxta quantitatem culpae digne corrigatur'.[2]

Behind all this, in the case of a man of Lewis's character, there must have been a driving force: some man, some individual person, is at the back of these measures. Who should this be? It is unfortunate that whilst the memory of St Benedict of Aniane has engrossed, perhaps unduly engrossed, the attention of the later religious historians, that of Helisachar has been allowed on all hands to fall, not merely into the background, but into entire obscurity; and the historians of the canonical order, for their part, have been too busy in carrying back the institute of regular canons to a fictitious antiquity to bestow much care on the abbat Helisachar. Yet, when all the circumstances of the case are considered, and the men of the day reviewed, who else but that abbat of canons, so many years all-influential with Lewis, and known as a *zelator* for discipline, can well have been the instigator and manager of the reform of his own canonical order? For as we read the very detailed, comprehensive, and efficient decrees of the assembly of 816, of one thing we can, on the grounds of mere good sense, be sure, namely that some one, some individual man, is ultimately responsible for the whole scheme; and that man, one who intimately knew from experience the life for which his legislation was made.[3]

[1] See *M. G. Concil.* ii p. 312. [2] Ibid. pp. 458–464.

[3] Mabillon and those who followed him have been content to note abbat Helisachar by the way as a pluralist holder of several Benedictine abbeys, and let him pass, without any comment or enquiry whatever, as if a monk. But the attestation of his most intimate friend and companion, Benedict of Aniane, is too formal to admit of any question on the subject of his status as a canon, not a monk. Writers of the history of the canonical order have also been content, without any enquiry either, to father on Amalar the 'forma institutionis canonicorum' of Aix-la-Chapelle in 816 (e. g. du Molinet *Antiquitez des Chanoines*, Paris, 1674, 1re partie, Seconde Réflexion p. 7, Onzième Réflexion p. 11) referring to the Chronicle of Adhemar de Chabannes as authority (*M. G. SS.* ii p. 119). But Adhemar wrote more than two hundred years later. He was indeed a diligent student of Amalar as a ritualist, and was brought up in the midst of the neo-liturgical movement of which the monastery of St-Martial at Limoges was an active centre; but he was also unfortunately a retailer of stories—veritable cock-and-bull stories—about subjects of this kind. Amalar was not a canon, and there is nothing in his books which indicates that he had any sort of interest in or acquaintance with the discipline and observances of the canonical life. He is full and explicit as to cantors, and has no difficulty in saying

Some six months after the second marriage of Lewis, Helisachar retired from the archchancellorship, but in no degree whatever from his position and place in the Palace. And he remained the ever faithful and wholly devoted friend of Benedict in the declining days and last hours of that great monk; he was by his side in his death agony and received his last breath. The record as it stands in Benedict's Life by Ardo has traits that are truly touching, and shews Helisachar on his best side as a man capable of deep and sincere affection that lasts beyond the grave. But he was also a man of much worldly prudence, and recalled to mind at once the old warning word: *Vae soli.* Helisachar had no intention of going under. On the death of the Emperor's director Benedict, those still surviving elder statesmen of the great days of Charles, Adalard and Wala, now both monks, who in the seven years since the advent of the Goths had been kept in exile and disgrace, were recalled and brought into the Emperor's most intimate counsels; and from that time forward Helisachar is found in close alliance with them, these three now forming the omnipotent camarilla that, as against outsiders, kept Lewis—the weak as well as the Pious—to itself. We get a glimpse of the new state of affairs in a letter addressed by Agobard, one of the chief magnates of the empire and, from his personal character, one of the most influential prelates of the day, 'to the holy fathers Adalard, Wala, and Helisachar'. Agobard had come to court about the business of the Jews with a view to keeping these presuming persons in their proper place. He describes the end and upshot of his mission: 'The time was fixed for my departure, and you heard me muttering rather than speaking against those who supported the complaints made by the Jews [that is, of course, the three favourites and 'holy fathers' named above]; and when you had heard what I said and had turned the tables upon me ('modificata quae dicebantur altrinsecus'), you rose, and I too. You went into the presence of the Prince, and I was left standing outside the door. After some little time you caused me to enter; but I heard nothing about my business and only received my *congé*. What you may have said to the most clement Prince, how he took it, or what answer he made, I never heard; I did not go near you afterwards.' 'Quamobrem recessi turbatus; arripui iter incertus, perveni domum confusus', and so on; and that was all the satisfaction he received for his zeal and trouble.[1]

what he thinks of them; but that is another matter. From his books we can, however, easily gather that he was just the kind of person who might be employed to collect a body of likely passages from the fathers and ecclesiastical writers for other busy, practical people, who had in hand the business of drawing up the 'forma institutionis canonicorum' that was actually adopted by the assembly of 816.

[1] *P. L.* 104. 101.

Things went on so for some ten years. By and by the child of his later years, afterwards king Charles the Bald, was born to Lewis; and now the concern was how to carve out a kingdom for this new comer—a delicate business, inasmuch as Lewis had made in 817 a division of his dominions among the three sons of his first marriage. Discontent and impatience of the palace favourites grew, and came to a head on the appointment of the youthful and brilliant Bernard, Duke of Septimania (a young gothicized Frank of the imperial house), as chamberlain of the Palace. In 830 the crash came which was to begin the troubles, the wars, the savagery of the next thirteen years, wherein the empire of Charles the Great came to ruin; and the political divisions and rivalries of Western Europe, which still subsist, came into being. It was the end of the dominance of the Goths: Wala, their then ally, was exiled to the shores of Lake Leman, Helisachar, despoiled of his abbeys, to some place unknown. He seems to have recovered his liberty in 833, but history has nothing more to say of him, and his death is not recorded.

IV.

It remains now to shew the way in which (*a*) Helisachar in his letter printed above, (*b*) the writer of the preface *Hunc codicem* of the Supplement to Alcuin's *Comes* (Lectionar) giving an account both of it and his own work (Tommasi ed. Vezzosi v p. 314; E. Ranke *Perikopensystem* Appendix pp. xxi–xxii), and (*c*) Benedict of Aniane in the preface to his *Concordia Regularum* (Migne *P. L.* 103. 713–716) betray acquaintance with or utilize the preface *Hucusque* inserted between Hadrian's *Gregorianum* and its Carolingian Supplement.

(*a*) The relative portions of Helisachar are p. 337 l. 27 to p. 338 l. 34 ('. . . quoniam quędam . . . parendum fuit') and p. 338 l. 45 to l. 62 ('Unde nostri fuit studii . . . diligentia conservetur'). It will be unnecessary to confront the entirety of these passages with parallel pieces of *Hucusque*; a few specimens will be enough: the enquiring or curious reader can easily complete the task for himself.

Helisachar.	*Hucusque.*
P. 337 l. 27–p. 338 l. 34: . . . quoniam quędam in eis *scriptorum vitio depravata*, quędam imperitorum voto ablata, quędam etiam sunt admixta. Unde liquido patet quod antiphonarius *bene* apud urbem Romanam *ab*	Praefatus sane sacramentorum libellus licet a plerisque, *scriptorum vitio depravante*, qui *non ut ab auctore suo est editus* haberetur, pro captu tamen ingenii ob multorum utilitatem *studii nostri fuit artis stilo corrigere.*

auctore suo editus in nocturnalibus officiis, ab his quos supra memoravimus magna ex parte sit violatus . . .

P. 338 l. : Unde *nostri fuit studii* quosdam melodię artis magistros advocare . . .; ll. 49 sqq.: . . . *quodque vitio scriptorum*, insolentia cantorum, aliquibus in locis *depravatum erat* aut quorundam imperitorum demptum vel additum fuerat, *artis studio corrigeretur* limaque rectitudinis poliretur.

P. 338 ll. 56 sqq. : *His* vero *quibus animo sedet* ad diligenter transcribendum hoc opus commodate. *Fastidiosis autem et ingratis* ad reprehendendum *potius* quam ad discendum paratis minime pandite.

Non igitur ingratis et fastidiosis sed *potius* studiosis et devotis ita illa collegimus, *in quibus cui animo sedent* potest reperire unde . . .

(*b*) The preface *Hunc codicem* prefixed to the Supplement to Alcuin's *Comes* is from beginning to end practically a shortened rewrite of the preface *Hucusque*, adapted to the particular purpose of a Lectionar. It would therefore be but waste of print to draw out the case here; it is enough to have stated a fact of which any person can convince himself who will confront the two documents.

(*c*) In the case of Benedict of Aniane I shall give the parallel passages in full so that the reader can decide for himself whether to think (as I certainly do) that Benedict was acquainted with the *Hucusque*, or was not.

Benedict of Aniane
(Migne *P. L.* 103).

715 A: . . . *placuit omnes ex omnibus in unum* coarctari sententias quae cum Patris Benedicti concordare noscuntur Regula, quatenus *unus ex multis collectus* existeret codex . . .

715 B: . . . *Noverint tamen omnes qui hunc lecturi sunt librum* quoniam non vanae laudis instinctu *nec arrogantiae fastu* quasi meum . . .

716 A: . . . cupiens ostendere nomen; *sed dilectionis affectu* animae meae omniumque legere cupientium salutis augmento a me esse coeptum.

. . . *Vos vero omnes qui hunc* audituri *lecturique estis librum, supplex*

Hucusque.

Si cui autem *placent* ea quae *sine fastu arrogantiae* summo studio *pioque collegimus amore* suscipere, *precamur ut non ingratus nostro* existat labori . . .

Noverit itaque nos perspicacitas *lectoris* non alia huic inseruisse operi nisi ea quae a probatissimis . . . exarata sunt viris. *Ex multis ergo multa collegimus* ut multorum utilitati prospiceremus. . . .

Obsecramus itaque vos quicumque hunc codicem ad legendum sive tran-

exoro ut dum ex vobis spiritalia sumpseritis mella, *pro meis reatibus Domino non dedignemini fundere precem . . . Sumite ergo gratanter a nobis* utilem vobis contractum libellum . . . scribendum sumpseritis *ut pro me ad Dominum preces fundatis* qui ob utilitatem plurimorum *ea colligere* atque corrigere studuimus.

On all this I have two observations to make before concluding: one on the value and implications of the use of *Hucusque* by these writers; the other on the history of that preface itself in modern days.

1. The use of *Hucusque* by the writer of the Supplement to Alcuin's *Comes* is quite natural and what might be expected on the supposition that Alcuin is the writer of *Hucusque*, and it calls for no further remark.

But it is otherwise in regard to the use of that document by Helisachar and Benedict. These were the two men, it has been said, the most deeply in the confidence of the Emperor Lewis the Pious, who on his accession became at once the two most powerful men in the State. That both of these should use *Hucusque*, one in a letter to a friend, which is however a sort of explanatory preface to the new antiphonar which had been compiled by his order, the other in the preface to his great work of the *Concordia Regularum*, and use it in such a way as to shew that they had it as it were by heart and fused its words with their own thoughts on a similar occasion, seems to me of the highest significance in more than one respect and wholly to confirm what I wrote in 1894 that 'it is hardly too much to call the preface *Hucusque* a State Paper of the time' (see p. 53 above).[1]

2. As to the modern history of *Hucusque*, from the sixteenth century to to-day:—

[1] It seems desirable to mention at least in footnote two passages, one taken from the Prologue to the *Institutio* for Canons settled at the assembly at Aix-la-Chapelle in 816, the other from Lewis the Pious's *Capitulare Ecclesiasticum* of 818–819 embodying a Summary of his ecclesiastical legislation of the previous two or three years. The passages in question are as follows:

Prologue to *Institutio* (*M. G. Concil.* ii 313 ll. 4, 7–9)	*Capitulare Ecclesiasticum* c. 3 (*M. G. Capit. reg. Franc.* i 276)
. . . omnium tamen animis sedit, ut . . . ex canonica auctoritate et sanctorum patrum dictis, veluti ex diversis pratis quosdam flosculos carpentes, hanc institutionis formam excerperent et canonicis observandam conferrent.	. . . operae pretium duximus, Deo annuente, apud sacrum conventum ut ex dictis sanctorum patrum velut ex diversis pratis quosdam vernantes flosculos carpendo, in unam regulam canonicorum et canonicarum congerere et canonicis vel sanctimonialibus contradere.

The words of *Hucusque* are: 'Idcirco operae pretium duximus ea, velut flores pratorum vernantes carpere, et in unum congerere, atque correcta et emendata . . .'

Of course *flosculos carpere* or *congerere* and *vernantia prata* is an old story; I leave it to the reader to settle for himself, in view of what has been said as to the relation in which Helisachar stood to this assembly, and as to his use of the preface *Hucusque* in his letter to Nibridius of Narbonne, whether the same sort of use has been made of that preface in these legislative enactments. I should say 'yes' if I were asked the question.

(*a*) It was first printed by Pamelius in 1571 from a twelfth-century Sacramentary, and Grimoldus abbat was given as the author of the second of three books or parts into which that Sacramentary was divided; the first part bore the name of Gregory; the third was anonymous but conjectured by Pamelius to be by Alcuin. The MS thus adopted by Pamelius for his edition of the *Gregorianum* is in its contents so confused and divided that both the *Gregorianum* of Hadrian and Alcuin's Supplement are unrecognizable and lost.

(*b*) Ménard (1642), who found the preface, of course without any name of author in the Sacramentary written for the priest Rodradus (see above, p. 67), took Rodradus to be its author; but being able to make nothing out of *Hucusque*, and finding the whole matter rather absurd, dismissed it as being of no value and did not print it.

(*c*) It remained thus neglected for a century until Muratori (1748), having now genuine manuscripts of Charles the Great's *Gregorianum* (Hadrian's *Greg* + Charles's Supplement), in the Dissertation prefixed to his collection entitled *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, again called attention to the preface *Hucusque*: '. . . quem proferam et ego ante Benedictionem Cerei'—that is, between Hadrian's *Gregorianum* and the Carolingian Supplement—'ex Othoboniano (codice)', as he clearly says in col. 80 (cf. p. 75 n. 1 above). At col. 81 Muratori tells us what he thought of the preface, for he expressly calls it 'Adnotatio Alcuini', 'Prologus', 'Praefatio Alcuini' (cf. col. 80 at top). In the book as published the matter fell out otherwise to the confusion of later generations of the learned; it is no use repeating the story, and it will be enough here to refer to p. 75 above.

(*d*) The first writer, after Muratori, to revive interest in *Hucusque* was the Protestant clergyman Ernst Ranke in 1847 (*Das kirchliche Perikopensystem* pp. 67–80, where he discusses the whole subject with intelligence); it was from him that I gained understanding of the usefulness of *Hucusque*, and was led in particular to see that instead of entering on futile considerations and still more futile discussions as to 'Gelasius' and 'Gregory' and their authorship of the Sacramentaries, attention must first be concentrated on the history of the Roman Sacramentaries in Gaul in the eighth and ninth centuries and, for a beginning of all, the Sacramentary sent by Hadrian to Charles the Great must be recovered.[1]

(*e*) Mgr Duchesne deals with *Hucusque* in his *Origines* 1st ed. 1889 pp. 115–116, 4th ed. (1908) pp. 121–122; M. Netzer in his *Introduction de la Messe romaine* (1910) pp. 181, 183, etc. To M. Netzer

[1] It is unfortunate that in *M. G. Epp.* v pp. 579–580 Dümmler was unaware of the true state of the case; but this is surely not his fault—and he still prints the preface under the name of Grimoldus abbat of St-Gall with the date 841–871.

its author is still Grimoldus. To both these writers *Hucusque* seems to have been of much the same sort of use as it was to Ménard more than two centuries and a half ago.

(*f*) Since the MS went to press I have seen Dom Morin's article 'Une rédaction inédite de la préface au supplément du *Comes* d'Alcuin' in *Rev. Bénéd.* t. xxix (1912) p. 341 sqq. At p. 343 sqq., referring to Ebner's remarks in *Quellen* (see above p. 333 n. 3), he confronts (pp. 344–346) extracts from *Hucusque* with Helisachar's letter and the preface to the Supplement to the *Comes*. His way is different from mine, and the two attempts supplement each other. What is important is his conclusion:

'L'édition supplémentée du sacramentaire grégorien, avec la note caractéristique *Hucusque*, est bien décidément l'œuvre d'Alcuin' (p. 345).

In a foot-note he deals with those delicate critics who have not been able to make up their minds to allow that this is the case, and adds what I think to be the very just remark: 'Au fond, la grosse difficulté me semble venir de ce qu'on n'a pas suffisamment approfondi la question par soi-même'. Morin's conclusion is practically the same as that which Ebner came to when I wrote him two-and-twenty years ago: 'Alcuin's authorship of the Prologue (he says), and consequently of the Supplement [to *Greg*, that is] must be considered as raised to the highest degree of probability'. I prefer Dom Morin's way of phrasing the case.

PART II: ANTIQUARIAN

XVI

SOME ANCIENT BENEDICTINE CONFRATERNITY BOOKS[1]

AMONG ancient memorials of monastic life and practice the Confraternity Books have been perhaps the most neglected. It must be owned that at first sight they present little to attract the enquirer. Obituaries, on the continent at least, have received competent attention from editors and historians, although some of these learned persons stoutly maintain that obituaries have no claim to be admitted into the category of strictly historical material at all. Dealing with suffrages for the dead and thus depending on anniversaries, they do profess to record a definite fact, the day of death, but a fact after all which can rarely be of practical use for historical or critical purposes unless, as occasionally happens, the year is stated as well; and the present value of obituaries is more in the seeming than the reality. A Confraternity Book offers still less: it is an enrolment of the living, presenting nothing but long lists of bare names, broken here and there by a rubric or heading, or (in later times, and then most sparingly) a cursory note of a benefaction or oblation. Unpromising as such a book may at the first glance appear, there is much to commend it to the philologist, the historian, even to the genealogist, but certainly to those who are interested in the social and ecclesiastical life of the Middle Ages.

Within the past year a large quarto has been published, of four hundred pages, exclusive of indexes, devoted to the ancient Confraternity Books of no more than three Swiss monasteries, St-Gallen, Reichenau, and Pfäffers.[2] The existing St-Gallen book, whilst comprising copies of earlier admissions to fraternity, was actually begun about the year 810; from that time the entries are contemporary and extend over the whole of the ninth century. The editor has appended

[1] From the *Downside Review*, January 1885.

[2] *Mon. Germ. Libri Confraternitatum Sancti Galli, Augiensis, Fabariensis*, ed. Paulus Piper, Berolini, 1884, pp. x, 550.

the oldest profession book of the monastery which, though now detached, seems originally to have formed part of the same volume; the professions range from about the year 720 to the second half of the eleventh century, and are original from about the year 808 onwards.

The Reichenau manuscript, though hardly so ancient, is a truly venerable volume. The first hundred and thirty-four pages were written in the years 826–834; the remaining thirty, in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The circumstances in which it found its way to its present resting-place, the Public Library at Zurich, deserve to be recorded. It may be premised that Dr Ferdinand Keller, now or lately President of the Zurich Antiquarian Society, had been on excellent and friendly terms with its recent possessors, the monks of Rheinau, by whom he has been allowed liberal use of their manuscript treasures. When the cantonal representatives decreed the suppression of Rheinau and the civil authorities took forcible possession of the monastery, Dr Keller hastened to the spot. The library had already been compared with the catalogue, and was in the hands of the officials. The Reichenau Confraternity Book had never been incorporated in the Rheinau library, being doubtless looked on as a sort of family memorial of bygone days. These were no reasons for Dr Keller; he urgently called for the book and demanded that it should be given over to the spoiler; nor did he cease in his insistence until, with sorrowful reluctance, it was delivered up.[1] 'To this we owe it that the precious codex did not find its way to Italy or England or some other land,' remarks the German editor in wholesome horror of English acquisitiveness. To most persons probably the transaction will suggest reflections of quite another kind. It might have been remembered too, that if the present century has seen the dispersal of valuable libraries, with loss of some of their contents, and the sale or alienation of inestimable manuscripts, it is not monks who have been responsible for the one, or have profited by the other. Besides, it is somewhat premature to congratulate ourselves unreservedly on the garnering of all this harvest into a few great public institutions. It yet remains to be seen whether public libraries will succeed, as did the monasteries, in preserving through all perils of war and civil disturbance, and danger of fire,[2] their manuscripts for four, six, eight hundred, a thousand years.

[1] *Libri Confrat.* p. 147.

[2] It is a singular fact that, whilst monasteries seem to have been particularly unfortunate in this matter of fires, the libraries have so commonly been saved. It may not be without interest to recall a quite recent example, at Admont in Styria, in the year 1863. All the abbey buildings, even the church, perished in the flames except the library, which contained some 1,000 MSS, the loss of which would have

The Pfäffers confraternity records are much less considerable than either of the foregoing. They occur scattered through the pages of a Gospel book; the entries which have been printed range from the year 830 to the fifteenth century. The best known English example is the Cotton MS Domitian vii, the famous *Liber Vitae* of Durham, the title, by the way, under which the St-Gallen book is mentioned by writers of that monastery in the tenth century.[1] If the edition of the Durham book, put forth by the Surtees Society in 1841, has not been used to the extent which its value would warrant, this is probably owing to the absence, in accordance with the restrictions placed on the editor by the Society's rules, of the extended and elaborate explanatory notes, and the full indexes (149 pages) with which the German editor Dr Piper has enriched his own volume. A Confraternity Book is necessarily disjointed reading at best, even when accompanied by the helps which bring it into relation with the history of the time; when destitute of such helps the most ardent enquirer who is not also editor may be excused for soon growing impatient.[2] Recently the British Museum has acquired amongst the Stowe MSS an interesting volume which belongs to this class, the so-called Hyde Cartulary, being really the Confraternity Book of St Grimbald's house of Newminster (later, Hyde) at Winchester.[3]

Before going further, it may be well to give some more precise explanation as to the object and use of these books. A passage from

been irreparable. The church has been since rebuilt in noble proportions; it may be added that the community in completing its fittings and ornaments have shewn themselves, like the brethren in former days, patrons at once discriminating and appreciative of local talent.

[1] See p. 354 n. 4 below.

[2] [It is indeed true that almost everything that would make these bare lists of names useful for historical purposes yet remains to be done. I would repeat that the Durham book ought to be edited with the same care and elaborate annotation as is found in the volume which gave rise to this paper. A beginning has been made and a specimen given; of course by a German, as we insulars are commonly engaged in more 'profitable' ways: namely, by that veteran and indefatigable enquirer into late Merovingian and early Carolingian history and its remoter recesses, H. Hahn. See his article 'Die Namen der Bonifazischen Briefe im Liber vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis' in *Neues Archiv* xii (1886) pp. 111–127. He calls for a 'gründliche Ausgabe dieses Buches' and says that until this is given 'bleibt es ein zwar interessanter aber doch unhandlicher und nicht sehr werthvoller Torso'. And so it still remains after a lapse of thirty years. He adds, with perhaps a certain merciful regard for our insular ways, that 'Freilich würde eine solche Arbeit eine äusserst mühselige werden, die grosse Opferfreudigkeit und Entsagung fordert'; which in mere English means that there is nothing to be got out of it in name or fame. An adequate instrument of, and necessary condition for, the work is already at hand, that is, an accurate print of the original part of the book by Sir E. M. Thompson in *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts* Part ii (1884) p. 81 sqq., which indeed seems to have been the cause and occasion of H. Hahn's essay.]

[3] [This MS has been since printed under the editorship of the late Mr de Gray Birch for the Hampshire Record Society under the title *Liber vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester* (1892).]

the sixteenth-century writer of the *Rites of Durham* as to the *Liber Vitae* has been often quoted. It will be more satisfactory to give an extract from the proem to the Newminster volume which, though longer, has the advantage of affording authentic details, and giving expression to the actual intention of the original compilers in the early part of the eleventh century. 'Here follow in due order', so runs the proem, 'the names of the brethren and monks (of the monastery of Newminster), and of our confratres,[1] and benefactors, living and dead, by whose alms, through the bounty of Christ, this family is day by day supported; that by this written remembrance on earth they may be inscribed on the page of the heavenly record. And let there be entered here the names of all who commend themselves to the prayers and fraternity of this community, so that a commemoration of them may be made daily in the holy solemnities of the Mass, and in our psalmody, and their names presented daily before the holy altar, at the morning and the principal mass by the sub-deacon, and be recited by him so far as time permits in the sight of the Most High. And that, after the offering of the oblation, they may be humbly commended to Almighty God, by the placing (of this book) upon the holy altar, during the Canon, on the right hand of the cardinal,[2] who is celebrating the mass. In order that, as commemoration is made of them on earth, so in the life beyond, by the mercy of Him who alone knows how all there are or are to be, the glory of those of greater merit may be augmented, and the cause of those of lesser desert may be helped. Rejoice therefore and be glad, for your names are written in heaven.'[3]

In accordance with the purposes here set forth, the Durham and Newminster books are small thin and handy volumes, properly successors of the ancient diptychs, and so differing in general appearance, as well as in the character of their contents, from the large and heavy fifteenth-century Benefactors' Book of St Albans, which was also destined to be placed on the altar.[4] For want of an explanatory proem, it does not appear with certainty whether the Swiss books

[1] 'familiariorum'; see Ducange s.v. *familiares*, towards the end.

[2] The title was common in churches of canons, in the tenth and eleventh centuries; this instance of its use in a monastery as designating a priestly member of the community is singular, but may perhaps find an explanation as a survival from the days, before St Ethelwold, when Newminster was inhabited by canons.

[3] Stowe MS 960, pp. 15–16; ed. Birch pp. 11–12.

[4] 'Statuimus etiam omnium benefactorum nostrorum nomina in praesenti conscribi matricula et super magnum altare reponi', Riley's edition of Trokelowe, p. 429, in which volume the earlier benefactors' book (fourteenth century) is printed. The Cotton MS Nero D vii is a later copy; several of the illuminations in this MS are interesting for the form of the Benedictine habit in England in the fifteenth century, which is much the same as that of the English Congregation at present; see especially f. 43^{b} and f. 81^{a}. The book was used later for confraternity entries.

were used in the divine service in the way above described, but some such official use, so to speak, seems to be implied by a colophon added by a Reichenau scribe at the end of his labours. 'The names enjoined upon me to enter in this book, but omitted by carelessness, sloth, or forgetfulness of mine, I commend to Thee, O Christ, to Thy Mother, and all the heavenly host, that here and in life eternal their happy memory be kept in honour.'[1]

On the most cursory examination, the reader cannot fail to be struck by the widely spread connexions of such a house as Reichenau in those early days. The compiler of 826 starts with a list of fifty-six monasteries and churches which, in virtue of the special conventions usual then and later, had entered into communion of prayers and spiritual benefits with his own community, and whose members he proceeds to enroll name by name. These churches are situated in all parts of Germany, some near at hand, like St-Gallen or Murbach, some distant, as Prüm and Gorze. In the list we find, too, Nonantola, and Flavigny, and Senones, St-Medard at Soissons, St-Vaast at Arras, St-Germain-des-Prés, and St-Denis. This list exhausted, he adds other communities, with which conventions had perhaps been made, or whose names had been received, whilst he was actually engaged in making his transcript: the famous nunnery of Faremoutier; Charroux in the diocese of Poitiers; at Lyons the canons of the Cathedral, of St-Juste, and others; the monks of L'Ile-Barbe; the nuns of St-Pierre-le-Puellier; the houses of SS. Giulia and Faustina at Brescia; St-Ouen of Rouen; Old Corbie near Amiens, and many more. It need hardly be pointed out how important these lists are, amongst other purposes, for monastic and ecclesiastical statistics.

A still greater interest attaches to the pages of these books which record the admissions of lay people, or secular clergy, to fraternity and their enrolment as *fratres conscripti* of the monastery. Some pages present all the most illustrious names in the history of church and state in the revived western Empire of the ninth century,—with a whole genealogy of the royal house from Pippin to the last degenerate princes of the Carolingian line—who, one after another, came to seek 'society' in spiritual benefits and good works with the monks of St-Gallen or Reichenau.[2] Page after page follows, filled with the names of the laymen and women, now known only by their entry in this Book of Life.[3] Sometimes, it is true, the most exalted personages appear in the simplest guise, and it is left for the modern editor to reveal

[1] *Libri confrat.* p. 302: 'eorum beatitudinis celebretur memoria.'
[2] Ibid. pp. 11, 15, 18, 20, 35 (in the St-Gallen book); p. 262 sqq. (in that of Reichenau).
[3] e.g. at St-Gallen, ibid. pp. 39–41, 55–63.

to us in the unpretending list, 'Hludowich, Karolus, Richgart, Hemma, Berehta, Irmingart, Hiltigart,' the family of the powerful King Lewis of Germany;[1] or in 'Heilwic, Velf, Chuanrat,' the family of the Empress Judith, wife of Lewis the Pious, and mother of Charles the Bald.[2] There can be no doubt, however, that we may apply to these earlier days the better knowledge we possess of later times and see here, as in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries at Durham or Hyde, Canterbury or St Albans, confratres of all degrees and states of life, gentle and simple; some pilgrims from afar; some people of the town and all the country round about. The total number of these *fratres conscripti* of St-Gallen alone, in the course of the ninth century, is not less than 1700.

'But,' it may be asked by some who have the idea that such aggregations of lay people to religious orders, the 'third orders' and 'tertiaries' as they are now called, were an invention of the thirteenth century, and that like the name the thing is new,—'but, is it possible that all these were confratres and consorores, admitted to participation in the good works of the monks? are they not merely benefactors?' Such a notion is not borne out by the intrinsic evidence of the books themselves: it is clear on the face of them, in regard to fraternities registered with communities and churches, that they have reference exclusively to communication of spiritual benefits, and there is nothing whatever to suggest that there is any difference in this respect with regard to the lay persons enrolled. It has been already mentioned that in these books the scribes are very chary of anything like explanation; but the St-Gallen book in a leaf now missing, seen by Goldast in the beginning of the seventeenth century, had the entry 'In nomine Dei factus est noster frater Hugo rex, et Hluthere,' &c.[3] Again, monastic tradition in this matter shews neither break nor change. The St-Gallen chronicles themselves for the tenth century afford many examples which shew that these admissions to fraternity were matters of ordinary and regular occurrence; not merely so, but one passage, already alluded to, affords evidence that they were recorded in the very book of which the extant portions are now published.[4]

To English readers the most interesting entries will doubtless be those relating to the visit to St-Gallen of bishop Kenwald, of Worcester, in October 929.[5] We catch another glimpse of, seemingly, the

[1] *Libri Confrat.* p. 365. [2] Ibid. p. 393.
[3] Ibid. p. 6.
[4] See the passages quoted from Ekkehart iv in Ducange s.v. *Fratres conscripti*; and especially the extract from cap. 11, 'et cum se orationi eorum committerent abbas intulit, immo ut fratres conscripti sitis volo quia alia vobis dona dare non habemus. Laetis ob hoc omnibus itur ad ecclesiam, recepti manibus abbatis singuli in libro vitae scribuntur'; compare Meyer von Knonau's note 1301, in his edition of Ekkehart (St-Gallen, 1877).
[5] Ibid. p. 100 and cf. pp. 136–137. They were first published in the beginning of

same pilgrimage in a note appended to a Jumièges list in the Reichenau book: 'In the name of Christ we commend to you King Athelstan and archbishop Wulfhelm.'[1] Athelstan occurs also in the Pfäffers book, but this time as already deceased and commended to the prayers of that community by his half-brother, King Edmund the Elder, and archbishop Odo of Canterbury.[2] These last entries record a visit to Pfäffers at the time, perhaps, when St Odo was journeying to Rome for the pall, and preserve the names of his retinue, but in a form so corrupt as to suggest they may have been first taken down from dictation.[3] Such relations subsisting between these Swiss monasteries and England go far to confirm the tradition which makes the venerable Gregory, abbat of Einsiedeln in the tenth century, an Englishman of royal descent. It may well have been that on some such pilgrimage to Rome, a companion, say, of St Odo, charmed with these solitudes, remained behind, and that his uncouth English name was exchanged for that of the apostle of his native country.

The original portion of the Durham *Liber Vitae* was written, in the judgement of Sir E. M. Thompson, 'within the half-century following the destruction of the monastery of Lindisfarne by the Danes in 793 and before 875'. It seems to have been then compiled from earlier records going far back in the history of Lindisfarne. The scribe has classified this earlier material under headings, such as kings and dukes, queens and abbesses, abbat-priests, abbat-deacons, &c. Henceforward the entries are contemporary, and in many hands; for the tenth century they are few; they greatly multiply with the definite establishment of the monks at Durham in the eleventh. Margins and blank spaces were first filled in; by and by additional leaves had to be added, which carry on the names of confratres and consorores to the sixteenth century. The Newminster book, which was started between 1020 and 1030, adopts much the same plan: it opens with lists of the West Saxon kings, ancestors of the founders, of the archbishops of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Rochester, Winchester, Chichester, Sherborne,[4] Wilton, Crediton, and Wells, doubtless commended to the community by the then occupants of those sees;

the seventeenth century, by Goldast, and have been reprinted by Mabillon (in *Acta* viii pp. 236-237) and by Stubbs (in the Introduction to *Memorials of St Dunstan*).

[1] 'Aethelstaenum regem cum Wlfelmo archiepo et nostris fidelissimis vivis ac in pace quiescentibus vestro servitio in christi nomine commendamus.' This, so far as I can make out, is the last entry but one ('Wighart') in the Jumièges list (*Libr. Confrat.* p. 238).

[2] 'Athalsten rex, Otmundus rex, Odgiva, Odo archiepiscopus' (p. 363).

[3] The Odgiva, whom the editor identifies with Edmund's half-sister Edgiva, wife of Charles the Fat, is surely his mother Edgiva who (like Edmund and Odo) was still living.

[4] This list shews that at an early date, long before William of Malmesbury, there must have been much confusion in regard to the succession of bishops of Sherborne.

next follow dukes and deceased benefactors, the monks of the house itself and those in communion of prayers at the cathedral, at Abingdon, and Ely, and the nuns of Romsey, then lay confratres or consorores continued with breaks, and in various hands, to the suppression. It is pleasant to observe among the bishops of Winchester in this confraternity book of Hyde, indeed the latest entered, the name of Bishop Henry of Blois, the long continued feud with whom occupies so considerable a place in the history of the monastery. A page or two before, among royal personages, occurs his mother Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, as 'monacha'.

We have said that with the establishment of the Cathedral monastery of Durham the admissions greatly multiply. The entries of the twelfth century must comprise at least 2,000 names; many must be priests or clerics, the bulk are evidently lay persons. There are several monks, but we have only been able to find one entire community, that of Worcester at some time during the episcopate of Bishop Sampson (1096–1112). We at once recognize Hemming, who compiled the Worcester Cartulary, and the chronicler Florence; the name which immediately precedes him, Columbanus, may suggest how it was that the chronicle of Marianus the Irishman so soon found its way to Worcester. Indeed, the list, generally, seems to afford evidence that many different nationalities were represented in that community.[1] Among twelfth-century names which we should hardly expect to find is Walter Mapes,[2] but perhaps he reserved most of his dislike of monks for display in his books, and for the Cistercians; he seems to have come to Durham in company with St Thomas's faithful friend and follower Herbert of Boseham, whose name immediately precedes his own. We are less surprised to meet here that constant pursuer of good works, the great Justiciar Ranulf de Glanville,[3] a confrater whose good offices, as in duty bound, must many a time have eased the community of Durham from anxiety. Indeed there seem to be many indications that the lawyers were pretty strongly represented in our old Benedictine confraternity books.

To have a picture to the life of the good turn which some of these powerful lay brethren could do the vowed religious, we may turn to

[1] By some mischance twenty or more names belonging to the Worcester community, forming the third column in this page of the MS, have been omitted in the print of the *Liber Vitae* p. 14; the names there printed as col. 3 are marginal entries of later date, unconnected with Worcester. The omitted names are (after Ambrosius): Maurus, Henricus, Ageluuinus, Gilebertus, Freauuinus I, Martinus, Alfuuius, Aegelricus, Freauuinus II, Clemens, Nicholaus, Vincentius, David (this name is touched up with red like Mauricius), Arnulfus, Athelelmus, Gregorius, Alduuinus, Patricius; the four following are in a slightly later hand: Aldredus, Germanus, Laurentius, Rogerius.

[2] *Liber Vitae* p. 19.

[3] Ibid. p. 17.

an incident in the life of Ranulf's master, King Henry II. In June or July 1184 Henry stopped at St Albans; on the morrow of his arrival he asked leave to enter the Chapter-house, 'to pay a visit to my brethren' he said, declaring himself a confrater of the community. He entered in humble guise, followed by a great train of nobles, among whom was Walter of Coutances, bishop of Lincoln. The king was set in the abbat's chair, the bishop on his left, the abbat on his right, then, bowing to the monks on either side, he with great instance begged their prayers. It seems an odd moment for the bishop to choose to renew an old complaint of his predecessors against the great exemptions and privileges granted to the monastery by the partiality of Adrian IV, to which they had never been able properly to accommodate themselves. Now, however, bishop Walter again raised the question. The abbat was ready; placing his hand on the king's knee he cried out, 'Behold my peace,' as though, says the chronicler, he had said, 'Behold the witness of that compact of peace and amity struck and confirmed between you and us.' The king's turn on the bishop of Lincoln, as reported, could not have been pleasant; and he added by way of general advertisement: 'Whoever shall shew hostility to this abbat and community will have to deal with me.'[1] It was a regal rough way, in days when kings were rough, of recognizing that, when a monastery granted fraternity, the grantee, on his side, was bound to protect the interest, to maintain the honour, of his monastic brethren.

This view is very clearly expressed in the forms of admission, of which two occur in Consuetudinaries of St Augustine's, and another in that of Westminster.[2] The MSS are of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but the practices they prescribe, though differing in some small details, are traditional and were in vogue a hundred or two hundred years before. We may take the formula of admission from the earlier, the ceremonies from the later St Augustine's form, as the more concise. A prelate or legate of the Holy See received special honour. Introduced into the Chapter-house, he was placed in the abbat's seat, he himself said *Benedicite*, and might prefer his request for admission to 'society' sitting. The prayer granted, he was at liberty either to sit or stand, whilst the abbat, holding his hand outstretched on the gospel book, formally admitted him in these words: 'On the part of God, and holy Mary, and Saints Peter and Paul, and Saint Augustine and his companions, and of Saint Benedict and of

[1] *Gesta abb. S. Albani* i 197–198.

[2] Cotton MS Faustina C xii, f. 2 (imperfect at the beginning); MS Vitellius D xvi, f. 3; MS Otho C xi, ff. 122–123. [The Faustina and Otho MSS have now been printed under the editorship of Sir E. M. Thompson in vols. xxiii and xxvii (1902, 1904) of the Publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society. The Vitellius MS is an *Ordinale*; it is a good deal burnt but still usable.]

the Saints we grant to you, that you be henceforth partaker of those good things which God has given us to accomplish, in mass and in matins, in vigils and in prayers, in fastings and alms, and of all the good works which shall be done in this house for ever. And you on your part shall grant to us a participation in those good things, which God has granted you to perform.' Whereupon the prelate kissed the gospel book; the abbat kneeling kissed his hand, and afterwards his face. If he had been hitherto standing the abbat signed to him to sit, and the whole community came forward one by one, beginning with the seniors, and saluted him as the abbat had done. Lay magnates, and clerics, and knights, and men and women of lower degrees, all received fraternity kneeling; if the petitioner was a person of high rank, a distinction was made in his favour, in so far as a place was assigned to him near the seniors of the monastery, or on the steps at the abbat's feet. After the words of admission, the confratres kissed the abbat, and then went to kiss all the brethren, beginning with the youngest on the right-hand side. Consorores kissed the gospel book. The abbat afterwards assigned them their places and bade them sit down; then addressing them, he pointed out how henceforward they were bound to help the house, in word and in deed, and that what they had perhaps hitherto done in this kind out of mere good will had now become a matter of duty. The chapter was then closed in the usual way.

In days of social upheaval, like the present, when the highest interests are sometimes made to subserve petty and trivial ambitions, and the effort is made to counteract, in some measure at least, the evil by a grading and ranging of pious associations, it may be salutary to look to days when, because they were Christian, worldly distinctions formed no bar to Christian equality, and brotherhood in the ways of Holy Church was not abused to gratify an unworthy worldly vanity. In the great mediaeval monastery, the Chapter-house will to-day be filled with a brilliant company, whilst an offshoot of the royal house, potent beyond his peers,[1] forgetting his worldly rank and dignity,

[1] See, for instance, the letter of fraternity of John de Warenne, the last of the Plantagenet Earls of Surrey in *Hist. Dunelm. Scr. tres* pp. cxii–cxiii; see other fraternity letters, in the same volume, pp. ccclvii, ccccx, ccccxvii; in Raine's *Priory of Coldingham* p. 90, and in Stevens ii Appendix pp. 144–145. In the Durham Letter-book, Cotton MS Faustina A vi, ff. 37–39, are six letters which are evidently inserted as specimens or precedents for letters of this kind, issued during the priorship of William de Tanfield (1309–1313). The first three are letters of fraternity properly speaking, i.e. grants to persons who had petitioned for such admission, the first and an always essential condition: 1. a *littera generalis* couched in such general terms as would apply to the majority of confratres (the actual grantee here was W. de Brokesby, probably the Exchequer official mentioned in *Hist. Croyl. contin.* p. 482); 2. a *littera specialis*, that granted to John de Warenne just mentioned, specifying certain quite personal details; 3. a letter of 'sorority'.—The

comes to commend himself to the prayers of the poor of Christ, and to be numbered among them; accustomed to precedence and command, like the least of his servants he makes petition and suit, and has to take here a lowly place. To-morrow it will be filled with a nameless band; but all alike seek and obtain the same gift of brotherhood, in and through the house of St Cuthbert, or St Augustine, or St Alban.

The introduction of the mendicant orders does not seem to have lessened or checked the admissions to fraternity of the Benedictines, which kept on in a regular and steady flow. The Durham *Liber Vitae* must contain about seventeen or eighteen thousand names, spread over eight hundred years. Documents published by Mr Riley, in the series of St Albans chronicles, give more exact data for some years of the fifteenth century. In 1421, seventeen persons were admitted to fraternity at St Albans;[1] in 1423, twenty, among whom was that special friend of St Albans, Humfrey, 'the Good' Duke of Gloucester;[2] in 1428, sixteen persons;[3] in 1429, thirty-four;[4] in 1430, the precise number is not stated, but it cannot have been less than between twenty and thirty.[5] Stevens printed[6] from a now much damaged Evesham register two lists, evidently admissions to the fraternity of that monastery in the years 1444 and 1450; the earlier comprises nearly fifty persons, the latter more than eighty. All classes are represented, seemingly in just proportion, neighbouring rectors, London merchants, judges, townspeople of Evesham and inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages (generally husband and wife together), knights and country gentry, the greater nobility, and members of the houses of both York and Lancaster.[7]

Mr Shepherd, who in his account of the Canterbury Christ Church

other three are merely concessions made *mero motu conventus*, of a share in good works, without question of fraternity, to a nobleman, a lady of high rank, and a faithful servant, who had in their several ways earned the gratitude of the community.

[1] *Amundesham* vol. i pp. 65–66. [2] Ibid. pp. 66–67.

[3] Ibid. pp. 21, 22–23, 24–25. If the admissions on pp. 67–68 actually belong to 1428, a large addition would have to be made to the number in the text.

[4] Ibid. pp. 36, 40, 41 (evidently a fraternity list).

[5] Ibid. pp. 51, 56.

[6] Stevens *Two Additional Volumes to the Monasticon* ii App. p. 145.

[7] It would seem that most of the members of the royal family were confratres or consorores of one or other of the great Benedictine monasteries in the fifteenth century. At St Albans, besides Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, we find the Duchess of Clarence (*Amundesham* i p. 41). At Croyland: Henry VI; Margaret Duchess of Somerset; and Margaret Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII (*Hist. Croyl. contin.* pp. 530, 539–540). At Canterbury Cathedral: Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter; Cardinal Beaufort; Anne Duchess of Exeter, sister of Edward IV; Anne Duchess of Buckingham, his aunt; his Queen, Elizabeth; Richard Duke of Gloucester (Richard III); Cecily, sister of Elizabeth of York, the wife of Henry VII (*Hist. MSS Comm. Ninth Rep.* i pp. 112, 113, 115, 116, 117, 118). At Evesham: John Duke of Bedford; Cecily, mother of Edward IV (Stevens, *ubi supra*). A little research would probably discover many more.

conventual registers in the appendix to the Ninth Report of the Historical MSS Commission, mentions several letters of fraternity, remarks in regard to the last extant register, 1506-1532 (there is a gap in the records from 1532 to 1541), that it begins to drop 'reference to spiritual and almost to ecclesiastical matters', deeds preponderating enormously. In the early part of this register, 'a few letters of confraternity are found, mostly granted to obscure men and their wives—to bailiffs of the conventual manors, London citizens and the like—very few of which have any historical significance. Towards the end of the volume these become fewer and fewer'.[1] It is not improbable that the new men who came to the fore, even in the early part of the reign of the second Tudor, cared little for such benefits. But one of the very last confratres of the Canterbury Cathedral community of whose admission there is record, is surely one of the most illustrious; in 1530 a letter of fraternity is granted to Thomas More, knight, Lord Chancellor of this most flourishing kingdom of England.[2] Mr Shepherd makes this further and most significant remark in reference to the register quoted: 'There is one kind of lease which first makes its appearance in the early portion of this volume; the deeds by which rectories were let to farm; these appear to increase in numbers in the direct ratio of the decrease of letters of confraternity. Some families of no mean rank may be traced in the registers, beginning as officials of the convent or of the archbishop, then becoming lessees of the whole or part of a manor or of a rectory, their descendants finally emerging after the Reformation with the position of freeholders.'[3]

The day is past when the subject of the suppression of the monasteries can be treated in such a style as that adopted by Burnet, or when such a perversion can pass current among educated men as fact. Whilst the suppression is recognized as a social revolution, it is becoming recognized too that it was a revolution that brought heaviness to most English hearts, and cast a cloud over men's daily life. If the monastic churches and treasuries were rich with the accumulations of ages, the enjoyment of them lay with the public at large, all over the land, on feast and gaudy days. If many of the monasteries were like palaces, or as Leland says of St Edmundsbury, like 'a city' in its 'incomparable magnificence', with the exception of a comparatively small part reserved for the use of the monks themselves, they practically belonged to the public also, to poor and to rich, who came in and went out much as they liked. It was little consolation to most people to reflect that if the treasuries were rifled and the monasteries

[1] *Ninth Rep.* i p. 119. [2] Ibid. p. 121. [3] Ibid. p. 119.

pulled down, a great show was being made with the spoils of the first a long way off at Court and out of their sight, or that from the materials of the second new nobles built big houses for themselves, which other men might not enter unbidden. Nor in making up the sum of the sorrow that was caused must the confraternities be left out of account, for they formed a network of associations of many thousands of men and women spread over the whole country, to whom, living, the interests and prosperity of the house they regarded as in a measure their own, in which they had part and lot, had been dear, and whither they had looked, when God should take them hence, for faithful prayers that they might be admitted into the joy of their Lord.

XVII

A BENEDICTINE CONFRATER OF THE NINTH CENTURY[1]

In a previous number of the *Downside Review*, attention was called to a side of Benedictine history which, though greatly overlooked, is full of interest—the special relation between monks and people living in the world implied by the old name of 'fraternity'. Quite lately two books, full of learning, have dealt with the subject, one by a French layman, the other by a German priest. Where religious practice is concerned, M. A. Molinier's work is as full of misapprehensions as in many respects it is abundant and accurate in its information; Dr Ebner is much more interesting, for he seems to enter into the spirit of the institute he describes, and really understands the subject he discusses. For the period called by him the first, extending into the tenth century, he has surveyed the whole field, with a single exception: of the Spanish documents illustrating the subject, which are both curious and numerous, he seems to have but slight knowledge. But, as it stands, Dr Ebner's book is a most valuable contribution to Benedictine history; and it may be hoped that the favourable reception it has met with will encourage him to publish the result of his labours on the later period.

The present paper has a very simple aim—by the help of a single document, to recall if possible for a moment from oblivion a Benedictine confrater of the ninth century; to see what sort of a man he was; and perhaps to gain from him some idea of the character of some among that multitude whose names lie written even yet in the 'book of life' of many a monastery, but who must remain mere names on which at most the philologist may exercise his skill.

In the month of June, 839, Pippin, king of Aquitaine, gave to a Burgundian named Heccard, already well provided with this world's goods, the estate of Perrecy near Autun, and the gift was confirmed by his father, the Emperor Lewis the Pious, in the following year, and almost in the last days of his life. Count Heccard, though a man of standing, was, it is clear, a nobleman of only second or third rank, or, as we should say, a wealthy country gentleman. This new property

[1] From the *Downside Review*, July 1892.

was no sooner acquired than he resolved to found at Perrecy a priory of Benedictine monks, to be colonized from and to be dependent on the abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire. Fleury it is true was at some distance from his own residence; but in this case, as in so many others, it was not always the monastery which was the next door neighbour to which a confrater looked as his spiritual home, and among the family of which he was admitted to number himself. There were other houses, as famous and of as good repute, nearer to him than Fleury; it is probable that Heccard's affections were drawn thither by a special devotion to St Benedict himself, whose relics or some at least (not to renew an old and ever new dispute) rested in that great monastery. The actual transfer of the property and the foundation of the priory were not to take place until after the Count's death; he seems, however, never to have taken up his residence at Perrecy, but always to have lived at his house of Sigy near Mâcon, further south, the church of which place was dedicated, as he tells us, and perhaps through his own instrumentality, to St Benedict.

Some five and thirty years passed. Heccard's wife Albegundis had died childless; nor was there any issue by his second marriage with Richildis. Two brothers, Theodoric and Bernard, were dead. The sole survivor of the family besides himself was his sister Ada, a nun of Faremoutier in the diocese of Meaux, which some readers may recollect as intimately connected with the history of the English Church in the seventh century. It may be mentioned by the way that their mother's name was Domnana, which seems to have about it some English reminiscences too. Heccard, now far advanced in years and having no issue, set about the final disposal of all his worldly gear. His will does not pretend to detail more than a portion of his personal effects, just so much as he specifically bequeaths as mementos to various friends and relatives.[1] But these bequests afford sufficient information to give a notion of the man's pursuits and his interests, as the rest of the will fills up the outline of his character: his reading, his country sports, the reminiscences of his old military days, his devoutness and piety, his capacity in matters of business, the good terms on which he lives with his neighbours, tenants, dependants, the rich and the poor.

To take first his books. He liked to read of the deeds of other days. There was no history of his own Burgundian race and nation;

[1] This curious document, very generally overlooked by antiquaries whom it might interest, was first printed by Pérard in his scarce *Recueil de pièces curieuses servant à l'histoire de Bourgogne*; a better print based on a copy of the Perrecy cartulary among the Bouhier manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, with the variants of Pérard's text, a prefatory notice, and some useful notes, is given in the *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France, années 1855-1856*, p. 189 sqq.

but he has, in two tomes, the next best thing, the 'Chronicles', as he calls them, of Gregory of Tours, true 'memoirs of his own times', known to us commonly as the 'Ecclesiastical History of the Franks'; and this at least recounts all that was then known or will ever be known of the greatness and fall of the first Burgundian kingdom. As a companion volume he has Paul Warnefrid's history of the Lombards. Of law books he possesses, besides a copy of the Salic law, the Lex Gundobaldi, the Burgundian Code of laws drawn up by king Gundobald, the contemporary and rival of the Frankish conqueror Clovis; and the Roman revision of the same code known later as the Papianus. He leaves the Gregory of Tours and Paul Warnefrid to Ansegisus, archbishop of Sens; his *pacto Saleco*, Salic law, to a namesake, one Heccard son of Heccard; his *pacto Gunbaldo* to a lay friend Gerbaldus; his *pacto Romano* to Walter, bishop of Orleans. Ecclesiastical law is represented by a volume of excerpts from the canons of Councils (*canones scarsas*), and a penitential. The universality of his tastes is shewn by his 'book on agriculture', bequeathed to Raganfrid, bishop of Meaux, his 'book on the military art', given to Gerbaldus, and 'a book on medicine', which he leaves to Teutberga, wife of Lothar. If his 'two books of Prognostics', also a bequest to bishop Raganfrid of Meaux, were the treatise of Hippocrates, here would be a second work on the healing science. His books of devotion comprise first a Bible, which he leaves to the church at Sigy; a book of the gospels in the Teutonic tongue, left to Bertrada, abbess of Faremoutier, an item of evidence among many that German was understood in the Frankish half of the Carolingian empire even in quarters where we should least expect it; finally a little psalter, and a book of prayers and psalms, both of which are handed to his sister for her use. The Pastoral Care of St Gregory, the Lives of St Gregory and St Lawrence, the Life of St Anthony, Ambrose *de ministeriis* (the *de officiis ministrorum*), a 'little book of St Mary of Egypt', along with a 'libello Isidoro' given to Walla, bishop of Auxerre, complete Heccard's library.[1] Is it possible

[1] [In the *Revue des Bibliothèques*, July–Sept. 1896, abbé Paul Lejay printed, from MS 167 of the Fonds Baudot in the Public Library at Dijon, two catalogues (A and B) of the library of the priory of Perrecy, both of the eleventh century. M. Lejay points out that no. 27 of A (= B 26), *Prognostica*, occurs also in Heccard's will; in B, the book in question is distinctly stated to be the *Prognostica* of Julian of Toledo; but Julian's *Prognostica* is a work in three books, that in Heccard's library was in two. M. Lejay also calls attention to A 23 (= B 51), the Pastoral Care of Gregory, a book also in Heccard's Collection. It is to be noticed further that no. 48 of B is 'Liber salice legis cum canonibus', no. 73 'Gesta francorum'; but who shall say whether this latter be the Gregory of Tours not specifically bequeathed in Heccard's will, or the former the *pacto Saleco* given to Heccard son of Heccard? There are two books in B that one would like to know something more about: no. 32 'Hildefonsus' and no. 43 '*Gradale wasconicum*'—what was that?

M. Lejay's introduction gives some interesting information as to the later history

that this last may be a copy of the pseudo-Isidorean decretals? Heccard was not content to possess books and give them away—that is, after his death; he also borrowed books, and, what is more, faithfully returned them, after death too, as witness a special clause in his will: 'and return the books (he tells his executors) belonging to the monastery of St Benedict at Fleury which are kept in that little hutch (*in illa utica parvula*) at Sigy, in my closet, where is the chest in which I have my deeds in the Lombard box.' All which shews that Heccard was a man of precision and method. He has also something of the spirit of a collector and connoisseur in matters other than books; for he mentions in his will several engraved gems; an amethyst with an eagle, left to his wife Richildis; another 'in which is sculptured a man who kills a lion', and this is left to his sister; also an onyx seal; and a 'beryl with a serpent sculptured in it'. Most of his jewels, '*quidquid de gemmis habemus*', are left to his wife, but to pass after her death to Fleury; so too his 'lesser belt' studded with jewels, and his 'greater belt' with jewels; the condition seems rather hard, seeing that, as he himself says, this last-named belt was very largely composed of jewels that once had been hers. But perhaps she was a *devota* too.

Heccard's cares were not confined to books and curios; his will shews he believed in the old proverb, 'Love me, love my dog'. Some dozen hounds are specially bequeathed in couples to friends and relatives: two, and two falcons, 'to our senior'—can this possibly mean here his *intendant* and steward, factotum and crony? He gives two more and a sparrow-hawk (*sparvarius*) to his namesake Heccard son of Heccard. If our confrater had given up the business of war and confined himself now to country sports, he still kept a small armoury, which was distributed, like his pack of hounds and his horses, piecemeal among numerous legatees. Those interested in military antiquities may perhaps gather some interesting details from the list, which, however, makes no such splendid show as the collection of his contemporary, the very powerful and eminent and wealthy Evrard, Count of Friuli. Here it will be sufficient to note, as shewing once more that Heccard was nice and choice in all his tastes, that his swords comprised a *spada spansiga* and a *spada indica*—a Toledan and an Eastern blade, or in other words, the best that money and care could procure; the former was given (with two hounds) to a godson Richard; the latter, also with two hounds, to Thericus, son of Nivelong, one of his executors, who receives moreover his *tabulas saraciniscas*. Those who have access to books, as the present writer has not, can say what

of Heccard's foundation at Perrecy; but nothing additional for our confrater, except that Aimoin (of Fleury) calls Heccard *ditissimus*.]

game, probably, this may be. Of furniture and articles of domestic use Heccard's will contains little notice except numerous drinking-cups, and carpets, which by the way fall largely to the share of his many episcopal friends; even the abbess of Faremoutier, along with such mementos as the gospels in German, and the Life of Saint Anthony, and the engraved beryl, has 'the glass cup which belonged to my brother Bernard'. If we may trust the editor of the document, there is one item among these moveables which is a curiosity indeed: 'furcella argentea cum cusilares ii,' 'une fourchette et deux cuillers d'argent.' It cannot be said that *this 'furcella'*, at any rate, is a pitchfork, whether for haymaking or for defence. These articles are left to Richildis; and here in all likelihood we have an example of a table-fork a full century and a half earlier than that famous case of the noble lady who introduced from Constantinople to Venice such unheard-of fastidiousness, and thereby raised all the ire and indignation of St Peter Damian: 'Why, she uses a little gold-pronged instrument to convey her food from her plate to her mouth, instead of the fingers that God gave her.' This is supposed by the recent historian of *The Fork in Europe* to be the earliest instance of its use in the west; yet it is more than probable that Heccard, and then Richildis his wife, possessed the offending instrument, and that Professor Lumbroso begins his story ever so much too late.

It may be interesting to compare Heccard's domestic chapel, left to his wife for her lifetime and then to pass to Fleury, with that of Count Evrard of Friuli, especially as it may help us to form some idea of the status of the former. Evrard, it has been mentioned, was a man of the highest rank. Though his, like Heccard's, was only a domestic chapel, he must do no less than follow the fashion of the cathedral or the monastery, and the altar stood under a ciborium, or, in modern rendering, baldacchino, which was surmounted by a cross of gold adorned with crystals; underneath, immediately over the altar apparently, hung a golden crown, with a relic of the true Cross, and pendent to this another golden cross, with a small reliquary suspended from either arm. There were besides two portable altars, one of crystal enriched with silver. The sacred vessels and utensils in Evrard's chapel comprised a chalice and paten of gold, two of silver, one of ivory and one of glass, both enriched with gold, and one a nut mounted in silver and gold; a reed of gold for communion, two silver thuribles, two silver candlesticks, a basin and jug of silver, ivory diptychs set in gold, a comb enriched with gold, a silver fan, and 'tables for singing' enriched with gold and silver, besides numerous reliquaries of crystal and ivory. The vestments and altar-cloths were of silk, one set silk and gold thread. The books consisted of a missal

and a book of epistles, with covers of silver and gold, and two gospel books with covers of gold for high days; a second set of six volumes with ivory covers. The male members of the family were provided for private devotion each with a psalter; that of Gisla, Evrard's wife, had a commentary; the youngest daughter had two prayer-books, one with psalms. This just accords with what has been already noted in Heccard's case.

But by the side of the bravery and splendour of Count Evrard's chapel, Heccard's seems modest indeed. The books comprised a missal containing also the epistles and gospels, a gospel-book, and an antiphonar (and gradual) in two volumes. The altar vessels and plate consisted of two silver chalices and patens, a glass chalice of sapphire colour (*calice vitreo de saphiro*), four silver cruets, two thuribles, a greater and a lesser, a gold candlestick; a cross of gold with a relic of the true Cross, probably hanging over the enriched altar (*altario maiore parato*), and a cross of silver with a similar relic and other relics of the Passion, two little ivory reliquaries, a little pail for holy water, and a hand-bell. There were four chasubles, one of bright red, one chestnut coloured (*castanea*, which sometimes at least designates a stuff), one dark blue, one green; two albs, stoles, girdles, and maniples, besides three other maniples, one of green embroidered, one of silk, one of skin or fur (*de gliso*). The altar-cloths or vestings were, one of cloth of gold, or silk and gold, one of silk, one of linen (distinct from the corporal). There were also hangings (*drappe*) worked with feathers, or embroidered to imitate feathers; a similar cloth for the lutrin; and a carpet. A *batchino* (basin?) *ad luminaria*, together with a *bursa cum brisdo et amiania* (which last item the learned may be able to explain) complete Heccard's chapel stuff.

His will affords, however, points of more interest than can belong to such dry enumeration. First he names his executors, fifteen in number; two or three ecclesiastics apart, he selects these confidential agents, as appears from the document itself and from other deeds relating to the priory of Perrecy founded soon after, among his own tenants and dependants: a fact which shews the good relations existing between lord and vassal, since these executors will have to deal with the disposal and ownership of estates which they themselves have actually held under the testator. So far as his particular wishes are concerned, especially in regard to the projected priory, he refers them to a paper of instructions how they are to proceed in detail, which he had already drawn up in duplicate; one copy he kept in his own hands to be passed on to the executors after his death; the other, for security and that there might be no mistake, he had

deposited with his sister at Faremoutier. He adjures his executors: 'dispose of all things as for the salvation of my soul, just as I have written down in the instructions which I have left. Act as though you were forthwith to render an account before the judgement seat of Christ. And if any one of you shall go against this disposition which I have made, and shall not return to himself and amend herein, let him answer for it in the sight of God and of all His saints; and incur (Heccard, it will be seen, had not read his Bible for nothing) the divine anger as did Dathon and Abiron, and as did Ananias and Saphira who lied to the Holy Spirit.' But from this outburst he turns to them in another mood: 'but now I earnestly entreat of your charity to dispose of my substance in this wise.' He calls his property as a whole by the one word 'my alms', and in fact he disposes of all in charity and beneficence in one way or another. Perrecy and its dependencies are to be given to Fleury for the long-meditated foundation; a reservation is made of a hamlet (Balgiacum), then held by Leutboldus, one of his executors, the proceeds of which are to be devoted to supply St-Andoche at Autun with wax and oil for lights. He next founds a perpetual anniversary, both at Fleury and Faremoutier, but with a nice distinction: at Fleury for his father and mother, his two wives Albegundis and Richildis, his brother Theodoric, and himself; at Faremoutier for his first wife Albegundis, his sister Ada, the reigning Abbess Bertrada, and himself. This foundation of an anniversary is the only other landed estate bestowed on Fleury; and he assigns the revenue to be inalienably applied to providing the clothes of the monks. The rest of his possessions being scattered, their administration from the abbey might have been attended with many inconveniences. He accordingly kills two birds with one stone, by making handsome provision in real property for numerous friends, on condition of their payment to Fleury, within twelve months of his decease, of a money fine; thus securing a substantial benefaction to the house of his predilection, whilst imposing on his legatees a very moderate charge, compared with the value of the bequests in land thus falling to them. Several churches, far afield, share in the liberality of the Count—St Martin's at Tours, and even St Peter's at Rome, to which is made the large bequest of two hundred shillings. Everything not specifically disposed of, whether real or personal property, he wills to be given to the poor or to any whom he may have wronged. And to give his executors the widest powers he adds, with a little reminiscence from his old readings, 'do you have sedulous care to make good any deficiency caused by my forgetfulness, for *non omnia possumus omnes*'.

There is still one more bequest, and it is the last. 'Let Bernard

son of Malquin give two hundred shillings for the property I leave him at Mallido, &c., &c., and this sum distribute among my friends, as well to those who are nobles as to those who are of low estate. And I pray you for the love of God, that, wherever it be I die, you will cause me to be buried at St Benedict's at Fleury; and if the times be such that there be difficulty in the way of conveying me thither, wait until a favourable moment shall come and then carry there my bones; and give half a silver pound to those who shall dig my grave.' This savours of superstition, some may say; some, that this savours too much of love of places, and shews a want of 'detachment'. But whatever others may do, St Benedict, whilst zealous of the *meliora charismata*, has ever known how to draw men into the narrow way by the cords of Adam.

XVIII

AN ANTIQUARY OF THE NINTH CENTURY[1]

THE Carolingian age was essentially an age of a new birth, political and social, and it was no exception to the rule which prevails in such periods of renewal, namely that the renewal is accompanied by a lively interest in an idealized bygone time. In other words, times of renaissance are times of antiquarian research. It may seem strange to envisage the Carolingian epoch from this point of view; yet the names Flaccus and Homer, Naso, Menalcas, and the rest which the principal courtiers and the chief scholars of the palace gave to themselves, and their great master Charles delighted to give them in familiar intercourse or in private correspondence, as though they were so many knights of a literary Round Table, shew the spirit which prevailed in quarters that gave the tone to the whole society. It is true the reminiscences revived were largely those that centred round the ancient Pagan Empire of Rome, which was to be revived in Christian guise a few years later; and it is characteristic that Eginhard, in his life of Charles the Great, follows the very details of expression used by Suetonius; yet in an academy of which Alcuin was the chief ornament such tendencies must needs be kept in restraint, so penetrated was he with the Christian spirit. These efforts of the day were not confined to admiration for the literary performances of antiquity. Notwithstanding the ravage which Italy had suffered at the hands of successive hordes of barbarians, she was yet, in the West, the classic land of the arts. The name of Rome exercised a fascination not merely political, though it would be no injustice to Charles to say that this was the main value of Rome or the Pope in his eyes. But there were others of more simple mind, men bred in the cloister, who were content to make their long pilgrimage from Swiss or from German monastery merely to wonder at and admire relics of past greatness, and to gather up the fragments of antiquity that fell in their path, copying inscriptions from bridges and gates and tombs, from triumphal arches and statues and churches; nay, certainly one

[1] From the *Downside Review*, July 1894.

from St Gregory's library in the monastery of St Andrew on the Caelian Hill.[1]

Next to Rome, Ravenna might best excite the enthusiasm or the curiosity of the antiquary. Like Rome, it was once the seat of empire, but of Christian empire. It possessed, moreover, its monuments of the short-lived Gothic revival under Theodoric, was then for some two hundred years the seat of the exarchs, and became politically the first city of Italy. It is no wonder if in splendour and richness of art productions of late date it vied with Rome itself. Though, alas! it had not on the spot a powerful protector, as Rome had in the person of the Pope, to conciliate whom Charlemagne had ever a concern, and who was there to keep watch and guard against the attempts of the spoiler. Before Charlemagne the art treasures of Ravenna were defenceless, and they fell an easy prey to his desire to deck out his new buildings at Aix-la-Chapelle with plunder from the then queen of the Adriatic. Though he was full of greed, and there was none to say him nay or effectually thwart his will, he yet sought, in a quarter where he felt he would not be refused, some colour of permission to cart away the precious things he was longing to secure. Charles addressed himself to the Pope, who would be the less likely to deny to him the spoil of Ravenna inasmuch as, the wants of the monarch supplied from another quarry, there might be better grounded hope of security for Roman monuments. In regard to the Pope's right it may be said that the Lombard had dispossessed the exarch, or the exarch's master the Byzantine emperor; Pippin, Charles's father, dispossessing the Lombard, had given Ravenna to the Pope. Yet from the Ravennese point of view it is hard to see Pope Hadrian's justification for salving Charles's uneasy conscience in regard to the coveted spoil. However this may be, it is what Hadrian the First, in acknowledging the receipt of what he calls Charles's refulgent and nectareal rescripts, states that he has done:

[1] It will be in place to give it in the pages of the *Downside Review*:
'In bibliotheca sancti Gregorii, quae est in monasterio Clivi-Tauri, ubi ipse Dialogos scripsit.

Sanctorum veneranda cohors sedet ordine . . .
Divinae legis mystica dicta docens.
Hos inter residens Agapetus iure sacerdos,
Codicibus pulchrum condidit arte locum.
Gratia par cunctis, sanctus labor omnibus unus:
Dissona verba quidem, sed tamen una fides.'

From this description it may be gathered that the walls, or some parts of them, were relieved by pictures or mosaics, whether of the doctors of the Old or the New Law; and that the founder of the library—that is, the collector of the books—was, perhaps, Pope Agapetus (535–536). There follows a note which seems to give the dimensions of the building:—'In fronte pedes xxv. In agro pedes xxxiii. Item in Tabernae, in fronte pedes xi. In agro pedes xxxi' (Mabillon *Vetera Analecta* t. iv p. 497).

the marbles and mosaics of the palace, on floors or on walls, with ready mind, pure heart, and exceeding great love of his Excellence, he gives him leave to pull up and down, and take away ; and as though what is thus specified were not sufficient, the words (vague enough to cover anything) *ceteraque exempla* are added at the end.[1] Some words proceeding from a Ravennese author writing a few decades later in regard to the period of Charles's depredations, though couched in the form of prophecy of future events, may rather be taken as inspired by regret at these very losses of the past. 'But I tell you, my brethren, my fellow citizens (he says), that a time shall come on our city such as none can remember, and she shall be despoiled of all her good things, even by her in-dwellers; and there shall come from the west, for her defence, men having their beards shaven, and they shall be the very men who shall chiefly inflict damage upon her.'[2] And this writer, Agnellus, or Andrew as he was also called, is our antiquary of the ninth century.

He was born soon after the year 800, and belonged, as he takes care to let us know in a set genealogy, to one of the most distinguished and influential families of Ravenna. He was from his earliest years destined for the ecclesiastical state, and was brought up among the clergy of the Cathedral. By the time he was twelve years old, he received from archbishop Martin a benefice in the shape of the monastery of St Mary ad Blachernas; to which, later, on the resignation of his uncle, Sergius the deacon, was added the monastery of St Bartholomew. Besides his benefices he inherited a private fortune, in itself a very useful help in pursuing such a fancy as antiquarian research. By and by he was ordained priest, and became, as we should say nowadays, a canon of the cathedral, and indeed one of the most distinguished members of the capitular body. Add to all this the excellent opinion entertained by himself as well as by others of his literary capacity, his artistic and practical skill in architecture and every handicraft—a fact which he is good enough to vouch for—and (what every reader of his book will readily allow) the enquiring spirit of a curious collector, it will be easily understood how it came to pass that his brethren of the clergy pitched

[1] Jaffé *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum* iv p. 268.

[2] *Agnelli Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* (in *Mon. Germ. SS. rer. Langobardicarum*) p. 384. The work was first published by the Benedictine Bacchini, with ample notes, or rather dissertations, and appendices, in two quartos, Modena, 1708. Bacchini's edition was repeated entire in part i of vol. ii of Muratori's *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*. Although the latest edition, that in the *SS. rer. Langob.* (pp. 275–391), is the most convenient, and the notes of the editor are full and numerous, Bacchini's, if tediously lengthy, are still useful, and should by no means be neglected by any one who wishes really to understand this singular and curious history of the bishops of Ravenna.

upon him, though one of the youngest members of their body, to write the Lives of the Archbishops, or, in other words, a history of the ancient and illustrious Church of Ravenna.

The collection of lives of the Popes which has long gone under the general name of Anastasius, a writer of the ninth century, but now is commonly called the *Liber Pontificalis*, was commenced, as is well known, at a much earlier period, and was regularly continued. This work, when letters revived in Carolingian times, formed a model for others of a similar character. Paul the Deacon, during his sojourn in Charles's court, wrote a similar series of lives of the bishops of Metz; about the same time, or perhaps a little later, a Neapolitan wrote the lives of the bishops of his native city. Agnellus of Ravenna followed these existing examples, but in a way quite his own. Whilst the Neapolitan writer, finding very little of the nature of historical memorials relating to his church, makes up for the deficiency by copying long passages from earlier writers bearing on general history, Agnellus, besides a habit of sermonizing in which he is ready to indulge at any moment with or without excuse, scanned every corner of Ravenna and its buildings to recover the records of the past. He does not indeed neglect written memorials; but he is neither a formal historian nor a mere compiler. In the latter case he would have made more abundant and careful use of home sources like the lost Annals of Ravenna or the Chronicles of archbishop Maximian, or the Roman *Liber Pontificalis*, which would have afforded him additional material in regard to the bishops of his own city. He makes indeed good use of the archives of his church; but it is not this which gives its special character of value to his book. The method and cast of his work is genuinely archaeological, and it may be fairly called the first essay in ecclesiastical history by the aid of monuments.

In connexion with Ravenna the monumental documents which most readily occur to mind are the mosaics with which its buildings were so richly adorned. Agnellus has largely used them for his purpose. From the latter part of the fourth century he gathers from them a description of the persons of most of the archbishops, whether they were tall or short, bald or grey, bearded or shaven, ruddy or sallow, even noting the colour of their eyes. He anticipated thus the doubt of the enquirer: 'And if any among you should wonder how it is that I can thus give an account of the persons of the archbishops, I would have you know that I have derived my knowledge from their own portraits taken from the life in their own days.'[1]

[1] Pp. 297, 348. The references throughout are to the edition of Holder-Egger in *M. G. Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum.*

These mosaics at Ravenna did not exist in a continuous series like the pictures of the Popes in the old basilica of St Paul's at Rome, but were scattered up and down the churches and other buildings of the city, and each was generally to be found in the edifice or edifices which the particular archbishop had himself either built or adorned; and he is careful to specify the place where these various mosaics may be found. In this respect he shews no less antiquarian exactitude and minuteness when dealing with another and less debatable class of ancient memorials—inscriptions, of which his pages furnish an abundant store. The mosaics were frequently accompanied by inscriptions, some of considerable length, in verse or in prose; besides these, he scans, and takes notes from, the doors and fronts of churches, the pavements, the columns, the arcadings; nothing escapes him. And he is not averse to reducing the wonderful, which others would see, to the merely ordinary. Thus the roof of the outbuildings of the church of St Stephen which had been built by archbishop Maximian shewed letters that had evidently puzzled his predecessors; 'at the summit of all the columns the name of Maximian is graven; on the monastery roof you will find tessellated letters; these have led astray the unwary and ignorant, but the skilled know that what is written there is MV. SI. VA.'[1] If the inscription is too much damaged or defaced to be copied entire, he gives the substance with an 'as far as I can make out'.[2] But he only has recourse to such an unsatisfactory method after an expenditure of much time and care in deciphering; so at the bath built for the clergy of the cathedral by archbishop Victor in the sixth century, close by the bishop's house, and still in use in Agnellus's own day, 'the walls are enriched with the most precious marbles and divers representations in mosaic, with an inscription in gilt letters which we have been able to read after painful and laborious effort'; the verses were worth recovering, for they record the fact that Victor fixed Tuesdays and Fridays every week as the bathing days for the cathedral clergy.[3] In another case he tells us that an inscription had defied all his efforts.[4]

It must not be supposed that he confines his attention, in thus collecting these memorials, to the chief buildings of Ravenna. Archbishop Maximian builds a house in the town and leaves his name to be read on the tiles; this inscription does not escape Agnellus, who records its exact situation and the very words: 'I found them thus, "Maximianus episcopus Ravennae," and I saw and read them myself.'[5] This discovery was apparently made on the occasion of building a house for himself close by, as to which he gives details

[1] P. 328. [2] P. 299. [3] P. 325.
[4] P. 336. [5] P. 330.

shewing that the destruction of ancient Ravennese monuments is not all to be put down to the greed of the Franks. After stating that Odoacer erected a small palace on an island about six miles from Ravenna still called Palazzuolo, he continues: 'and now in our own days I commanded my servants to demolish the aforesaid palace, and I had the materials brought to Ravenna to be used for my house, which I have built on property coming to me from my mother, which is now called "The priest's house", in the quarter named *ad Nimpheos*, close to the church of St Agnes the Martyr.'[1]

In the same curious spirit in which he had examined mosaics he overhauls the church treasuries and gathers inscriptions from precious covers of gospel books,[2] from chalices,[3] chrismatories,[4] or embroidered hangings.[5] It has been already mentioned that he searched the various archives; those of the cathedral had unfortunately suffered greatly in the archiepiscopate of Damianus (692–708);[6] but many important documents were still left, and he incorporated some that are highly curious in his book.[7] At San Vitale he seems to have got hold of the building accounts; it must have been some such source as accounts that has enabled him to give so many dated particulars of alterations in various churches and their ornaments in successive centuries.[8]

Many persons were on the look-out to contribute their mite to the materials Agnellus was collecting for the greatly desired work. He

[1] P. 303. [2] Pp. 291, 332. [3] P. 306.
[4] P. 331. [5] Pp. 324, 332, 378. [6] Pp. 365, 366.

[7] A document issued by Pope Felix IV some time between 526 and 530 gives an interesting illustration of the care with which all documentary evidences relating to a church and the acts of its bishops were registered and preserved. 'Notarii vero iuxta ordinem matriculae, primicerii, secundicerii, tertius, quartus, quintus, sextus, septimus, suo periculo in cunspectu presbiterum et diaconorum documenta ecclesiastica sub fidelium brevium discriptione suscipiant; ut, quotiens exigerit causa, fideliter proferantur, cuntradant atque recipiant. . . . Ideo enim universa describenda sunt ecclesiastica documenta, ne ullo modo aut suscepta pereant, aut tempore, quo sunt necessaria utilitatibus ecclesiasticis, exiberi non possint. Qui tamen notarii in officio suo observantes strenue, consequantur sine inminutione commoda sibi vel prioribus suis antiquitus deputata', &c. (p. 320). This throws light back also on the Roman practice; and there can be little doubt, from many indications that have recently come to light, that the archives of the Roman Church in the sixth and following centuries were better ordered and better organized for practical purposes than, say, the Record Office in Fetter Lane. If some of our modern critics would take the time and trouble really to familiarize themselves with the extant memorials of the decadence and early Middle Ages, instead of merely 'consulting' them and using 'texts', the learned and unlearned world would be relieved from a vast amount of what can only be called the 'oil lamp and cabinet' style of criticism, which makes us think ourselves much more wise than it behoves us to think. But then if the hard rule of knowledge were enforced, the occupation of so many of the critics would be gone, and the empty laudations of so many of their admirers would be lost too.

[8] Pp. 318–319, and note 8; cf. p. 273 l. 32. But, unfortunately, *elogium* here may mean something else; and it is possible that the dates of alterations, e. g. pp. 307, 329, were gathered from inscriptions, though the fact is not mentioned.

has left us an account of one of these unexpected finds of a friend of his which it may be interesting to give in full as a specimen of the curious autobiographical style in which the whole work was conceived. He had come to the end of the life of his first bishop Peter, who died, he says, about 425. 'Some say that he was buried in the *Ecclesia Petriana*, which he himself had founded. Now, know for certain that I will tell you the truth and no lie. One day when I was staying at my monastery of the Blessed and ever Virgin Mary, called *ad Blachernas*, which is not far from the Guandelaria Gate, as I was busily engaged over the lives of these bishops of Ravenna, a doubt occurred to my mind as to the burial place of this holy man. As I was thinking over the matter, one of my body servants came and told me that George, now priest of the church of Classis, had come to see me. But at that date he held the cure of St Severus; he was a most venerable, constant, and resolute person, and with no weakness of any sort. When he was introduced and had taken a seat, I at once began to ask of him whether by any chance he had heard from old men or had ever discovered anything as to the tomb of this blessed man. "Come with me", he replied gaily, "and I will shew you the very treasure you most desire to find." So we got on horseback and hastened to Classis; and I ordered my men who had accompanied us to keep at some distance. And then we entered the chapel of St James,[1] which is within the precincts of the Baptistery of the aforesaid church.[2] There we saw a tomb of precious marble,[3] and with much effort we managed to raise the cover somewhat. Within we found a coffin of cypress wood, and lifting up the lid we both saw the body of the holy man as if he had been buried but an hour before; he was of lofty stature, of pallid countenance, all his limbs were intact; only the little cushion on which his head rested was decayed. The body gave forth an odour as if we smelt a fragrant incense mixed with myrrh and balsam; and there fell upon us dread and terror, exceeding great, and such a sorrowfulness that for sobs and sighs we were hardly able to close what we had so readily set ourselves to open. The odour overcame us altogether,

[1] *Monasterium* in this particular case evidently means 'chapel'; cf. p. 319 n. 1, and p. 328 l. 16. [In *Mittheilungen d. Inst. f. oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung* ix (1888) is an article by Franz Wickhoff on 'Die "monasteria" bei Agnellus' (pp. 34–45). He holds as against Bacchini that this word really means in Agnellus a 'monastery'. He deals with the cases of a 'monastery' in conjunction with a baptistery at pp. 40–41, and considers this one at the Ecclesia Petriana to be 'ein Raum zwischen Baptisterium und Kirche'. I prefer (after considering Wickhoff) to keep to 'chapel'.]

[2] It is difficult to say precisely to which church the writer refers; St Severus was on the road to Classis.

[3] 'Ex lapide *proconiso* precioso.' See the different interpretations of the word given by glossaries.

and was such that our nostrils were not clear of it for more than a week. And on the tomb was his image, wonderfully depicted, with the words *Domnus Petrus Archiepiscopus.*'[1]

Diligent as he was, there was no small difficulty in finding materials to construct the history of the early days of the Church of Ravenna. Here he could expect no help from friends. It was in vain Moses might advise, *Interroga patres tuos et dicent tibi*; or Job, *Interroga generationes pristinas*; the writers of the *Vitae patrum* could say 'a certain old man told me'; or Gregory, the bishop of the see of the Roman Church, 'such-and-such a one informed me,' 'but I can do nothing of the sort like them. I am like one who finds himself in woods and wilds, and sees all about him great trees, dense and dark, and places impassable for thickets and briars, knowing not which side to turn, and what path to take to bring him once more into the open. And so I, in undertaking to recount the story of the holy pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna, have entered as it were on the perils of the sea, and it is as though the stormy tempest buffeted me, and as if all the cerulean waters of the deep in a tumult of waves were pursuing me.'[2] But Agnellus was equal to the occasion; he had as profound and justified a belief as the newspaper writer or novelist of the present day in the value and virtues of padding. Nor, with the candour that characterizes him, has he any hesitation in propounding in bare words the theory which so many hagiographers before and since his day have followed without explaining their methods. 'Lest there should be gaps in our account of the succession of bishops, by the help of your prayers (he says, addressing his brethren), I have composed the lives of them all; and I do not think I have told falsehood herein, for they were all men of prayer, and chaste, and lovers of almsgiving, and fishers of men.'[3] In this way the ground can be easily covered. To take, for instance, Saint Marcellinus, the tenth bishop; his name is something to begin with; he was *iustus et timoratus*, and so forth, at length; a reminiscence of the discovery of bishop Peter supplies the fact, or congruence, that at his burial the nostrils of the assistants perceived the odorous fragrance of most precious myrrh; some say he was buried in the Church of St Probus; finally he held the see *blank* years, *blank* months, *blank* days. This mode of writing history is simple, and promises nothing but platitudes and sameness. Yet this is not so; Agnellus's padding, differing from that common in

[1] Pp. 290–291. It is interesting to compare the long account Agnellus gives of the 'elevation' and examination of the relics of St Maximian, in the year 833, which he superintended (p. 333).

[2] P. 279. [3] P. 297.

our day, is well worth reading as a genuine rendering of the thoughts and ideas of the Ravennese higher clerical society of the day. It is in the padding too, to a considerable extent, that Agnellus gives so full a personal revelation of himself that the reader can picture the very man that he was; a vain, busy little person, painstaking and minute, on occasion fussy, with note-book ever in hand, and eyes for everything; full of vivacity and life, and somewhat much of a chatter-box; if now and then irritable, yet really kind-hearted; and, for all his chattering, endowed with a fund of strong good sense. Many passages of his book shew that he was a man of keen sensibilities. With a bright and handsome face, a musical and well-modulated voice and a winsome charm of manner, to back his substantial qualities and his marked character, it is no wonder that he was really liked, really respected and trusted. 'Agnellus *lepidus*'[1] is the description that more than once falls from the pen of the only writer (a contemporary) who gives us an account of him, as best fitted to sum up in a single word this antiquary of the ninth century. The writer adds that there was no one in Ravenna of the time to be compared to him.

Thanks to his not unpleasing self-conceit, we can follow the author step by step in the gradual composition of his work. The undertaking once fairly launched, his brethren of the clergy felt their honour engaged in it; they were eager for the completion of the work—too eager, according to the author's mind, or rather his protestations. They pestered him in their anxiety to know how it was progressing; and nothing would do but, for all the world like an admired author of the nineteenth century in one of the Parisian literary salons under the Restoration or the July Monarchy, Agnellus must give to a select audience of his friends, and the dignified upper clergy of Ravenna, readings from the great book now in hand. They seem to have been satisfied, for the readings appear to have been many; but candour requires the confession that the *Liber Pontificalis* of Ravenna cut up in mere bits must have fallen rather flat. The meetings were held now in the house of one, now another of the clergy; sometimes in one or other of his own houses. Agnellus, however, always remained the master of the ceremonies; he has no scruple in saying 'Let this suffice for to-day; I have a head-ache'; or 'I am not well'; or 'Now it is time to return home, and when leisure serves we will resume the life of this pontiff.' Sometimes his fancy runs in a poetic vein; with a Virgilian reminiscence he bids them note how the long-drawn shadows mark the fall of day, and how the sunset warns his hearers to disperse.[2]

[1] See the verses p. 275 l. 18; 276 l. 56; also ll. 30 sqq.

[2] P. 302.

On another occasion, whether it be that the tumult of the waves had buffeted him exceedingly at that point of the composition, the reading is accompanied by a storm; he is, or affects to be, downright angry with his brethren for simply asking him to continue, and he threatens to break off for good and all if ever they presume to importune him again. It was on the occasion of St Aurelian, the twenty-second bishop, of whom really there was nothing to be said except that he had continued a building begun by his immediate predecessor, Peter, and that he died on May 26. It was hard in such a case to be pressed for something long. He accordingly breaks out, 'Oh! my friends, what a burden have you not placed on my shoulders. I really have not been able to find out anything about him, except that he obtained for the cathedral a property, which it still possesses in the territory of Comacchio. But as you press me, lest the story should seem short, relying on the help of heaven, our own learning, and your prayers, I will boldly proceed in the narration. But I am altogether weak of body just now, and can scarcely continue; still, with God's help, let us begin. But do not repeat what you did yesterday. Have a care you do not press me too hard. Think over it; my gift is not mine but God's. Oh! miserable I, who am daily plagued with your hard questions. Desist. But if you will break me down with your excessive demands, and worry me to finish this Pontifical with speed, consider first your own want of capacity, and then mine. Two and thirty years and ten months is it since I saw the light of day; but never have I been so harassed, so cornered, as by you yesterday. And if you take so much pleasure in thus harrying me, pulling me, dragging me about, scourging me so, I give in; do what you will. And after all is done, depart from me, let me suffer by myself, and turn you yourselves away from me; what is already written, keep; but from me no more shall you hear. I will finish this life of Aurelian, and then hold silence. What is the use? Why do you quarrel with me? Unless the Lord give me the tongue wherewith to speak, as it pleases Him, I am nothing.' He proceeds to recall the cases of Ezechiel, Moses, David, Samuel, and then resumes his own case thus: 'I have told you all these things; it is for you to bear them in mind. And know that the time will come when, if I leave this Pontifical half finished, you will reach the point where it breaks off, and will remember with a sigh what I have been saying to you. But that will be of no use. And if you then beg me to finish it, I will not listen. I desire that by God's providence my labours be brought to their due conclusion; you, with your over-eager hurry, really wish me to leave them off. I do not intend to hurry. I remember the words, my dear friends, whereby in the life of Blessed John I declared

myself a debtor to you in regard to the discussion of that question of the river Etham',[1]—and then, resuming a discourse broken off in the course of the 'life' of a preceding archbishop, he plunges into a long biblical discussion. It is not impossible that Agnellus's hearers may from their point of view have been at times simply bored by his padding, and would readily have taken his sermons for granted if he would only have advanced with his facts; or, wishing for a deal of interesting matter in any case, they would have him make bricks without straw.

But he was something of a wag, too, in his way. Another day the meeting was at one of Agnellus's own houses, St Bartholomew's. He is in some embarrassment, he says; they had honoured him by coming under his roof, yet he felt that the hospitality he could offer them was altogether unworthy of so noble a company. 'Neither my table nor my cellar is adequate to afford you fitting refreshment. At the same time I should feel it a disgrace if, after you had come to my monastery, the house of St Bartholomew, you were to leave it hungry, without receiving from our apostle bit or sup. Let the four feet be brought, and place the table upon them. The four firm feet are the four evangelists,' &c., &c.; and then he regales them with another sermon.[2] As Agnellus approaches his own age, with the seventh century these discourses become rare; his materials grow more abundant, tradition flows more freely; much that he has to say is nowhere else to be found; he can now obtain his tales from the 'old men', and in the hands of this writer they lose nothing in the telling. There is neither time nor space here to touch on the innumerable hitherto neglected illustrations of ecclesiology with which his work abounds;[3] perhaps now that the work is accessible in the convenient volume of Lombard Historians, some one may be found to bring out its value in this regard, as Hefele did for the Cassinese chronicles of Leo Marsicanus and Peter the Deacon. Agnellus survived the dispersal of most of the treasures which he had so carefully—nay, so lovingly—scrutinized, which were his pride and were the joy of his heart. Indeed the final crash came when he had hardly reached middle age. As he approaches his own day the lives become singularly mutilated in the MS that has survived; some stop in the midst of a sentence. This is the case with the life of archbishop Martin (who died about 817), as to whom much is wanting. Of the life of archbishop Petronax (*c.* 817–834) not a word has survived. An incidental notice may perhaps

[1] Pp. 315–316. [2] P. 323.

[3] Ferd. Piper made good use of the work—and was the first to do so to my knowledge—in his *Einleitung in die monumentale Theologie* (Gotha, R. Besser, 1867) pp. 349–363.

explain the suppression, for no one can accuse Agnellus of failing to tell the unpleasant truth if facts demanded it, or hiding his opinions as to deeds and conduct when these were really blameworthy. He narrates, in another part of his book, how the Emperor Lothar, in the days of Petronax, coveted the tomb-stone of Archbishop Maurus (*c.* 642–671) in the church of St Apollinaris. 'It was porphyry (he says), most precious and bright and pellucid like glass; and when the doors in front of it were opened, and you looked at it, you could see as in a mirror, whatever passed by. But twelve years ago almost (he must have been writing in 841 or 842) the Emperor Lothar ordered it to be taken up, and it was wrapped in wool, placed in a wooden box and carried away into France. He ordered it to be placed as a table over the altar of St Sebastian (perhaps at Soissons). The archbishop (Petronax) gave me the command to go and superintend the removal, lest by carelessness of the workmen any accident should occur and the stone be broken. But my heart was too full of grief, and I went away by myself, alone.'[1]

But there was an experience harder yet in store for Agnellus: after Petronax, the throne of Ravenna was occupied by archbishop George, an intimate friend of Agnellus; 'we were like own brothers together up to this time', he says.[2] But the exalted dignity to which, whilst still young, George found himself raised, brought out all the weakness of his character; he was arrogant, vain, unjust, prodigal. One of his first steps was to turn against Pope Gregory IV who had consecrated him. To satisfy his vanity he must needs stand godfather to Rotruda, daughter of the emperor Lothar, and to compass this object he squandered vast sums of money. Up to this point it is probable that, though his friend must have felt bitterly the havoc made in the Ravennese treasury, he had come to no open breach with Agnellus, for at the baptism at Pavia he was the most honoured of the archbishop's following. On George's receiving the newly baptized princess at the font, 'he handed her to me (says Agnellus), and I clothed her with my own hands, and her shoes which I put on her feet were ornamented with gold and "jacinth"'; and it is not too much to believe that he satisfied himself as to their exact texture. Passing over his remarks on the rich dress of the empress, it may be enough to note an incident that took place just before the mass, as adding one feature more to the archbishop's character. 'He said he had a burning thirst, and drank off, on the sly, a cup full of foreign wine, and after this partook of the heavenly table.'[3]

[1] P. 352; cf. p. 299, the tomb of bishop John.
[2] Pp. 366–367; 388–391.
[3] The editor, p. 388 n. 6, thinks it is not clear whether this passage relates to the archbishop. The case is hardly, at the utmost stretch of scruple, doubtful.

Of such a man Agnellus was not likely to be longer a close friend. With all his oddities the pages of Agnellus bespeak throughout a man of sincere and genuine piety, and wholly devoted to, wrapped up in, his state and calling. And George gave offence in a practical way otherwise: to meet his profuse expenditure, he not merely swallowed up the savings of his predecessors, and laid hands on the Church's treasure, but he ground down all his clergy and seized their benefices, among the rest Agnellus's monastery of St Bartholomew. He was moreover bent on carrying on his quarrel with the Pope, and for the purpose of securing a powerful support, soon after the death of Lewis the Pious in 840, the archbishop set out for France, where Lewis's sons, on the one side the Emperor Lothar, whose good graces he had already secured to himself, on the other Lewis and Charles, were contending for the pre-eminence. George's train consisted of three hundred horses, laden with goods, the plunder of his church; he carried with him, moreover, the ancient documents of the archives, to serve as *pièces d'appui* in his great process for independence of the Pope. He arrived at Lothar's camp on the eve of the battle of Fontenay (June 25, 841), which dealt, in fratricidal strife, a fatal blow to the Carolingian empire; never was such slaughter known or heard of in the history of the Franks. Agnellus's description of the fight is drawn from the poets, with his *lucida tela*, and *pavida corda*, and *splendida scuta*, and so forth. All these fine words are not worth a fraction of the few simple lines which the warrior historian Nithard, who was himself present, gives to the scene; or the rude verses in which another combatant sings his lament over that tragedy of empire.[1] But when dealing with his own subject his narra-

[1] This soldier poet writes with singular directness and power, if in defiance of correctness of diction, with here and there a reminiscence of the vernacular. It is worth while to quote a verse or two:

Fontaneto fontem dicunt, villam quoque rustici,
Ubi strages et ruina Francorum de sanguine:
Horrent campi, horrent silvae, horrent ipsi paludes.

Gramen illud ros et imber nec humectat pluvia,
In quo fortes ceciderunt, proelio doctissimi,
Pater, mater, soror, frater, quos amici fleverant.

. . . . . .

Angelbertus ego vidi, pugnansque cum aliis,
Solus de multis remansi prima frontis acie.

Ima vallis retrospexi, verticemque iugeri,
Ubi suos inimicos rex fortis Hlotharius
Expugnabat fugientes usque forum rivuli.

Karoli de parte vero, Hludovici pariter,
Albent campi vestimentis mortuorum lineis,
Velut solent in autumno albescēre avibus.

. . . . . .

Maledicta dies illa, nec in anni circulo
Numeretur, sed radatur ab omni memoria,
Iubar solis illi desit, aurora crepusculo.

tive is vigorous and vivid, and of the highest interest. He describes at length the capture of the vain-glorious archbishop by the victor Charles, the indignities offered him, his abject condition, Charles's scorn and eventual clemency; he tells how the guardians of the treasures brought from Ravenna were scattered, how these precious objects, of inestimable worth, fell a prey to the soldiery, were lost and dispersed; how the ancient charters were trampled in the mud or torn to pieces by the point of the lance; how the great company which left Ravenna with such bravery came straggling back, begging their way as best they could along the road. The archbishop returned too, promising amendment, and then 'mentitus est omnia quae dixit, et non recordatus iusiurandum quod Domino pollicitus est'—he belied all he had said, and remembered not the oath which he had made to the Lord. Agnellus does not care to inform even himself as to the exact circumstances of the death of his former friend; there were sinister rumours abroad, 'but it is no business of mine to report them: he died, and now is buried.' With this catastrophe the work of Agnellus, young as he still was, is done; and there remains no trace, no record, of him more.

> Noxque illa, nox amara, noxque dura nimium,
> In qua fortes ceciderunt, proelio doctissimi,
> Pater, mater, soror, frater, quos amici fleverant.

M. G. Poet. ii pp. 138–139. Cf. the verses of that true Carolingian 'patriot', Florus of Lyons, ibid. pp. 559–564.

XIX

ABOUT AN OLD PRAYER BOOK[1]

How is it that when I propose to write something for the *Downside Review* it is something else that actually finds its way into print? The first form of the present paper, for instance, gave in imagination some notice of the memorable journey of the Louvain nuns of St Monica's to Ghent on account of the plague, of the rather mysterious difficulties attending the election of Rev. Mother Throckmorton as Prioress, and of that singular storm at Wells early in the seventeenth century whereof we have two narratives from opposite poles of the ecclesiastical world that excellently exemplify the theme an elegant essayist has been lately illustrating to the edification of us all, the importance, namely, of 'the Point of View'. This first vision passed, and the paper then came to appear as a little discussion on the feasts of the Blessed Virgin in the West in the seventh century, designed to illustrate a curious but somewhat puzzling phenomenon that had been pointed out elsewhere. No sooner had this theme taken definite shape than it was whisked away into futurity by an unexpected call, to serve as a sort of guard or courier to a mere packet of leaves of vellum some sixteen inches by nine, in transit from the far West up to London. A companion on the occasion was a little quarto paper book, *manu recentissima* as proper catalogues would have it, on the fly-leaf of which had been hastily scribbled on the eve of departure these words: 'N.B. Galba A. xiv; *What is* this prayer book?' The next working morning soon after ten I was turning over its leaves; and although it was scorched, and burnt, and washed with water—*characteribus paene evanidis* as the catalogues again have it—before I had gone very far in the perusal of the volume, this fitful changeling of a paper had assumed a third and, I suppose, final form.

Is the subject 'An Old Prayer Book' a 'dull' one? Any subject is sure to prove dull to somebody. My own preference would be for the dullest form possible, viz., a sheer and mere list of contents, since no one has ever drawn up such a list and it is worth making. In

[1] From the *Downside Review*, March 1907.

Germany, or in France, there are three or four organs that would find place for such a notice; in England we are mostly above such things. So be it; and I will keep my list to myself. Still, having looked into the book, I should like it to be known, and some notice of it to come into print as soon as may be; so I turn to an old friend for hospitality, and propose to notice at once in the *Downside Review* some items of the contents.

But first of all it will be in place to say a few words on a subject deeply, vitally interesting, and yet I fancy little known and less considered, viz., the history and vicissitudes of what I may call 'English piety'. In using such an appellation I duly have before my eyes the fear of the high prophets of our Historical School, who in matters of such kind will allow only of the 'typical', not of the 'racial'. Moreover, as some persons will hear only of what is 'British', and others (these mostly of an ecclesiastical type) will have it to be we are Anglo-Celts not Anglo-Saxons, it would appear doubtful if there be room left for any piety that can be called 'English'. But I think both classes are only people who have a little way of overlooking facts in favour of fancy theories. Up to the time of the Reformation three periods in England are marked by an extraordinary outflow of devotional products, especially of prayers, characteristic of their own particular epoch: first, the end of the seventh century and the eighth; secondly, from 950, and perhaps even from the accession of Athelstan, to the Norman Conquest; finally, the fifteenth century.

In the devotional products of the first period, as I read them, the Celt (that is, the Irishman) and the Roman are pouring their respective pieties into this devoted isle, and we absorb both kinds; but the English mind and religious sense assert themselves in the process of fusion and contribute to the resultant a quality and measure possessed by neither Celt nor Roman alone; the Celt brings 'all heart' and much fluency with little mind; the Roman brings all mind and—I was going to say 'no', but had better perhaps prefer 'small'—heart. The one commonly by excess of words and sometimes by extravagance of form brings us easily and soon within the verge of unreality; the other has the right sense, the right mind, but leaves us cold as marble. As being a sort of hybrid half-Celt I may give my own view of what I seem to discern as the specifically 'English' quality in the prayers of this earliest devotional literature, viz., strong feeling controlled and also penetrated by good sense. The third of the periods specified above, the fifteenth century, is on its religious side briefly characterized by Cardinal Gasquet in two pages of the preface to his *Great Pestilence* (pp. xvii–xix), which

would admit of a volume of commentary without modification of the general lines there laid down.

The second and intermediate epoch of English devotionalism is coincident with the great monastic movement of the tenth and eleventh centuries. To have said so much is perhaps already to have created prejudice against it as 'monkish'; but then it is to be remembered that those were days when Aelfric the homilist was a monk; days it is good to read about in the little pages which the late Professor Earle, a man who both knew and felt, wrote for the S.P.C.K. The Anglo-Saxon translations of several of the prayers of this period have been printed from some MSS in the philological periodicals of Germany; for in England our dominant schools and scholars in history seem to have an easy way of being 'above MSS'. But, after all, the Latin pieces are the originals, and it was the Latin prayers that first came from English hands. Some day or other, perhaps, the contents of these Latin prayer books of the tenth and eleventh centuries may appear in print, and then at length we may be able to speak with understanding of the change that was effected in 'English religion' (*sit venia verbo!*) by the Norman Conquest—a revolution symbolized for us by the story of Lanfranc and St Elphege, and the story of abbat Thurstan of Glastonbury and his monks, which have been related for us—*crambe repetita usque ad nauseam*—by our successive historians to this day.

But the Galba MS has been waiting too long whilst I have been gossiping. I will take the first prayer on which my eyes fell on opening the volume. It begins well enough (f. 20 a): 'Helper of those that labour, Ruler of all the good, Rampart for our protection, and Defender of believers', &c.; an expression soon follows: 'Precor ut me homunculum quassatum et miserrimum'—'me poor battered manikin'—a relic of the ancient Celtic piety, little suited to the commonplace Anglo-Saxon, which was so widely spread in the England of the seventh century (cf. the prayer of abbat Hygbald, *Book of Cerne*, ed. Kuypers, p. 207, and p. 133 ll. 5–6). The very next page, f. 21 a, begins a long prayer of a different character, though, like the foregoing, it is of an intensely personal cast. As it has not yet appeared in print I here translate the beginning of it. It runs thus:

O Lord, hear my prayer, for I know already that my time is near at hand. Grant to me, O Lord, wisdom and understanding, and enlighten my heart that I may know Thee always all the days of my life, for Thou art God, and there is none other but thou alone; who hast come down from heaven, and by Thy Holy Spirit hast filled Mary with light. Thee, therefore, O my God, do I humbly entreat that Thou wilt enlighten my heart, for my sins are with-

out number exceedingly. Grant me, O Lord, I beseech Thee, that I may be able to bewail them through faith and charity and through Thy wondrous Name. I adjure Thee that in whatever day I call upon Thee, Thou wilt deign to hear me speedily as Thou didst graciously hear the prayer of Tobias and of Sara. Pour out to me tears of the heart, as Thou didst lay the foundations of the earth upon the waters, for my heart has grown hard as if a stone; I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned exceedingly in my life; I acknowledge all my iniquities. I entreat of Thee; to Thee do I cry. Do Thou stretch out Thy right hand and deliver me from my adversary as Thou didst deliver the Three Children from the furnace of burning fire. Therefore I pray Thee, O God, heavenly King, give me temperance and chastity, humbleness and faithfulness and truth, that I may be found worthy to persevere in good works. As indeed the desire of my heart is, whatever it be I have said or thought or done from my youth upwards. I beseech Thee, O Lord; to Thee do I cry with a great cry out of my whole heart. I praise thee, I magnify Thee, with all Thy holy apostles and martyrs. Do Thou deign to send to my help Thine angels and apostles. . . . I pray thee, holy Mary, Mother of my Lord, and all the holy Virgins, that they will hear me and intercede with Thee for me a sinner, and obtain for me to come into the way of truth. . . .[1]

I do not know how it may appear to others, but it seems to me that the man who wrote this prayer spoke simply out of his whole heart, and his words strike straight home. I only give part as a specimen, and perhaps there are those who in reading it will agree that since the dark days when the monk of Winchester perhaps, or Glastonbury, or Canterbury, wrote this prayer, our way up to the present has not been in all directions, and in all parts, progress.

Among the very numerous prayers that follow I recognize some as being copies or adaptations of those in our English prayer books of the first period, MS Reg. 2 A xx, and the *Book of Cerne*. At f. 64 another hand, shaky as if that of an aged person, enters a prayer for dead benefactors. At f. 76 a is a Litany of the Saints, which, towards its close, at f. 77 b, has this series of invocations (some names are imperfect, being partly illegible through the effects of the fire): 'Machuti, Byrnst[ane], Aelf[ege], Grimbald, Haedda, Dunstani archi, Oswold archi, Athelwold, Byrnwold.' Now we can recognize where we are—at Winchester. Note in passing the vocatives in 'i', or the absence of the inflexion form; note, too, the unknown 'St Byrn-

[1] The MS at the points indicated by dots is altered and hardly legible. The prayer occurs also in Arundel MS 155, f. 174 a; this more modern text is made somewhat more smooth and also more flat and commonplace; e.g. *deflere per fidem* becomes *delere per fidem*; *cordis* is omitted after *lacrimas*. The text after 'Te laudo et magnifico' is different. In the Arundel MS the prayer is attributed to St Gregory, with one of those promises to reciters current in all ages. It is needless to say that such attributions of authorship in prayer books like this one are as a rule wholly untrustworthy.

wold'.[1] At f. 84 b begins a set of bidding prayers; the text, so far as legible, though much shorter, is the same as that in the so-called Durham Ritual (Surt. Soc. vol. x p. 175 sqq.), except that after the suffrage for the Christian people is this one: 'Pro nosmet ipsos (*sic*). Fiat Domine misericordia super nos quemadmodum speravimus in te.' The Galba MS also reads *pro unitate ecclesiae,* instead of *sanitate*, as printed in the Durham book; *sanitas* is a word used indeed in the earliest litanies of Charlemagne that we have, but it has reference to something secular, the army, &c., &c. The collects at the end are different from those in the Durham book; at f. 86 b is a text exasperatingly burnt, just at the critical point. This prayer runs: 'Familiam huius sacri cenobii quaesumus Domine, intercedente beata Dei genetrice Maria semperque uirgine, et beato Michaele archangelo necnon et'; so ends the page. The top of the next page is burnt, although I seemed to be able to read as the first legible word *principe.* Here came in with helping hand the copy of Cotton MS Titus D xxvi, the Prayer Book of New Minster at Winchester, which with a quantity of similar ancient material is stored at Great Ormond Street. The Titus MS contains this prayer, and continues the text thus: 'beato Petro apostolorum principe atque sancto Benedicto confessore tuo cum omnibus Sanctis, guberna moderamine; ut adsit nobis in securitate cautela et inter aspera fortitudo. Per.' The monastery designated by these patrons would seem to be the New Minster, the house founded in vow by Alfred, in act by Edward his son, the burial place of Alfred himself, Ealhswith his queen, and of Edward; though the patrons given in the prayer are perhaps unfamiliar. St Benedict I take to be mentioned not as a patron but as the founder of Western monachism.[2]

There follow in the Galba MS a few short pieces for confession; then a prayer for the dead; then this one which is precise: 'O God Almighty, give, we beseech Thee, rest everlasting to the soul of Thy servant King Ethelred, and to all who by their alms have increased

[1] [Perhaps (as a friend suggests to me) the same as St Berinwald of Benton in Oxfordshire (Stanton's *Menology, Supplement* p. 688) and 'Saint Bernold en Bentone' of a French version of the *Resting Places of Saints*, printed in *Gaimar* (Rolls series) vol. i p. xxxix.]

[2] [The late Mr W. de Gray Birch gives (*Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster*, London and Winchester, 1892, p. viii) a list of dedications of New Minster occurring in documents of the tenth century and early eleventh; to this list may be added 'St Peter prince of the Apostles and St Edoc' (*Liber de Hyda*, Rolls series, p. 203; *Edocius* is a form of Judoc, occurring also elsewhere, as in the calendar of a psalter of the second half of the tenth century, now Salisbury MS 150: at 5 id. Jan. 'Sancti Edoci conf.'). In the account of the building of New Minster (*Liber Vitae* pp. 3 sqq.) different dedications are mentioned as given to various parts of the completed church on its consecration by St Dunstan; among these patrons is St Michael (p. 10).]

this monastery to the praise and glory of Thy Holy Name.' Let those who will not follow me refrain; but I like to think of this prayer as written by one who had known that Unready descendant of a line of heroes, and perhaps familiarly talked with him; for we have to think of the communities of Winchester in those days, of the Old Minster, and the New Minster, and the nunnery of St Mary's, as of Westminster in later times, with the King and the Queen in and out of their precincts perhaps daily, and the royal children growing up from earliest years in terms of intimacy, in some cases doubtless affection, with their cloistered friends. This very MS must have been written at the latest at a time not very far distant from Ethelred's death (1016); it is a private prayer book written in more hands than one, and this prayer is the latest indication of date that I have observed in the volume. In the circumstances the presumption is a fair one that our prayer is no mere formal composition, but was written by the hand of an actual friend.

Immediately following this prayer for Ethelred is a second litany, quite different in character from the one already noticed, and of the same inordinate length as that contained in the Psalter of bishop Leofric of Exeter (Harl. MS 863). I think our second Galba litany much more interesting than Leofric's, as being wholly of a non-liturgical and quite personal character. I had hoped to have given some account of it in this paper, but to do so, I find, would double a probably already excessive length. Opportunity may perhaps be afforded later for dealing, and in connexion with Leofric's litany, with this interesting if somewhat eccentric product of old English devotion.[1] At ff. 110–111 we come across a portion of that very curious prayer, no. 19 in the *Book of Cerne*, which embodies the Mozarabic *mysterium crucis* of Good Friday. At f. 119 a, written in quite a different hand, which has copied at least one of the Anglo-Saxon pieces in this volume, is a prayer referring to a church dedicated to SS. Peter, Paul and Andrew, which I cannot at present identify. At f. 125 a, in yet another hand, is a collect of St Ethelwold, 'Deus, qui praeclari sideris', &c., which I do not find elsewhere. But one more item from our old prayer book, and I have done. It is written in a trembling hand, as if that of a person advanced in years; it must be given in the original for reasons which will be at once obvious to a reader. The first part is illegible; then:

Nec me velis contempnere, Pro peccatorum pondere. Exaudi me mise-

[1] [The opportunity has come, and it is greatly to be desired that this Galba Litany, so far as it can be recovered, should be printed for purposes of comparison with the Litany of Leofric in vol. ii of the *Leofric Collectar* now being published for the Henry Bradshaw Society.]

rulam Tuam Machute famulam. Confer mihi angelicum Tuum clemens auxilium. Tuam super me dexteram Protende serenissimam. A cunctis me contagiis Tuis munda suffragiis. De . . . de (?) cyrographo, peccatorum . . .

So ends the page, and the top half of the next is burnt to illegibility. Then, after some fragmentary words, the piece proceeds as follows :

Hostes omnes inuisibiles Procul et uisibiles A me clementer [?abiice], Gratamque Deo perfice. Tu recita Altissimo Precamina haec Domino . . .

Here, if I mistake not, we have the work of a nun of St Mary's Convent in Winchester, as well as a record of the curious fancy which made of St Machutus, that is the Breton St Malo, a bishop of Winchester. In the invocations cited above from the first litany in the Galba MS it may be observed that he heads the list of Winchester bishops. But I think there are features in our rhymed prayer that have better claims to notice than this one: the pathos of that 'exaudi me miserulam'; the quiet attempt at literary effort implied by the 'dexteram serenissimam'; and, indeed, the form altogether, when it is considered that the piece comes from a tenth- or eleventh-century nun.

The volume ends with a number of prayers to saints, now almost wholly illegible, which shew the favourite devotional cults of the time. The following list (drawn from the pencillings in the margin by the official cataloguist) has therefore some interest: Holy Cross, St Michael, St Edmund, St Stephen, the Invention of St Stephen (August 3), St Machutus, St Christopher, St Denys, St Dunstan, St Edward King and Martyr, St Edburga, St Elgiva, St Patrick, St Margaret. Then comes a prayer in which King Edgar is mentioned; then another prayer of the Holy Cross. It is the last.

Will the day ever come when the prayers in this volume which the fire has spared will see the light? I have often dreamed of a *Codex precum piarum* (or *Codex orationalis*) *Aevi Saxonici*. The disputes of the religious communions, the clangorous voice of the controversialist, the cries of the partisan, even the suppressed bitterness of the man who knows the better way but perhaps in spite of self is overcome by the grudging spirit that he loves not, all assume their true character before the records of the simple, or, it may sometimes be, exaggerated, piety that have come down to us in these ancient devotions. Such piety is disarming, and in face of it that which is churlish in us and in our religious quarrels comes to appear before us for what it really is.

I have sometimes dreamed a dream that I do not expect or even hope to see realized: will Downside Abbey ever give us such a *Codex*? It is a truly eirenical work and well worthy of those whose watchword is 'Peace'. Already a beginning has been made; the corner-stone is

indeed laid in Dom Kuypers's quarto containing the two most ancient and important of old English Prayer Books; whilst at Great Ormond Street in the course of years a considerable body of like material has been slowly accumulating; and this collection has not been left to be useless. When so much is poured forth in print, and by learned societies too, that signifies so little, one wonders why so much is left neglected and unknown that, to such as have eyes to see and heart to feel and mind to understand, can tell us so much of the makers of our race and country.

XX

GIFTS OF BISHOP HENRY OF BLOIS, ABBAT OF GLASTONBURY, TO WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL[1]

THE following inventory of church ornaments of the twelfth century will need no recommendation to those who care for such things. The benefactions of Henry of Blois to his abbey of Glastonbury, of the later greatness of which he may be said to be the founder, are recounted in the history of that house printed by Hearne. The list of gifts of this great prelate to the treasury of his cathedral church of Winchester is, I believe, hitherto unpublished, and may, it is hoped, be considered as not out of place in the pages of the *Downside Review*.

The treasury of the church of Winchester, the capital of Wessex, and the seat of kings whose sway extended over the whole of England and beyond her borders, was doubtless from early times well furnished through royal munificence. The Old Minster, as it was called after his reign, does not appear to have owed much to the bounty of Alfred the Great. His liberalities were reserved, as were those of Edward the Elder, his son, for his own neighbouring foundation of Newminster, over whose beginnings St Grimbald presided, and where both kings had their sepulture. Athelstan, whose name figures as the donor of holy relics in the records of so many churches, gave to Winchester the head of St Justus,[2] mentioned in the list printed below. King Edred his brother (947–955) had a special affection for St Swithin's; he gave to it a cross of gold, an altar of gold, and a number of other precious objects with a generous hand. Death prevented him from carrying out his further projects, such as the adornment of the eastern part of the church with gilt tiling.[3]

[1] From the *Downside Review*, January 1884.

[2] *Annales Wintonienses*, A. D. 924, ed. Luard, p. 10.

[3] *Wolstani Vita S. Ethelwoldi* in Mabillon *AA. SS. O. S. B.* t. vii p. 600, ed. Venet.: 'deauratis imbricibus adornare disposuit.' Is it mosaics for the interior that are in question, or roof tiles? The 'golden altar' was doubtless a frontal covered with gold plates; 'quod postmodum Henricus Blesensis, frater regis

In the episcopate of St Ethelwold the cathedral, now placed in the hands of the monks, was rebuilt. The saint's biographers give a full description of the edifice, but they do not mention any gifts of his to the treasury. From his liberality in this matter to his monastery of Abingdon, it may be inferred that he was not less careful in furnishing his cathedral church. It is incidentally noticed that the lights burning before the shrine of St Swithin, whose cultus at this time greatly increased, were placed in golden candlesticks. But there is another side to the picture: when famine came, and the holy bishop had no more money wherewith to relieve the needs of the poor, he ordered that the church plate, and, in particular, a vast quantity of silver vessels, should be melted down and turned into coin; for he could not endure the thought that the lifeless metal should remain intact, whilst men, created in God's image and redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, were perishing in hunger and want.[1]

The troubled times of the Danish invasions were not likely to bring about any augmentation of church treasuries. St Elphege, later the martyr of Canterbury, followed at Winchester in the footsteps of his predecessor, St Ethelwold, and caused to be distributed to the poor the abundant store which he had designed for the adornment of his church.[2] With the more peaceful days of Canute and Edward the Confessor the tide turned, and the treasury was replenished. Canute gave a shrine for the relics of St Birinus, a great image (perhaps a crucifix), and a silver candlestick with six branches.[3] Queen Emma, widow of Canute and mother of Hardecanute and Edward the Confessor, was a great benefactress; after the death of Hardecanute she gave for the good of his soul, besides landed property, many ornaments in gold and silver, with jewels, and precious vestments.[4] A few years later, after her successful trial by ordeal, attributing her deliverance to the protection of St Swithin, she and her friend and adviser Aelwin, bishop of Winchester, vied with each other in enriching the treasury of the cathedral.[5] Out of some of these gifts of Emma, Stigand, Aelwin's successor, caused to be made a cross of great size with images of the Blessed Virgin and St John, admirably worked and covered, as well as the beam on which they stood, with thick plates of gold and silver.[6] Getha, wife of Earl Godwin, was also a donor of ornaments of various kinds.[7]

Stephani ac Wyntoniensis episcopus, decentissime renovavit', says the *Liber de Hyda* (Rolls series) p. 151. This seems different from both articles 2 and 13 of the list.

[1] *Wolstani Vita* p. 604.
[2] *AA. SS. O.S.B.* t. viii p. 106.
[3] *Ann. Wint.* 1035, p. 16.
[4] *Ann. Wint.* 1040, p. 18.
[5] *Ann. Wint.* 1043, p. 25.
[6] *Ann. Wint.* 1047, pp. 25 and 30.
[7] *Ann. Wint.* 1053, p. 26.

The Conquest did not directly lead to the diminishing of these rich accumulations. Bishop Walkelin, like so many of the Norman prelates, busied himself in building a new church on a grander scale. His brother Simeon, formerly a monk of St-Ouen at Rouen, and Godfrey of Cambrai, successively priors, were long remembered for their noble benefactions; but the best gift was the care and love with which Godfrey inspired his community for the observance and splendour of the Divine service.[1] Dark days were, however, at hand. William Rufus, whose name has an evil mark in the annals of nearly every English see, despoiled Winchester of all its great wealth of treasure.[2] Probably efforts were soon made to make up for these depredations; it is recorded that the relics of St Ethelwold were placed in a new shrine in the year 1111;[3] but if we may judge from the frequent mention in the following list of objects *redeemed*, it would seem that the main share in this good work of restoration was reserved for bishop Henry of Blois, whose gifts must have equalled those of all who preceded.

Nephew, brother, cousin of three successive kings of England. Henry, by birth, personal character, and by his actions, stands out, after St Anselm and St Thomas, as the greatest English prelate of his century. He early enrolled himself in the order of St Benedict at Cluny; in 1126 he was made abbat of Glastonbury; in 1129, bishop of Winchester. He kept both dignities till his death in 1171, but the higher, with its manifold cares, did not cause him to neglect his abbey. Glastonbury, says the local historian, he sincerely loved; through his industry this church, which he found dilapidated and its possessions squandered, obtained so many advantages, that his memory will deservedly flourish in the same for ever and ever.[4] But Glastonbury we must leave aside on the present occasion.

In his brother Stephen's days his position forced him to the front, even in the civil broils; nor was he behind his neighbours and contemporaries in holding his own with the strong hand, or dealing a hard blow when rudely pressed. Personal ambition, natural affection, the repugnance of the princely prelate to submit to the yoke of Canterbury's superiority, a real care for the interests of the Church and her freedom, but never mere irresolution or faintheartedness, made him lean now to the one side, now to the other in the struggle. Enemies he could not fail to make; the most powerful of these he might have overborne or disregarded, but accident gave them a handle whereby they might, if not bring about his overthrow, at least hinder the accomplishment of his great designs. In the fight in his own city of

[1] *Ann. Wint.* 1082, p. 33; Will. Malmesb. *Gest. pont.*, ed. Hamilton, p. 172.
[2] *Ann. Wint.* 1090, p. 36.
[3] Ibid. p. 44.
[4] Stevens's *Additional Volumes to Dugdale's Monasticon* i p. 428.

Winchester in 1141, which retrieved the desperate fortunes of his then imprisoned brother, in the sacking of the town by his men, the abbey of Hyde[1] was laid waste and its treasure dissipated, or reduced to ashes.[2] The monks raised a loud outcry; their fate they felt, perhaps, the more bitterly, when they compared their own ill case with the immunity of their brethren at the cathedral, which, protected by Henry's great palace fortress far more effectually, it can hardly be doubted, than by the piety of the Earl of Gloucester, had escaped without damage.

The monks of Hyde laid all the blame on the bishop personally; they not merely claimed indemnity for losses sustained in the fight, but, in appealing to the Pope, they accused him of purloining or exacting from them a vast quantity of precious objects. The cause once begun, the monks, backed as well by powerful friends of their own as by powerful enemies of Henry, carried it on long and perseveringly. They enlisted on their side King Stephen himself, and what was decisive, the sympathies and services of St Bernard. After the death of Pope Innocent II the case became grave; with Innocent Henry had been a favourite, and he felt himself secure. Now the position was reversed; with the Cistercian Pope, Eugenius III, the word of St Bernard was all-powerful. In 1148 the long-gathering storm burst. The bishop did not appear at the council summoned by the Pope to meet at Reims; the worst construction was put on his absence, and rumours were circulated that he was answerable for the absence of other prelates besides; the Pope suspended him by name from the exercise of his episcopal functions for disobedience. At the prayer of his brother Theobald, Count of Champagne and Blois, the sentence was relaxed on condition that within six months he should present himself in person before the Pope.[3] It was not, however, until three years after that he visited Rome to answer the charges which the monks of Hyde, with many others, and St Bernard on their account, were persistently urging against him. There he was indeed received into favour, but only *in facie hominum*, as the chronicler says. But, even so, he was not deterred from seeking to recover the predominant position he had occupied in the time of Pope Innocent. A renewal of the legateship denied him, he revived an old scheme of his for the elevation of Winchester into an archi-

[1] Hyde was the former house of Newminster, now removed to the other side of the city.

[2] See the *Monasticon*, ed. 1682, vol. i p. 210; and the preface to *Liber de Hyda* (Rolls series) pp. xlviii-xlix. As the editor justly observes, for the whole story we have only the account of Henry's foes. This remark holds good also for the *Historia pontificalis* quoted below; its writer, if not John of Salisbury, was certainly devoted to the interests of archbishop Theobald.

[3] *Historia pontificalis* in *Mon. Germ. SS.* xx pp. 519-520.

episcopal see; finding this proposal was not entertained, he begged at least the exemption of Winchester from the jurisdiction of Canterbury; again he suffered repulse. At last he asked exemption for himself personally; even to this prayer the Pope closed his ears. Finding all such endeavours useless, Henry consoled himself for his ill success in a way as characteristic as it was in that age singular, for it was not an age of virtuosi, and a virtuoso the bishop was. Rome was the spot where he might best indulge his tastes and fancies, and to these for the moment he surrendered himself, putting as much assiduity, and care, and thought into the collection of relics of art and antiquity as he ever had employed in trying to compass the ends of his high ambition. When they saw thus a great and wealthy prelate, venerable with flowing beard, and of grave aspect, whose mien marked him out as a prince among princes, intent on buying up old statues and idols, the Romans were amazed; it was beyond their powers of understanding, and they set him down as a fool for his pains, whilst the literary lampooned him and cracked classical jokes at his expense. The bishop went on his way imperturbable, and having finished his purchases and acquisitions, went home by way of Spain, made the pilgrimage of St James of Compostella, and safely reached Winchester with his precious spoil. The chronicler, though no friend of Henry in general, amply avenges the bishop by some home-thrusts at the Romans, which the curious may seek in his own pages.[1]

On the accession of Henry II, the bishop took alarm, sent abroad his treasures by Peter the Venerable, abbat of Cluny, who was in England seeking his help, and left the kingdom secretly.[2] Cluny, to which he retired, was at that time in deep embarrassment from debt; all its friends, among the rest Pope Adrian IV and King Lewis VII of France, had appealed to the bishop of Winchester as the fittest person to relieve its necessities. His own inclinations to assist the house of his profession induced him to lend a ready ear to such entreaties. The first needs were met entirely out of his own resources: for a year he bore the whole expense of maintaining the community—some four hundred and sixty monks. He used his great personal influence to recover the property of the house, and by prudent administration succeeded in freeing it from debt, and bringing order into its finances, thereby deserving the title of the greatest benefactor of Cluny in that age.[3] But this was a work of time. In vain did

[1] *M. G. SS.* xx p. 542; the Winchester annalist knows little of this journey, and the information he gives is inexact. Nos. 24 and 31, the great cameo in No. 13 of the list, and the last item of No. 12, may perhaps have been brought from Rome.

[2] Chron. Roberti de Monte in *Mon. Germ. SS.* vi p. 505.

[3] Chronicon Cluniacense, *Recueil des historiens de la France* vol. xiv pp. 397–398.

archbishop Theobald of Canterbury write to him on behalf of the king, entreating his return, now with promises of favour, now with threats, urging the widowed state of his churches of Glastonbury and Winchester, and their prior claims to his care.[1] He bided his own time. In 1162 he was home again and presided at the Council of Westminster in which St Thomas was elected to the see of Canterbury, and on the octave of Pentecost, June 3 of that year, St Thomas received consecration in his cathedral church of Canterbury from the hands of bishop Henry.[2]

Henceforward he acquiesced in a second place in English ecclesiastical affairs. In the ensuing contest between the king and the archbishop, the side on which he ranged himself was the side of the church's freedom. The letters addressed to the aged prelate by St Thomas breathe an entire and unwavering trust and a filial reverence and affection. It is probable that during these last years, the most quiet of an always agitated life, his personal care was given to the interests of Winchester and Glastonbury; and it is to this period that may be attributed the enrichment of the Winchester treasury detailed in the inventory. On August 6, 1171, the king set his foot on English soil for the first time since the martyrdom of St Thomas; he made straight for Winchester. The bishop, blind and dying, discharged his last duty; he upbraided the king bitterly for the death of St Thomas, and forewarned him of the long years of trouble and sorrow in later life, whereby he must expiate his crime. Full of days he entered on his rest on August 8, 1171.[3] 'Henry, bishop of Winchester,' says the local chronicle, 'than whom no man was more chaste and prudent, none more full of compassion, none more solicitous for the advancement of sacred interests and the adornment of holy places, departed to our Lord, whom he had loved with his whole heart, and whose ministers . . . he had honoured as our Lord Himself; may his soul rest in Abraham's bosom.'[4] And Robert de Monte: 'On the church of Winchester he bestowed much wealth in ornaments of gold and silver, and in silken vestments; and with a bountiful hand he dispensed his riches among churches and the poor.'[5]

The list of gifts is taken from Additional MS 29436 at the British

[1] Bouquet *Rec. des hist.* vol. xvi pp. 492–493.

[2] *Radulfi de Diceto Ymagines histor.*, ed. Stubbs (Rolls series), i pp. 306–307. Some readers may recall the close of the first act of Aubrey de Vere's *St Thomas of Canterbury*. The church of Winchester, by an entry in its Martyrology, made an annual commemoration of the consecration of St Thomas by bishop Henry of Blois. See *Usuardi Martyrologium*, ed. Sollerius, p. 315 (the Altemps MS).

[3] *Rad. de Diceto* i p. 347.

[4] *Ann. Wint.* p. 60.

[5] *Mon. Germ. SS.* vi p. 520.

Museum, a cartulary of Winchester Cathedral in various hands from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.[1] Folios 44–48, of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are evidently a fragment of another book, a necrology; they contain the following list, notes of confraternity of the community of St Swithin's with other monasteries, grants of fraternity to illustrious personages, a page of the necrology itself, and some detailed obituary notices. The list appears in a longer (ff. 47–48) and a shorter (f. 46) form, both in a twelfth-century hand. It is sufficient to print the former and give in the notes under the sign *b* any addition afforded by the latter, which is in a somewhat different order. The inventory of the plunder of the Winchester treasury at the suppression (printed in the appendix to Strype's *Cranmer*, and reprinted in Stevens, vol. i pp. 222–223, and in the new *Monasticon*) is too vague and general in its terms to allow of the certain identification of the objects then seized with bishop Henry's gifts. The division of the items is that of the manuscript; the numbering is added for convenience of reference.

Hec sunt ornamenta que dominus Henricus episcopus Wintoniensis ecclesie partim dedit, partim redemit.[2]

1. Crux nova et magna; ipsa et ymago eius operte auro et ornate multis et pretiosis lapidibus. In procinctu ymaginis sunt clxii[3] lapides, et in pede crucis xxxii. Habet et ipsa ymago coronam auro opertam cum bonis lapidibus, vi saphiris, topatiis, iacinctis, et aliis bonis lapidibus xxii. Inter quos est unus magnus saphyrus magni pretii. In eadem cruce iste sunt reliquie. De cruce Domini in duobus locis; de sepulchro Domini; de loco nativitatis Domini; de loco ascensionis Domini; de presepio Domini; de monte Calvarie; de cunabulo Domini; de capillo sancte Marie; de sepulchro sancte Marie; de sancto Abraam; de sancto Ysaac; de sancto Iacob; de sancto Bartholomeo apostolo; de sancto Matheo apostolo; de sancto Stephano prothomartyre; de sanctis Sergio et Bacho; de sancto Georgio martyre; de sancto Pantaleone martyre; de sancto syndonio;[4] de lapide quem supposuit Iacob capiti suo.

[1] At folio 4[a] is the inscription 'Liber domini Thome Dakcomb, 1550'; and at folio 3[b], in a later hand, 'This Sir Thomas Dakomb was a secular priest and one of the first petty canons of the church of Winton upon the establishment of King Henry VIII, 28° Aprilis, anno regni xxxiii°.' Dakomb's name appears in another very valuable cartulary of Winchester Cathedral, now Additional MS 15350; in the Royal MS 15 C vii of the tenth century, also belonging to Winchester, and containing the miracles of St Swithin; and in a fifteenth-century English Prymer, Additional MS 17011. From this last it appears that in 1557 he was rector of Tarring Neville in Sussex. [See above at p. 141 n. 1.]

[2] *b* begins: 'Obiit bone memorie Domnus Henricus Wintoniensis ecclesie episcopus. Hic venerandus pater quantum decorem ecclesie Dei dilexerit, testantur ornamenta que eidem ecclesie contulit.'

[3] Originally cclxii; the second c has been erased.

[4] Part of the holy winding-sheet (σινδόνιον?), see Chifflet *de linteis sepulchralibus Christi* p. 26.

2. Tabula aurea ad maius altare operta auro et ornata esmallis et multis lapidibus pretiosis.[1]

3. Eucaristium aureum,[2] cum vasculo aureo quod intus est, exterius de auro optimo et lapidibus pretiosis ornatum, interius de argento.

4. Textus aureus [3] unus quem emit pro c. marcis, in quo sunt lapides pretiosi, inter quos sunt smaragdi et iacincti xxx.

5. Alii iiii texti aurei quos redemit.

6. Crux processionalis tota aurea, in qua habentur lvi saphiri, et x topatii, et vii granati, et x smaragdi, et cclvii perle orientales. Omnes isti lapides pretiosi et magni pretii.

7. Alia crux aurea cum xxxiiii smaragdis.

8. Alia crux aurea cum ymagine ubi est de ligno Domini; utraque crux cum pede argenteo.

9. Calix aureus cum patena aurea operatus cum esmallis.

10. Alius aureus calix, quem redemit, similiter cum esmallis.

11. Capud sancti Iusti martyris [4] bene ornatum auro et lapidibus pretiosis; et in eodem sunt reliquie unius Innocentis.

12. Scrinium unum aureum in quo sunt magne reliquie; scilicet de cruce Domini; et reliquie sancti Laurentii, videlicet carbones conglutinati cum adipe qui defluxit de corpore eius in craticula; et duo anuli aurei, unus qui fuit sancti Silvestri et sunt in eo reliquie de capillis apostolorum Petri et Pauli, alius anulus qui fuit cuiusdam magne auctoritatis apostolici.

13. Altare aureum quod intus et extra auro et magnis lapidibus pretiosis ornatum est; ex una parte habens lapidem magnum qui dicitur cathmaieu, et ex alia serpentinum et alios plures lapides pretiosos.[5]

14. Due Tabule pretiose intus auro et lapidibus pretiosis operte, inter quos est unus lapis magni pretii in quo Iesus Christus cuidam diadema imponit, et beata Maria sceptrum tradit.[6]

15. Philaterium aureum cum reliquiis.[7]

16. Duo candelabra aurea.

[1] An altar frontal of carved wood, probably, covered with plates of gold; *esmallis*, émaux, enamels.

[2] A vessel for the suspension of the blessed Sacrament reserved, with an inner cup.

[3] A precious covering of plates of gold, encrusted with jewels, for the book of the four Gospels, like the incomparable Golden Book at Ashburnham, which some readers may have lately had the privilege of seeing at the British Museum.

[4] See above p. 392, a gift of King Athelstan.

[5] At first sight this might appear to be a super-altar; probably it was a rich frontal like No. 2. The great cameo could hardly be fit for a super-altar. This is, perhaps, one of the objects Henry acquired at Rome, and a priceless relic of antiquity of the character of those preserved at St-Sulpice at Bourges (see *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux Bénédictins*, 1717, i p. 32), and the Sainte Chapelle at Paris (figured in Morand *Hist. de la Sainte Chapelle* p. 58), [or the great cameo at Vienna that once belonged to Saint-Sernin at Toulouse, for which see F. de Mély's two articles '*Le Grand Camée de Vienne*' in *Gazette archéologique* 1886 (*tirage-à-part* of pp. 12 and 1 pl.), and '*Le Grand Camée de Vienne et le camayeul de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse*' in *Mém. de la Soc. archéol. du Midi de la France* (*tirage-à-part*, 1894, pp. 36 and 1 pl.).]

[6] What are these *tabule*? The pax?

[7] A little reliquary, such as could be hung round the neck.

17. Scrinium argenteum in quo est aliud scrinium aureum cum plurimorum Sanctorum reliquiis, et alie reliquie extra.

18. Item cassula aurea signata cum esmallis desuper.[1]

19. Aliud scrinium argenteum deauratum in quo habetur musga et balsamum.[2]

20. Eucaristium argenteum cum vasculo aureo quod intus est.

21. Calix argenteus cum ansulis sine patena.[3]

22. Alius calix argenteus cum patena.

23. Duo candelabra argentea bene sculpta et deaurata magni ponderis et pretii.

24. Duo alia argentea minora in effigie hominis conposita.

25. Tria thuribula argentea bene sculpta et deaurata magni ponderis et precii.

26. Acerra argentea et deaurata.

27. Urceus magnus argenteus[4] ad aquam benedictam.

28. Duo candelabra argentea que redemit.

29. Pelves due argentee.

30. Vas argenteum ad spargendum aquam in dedicationibus.

31. Vas argenteum fusum in modum hominis.

32. Tabernaculum argenteum cum iiii columpnis argenteis, quod solet in Natali Domini superponi altari cum cereo.[5]

33. Iaspides due ornate argento bene sculpto et deaurato.

34. Duo philateria argentea, in uno quorum habetur lapis in quem stillavit sanguis Domini.

35. Maxima casula[6] operta auro et gemmis et bene ornata. Et alie viii bone, et bene ornate aurifriso.

36. Cappa i tota deaurata cum morsu aureo.

37. Alie sex pretiose, ornate aurifriso cum morsibus aureis.

38. Alba serica una pretiosa auro bene et optime conposita. Item alia bene ornata.

39. Dalmatica i sine auro.

40. Tunica i sine auro.

41. Stole due pretiose de aurifriso Venetie cum manipulis.

42. Due stole de Alimannia cum manipulis pretiosis.[7]

43. Collarium unum pretiosum.[8]

[1] This entry is an interlineation by a somewhat later hand. *Cassula*, i. e. capsula.

[2] For chrism.

[3] Probably ancient.

[4] 'quem redemit' *b*.

[5] Can this be a ciborium or altar canopy? More probably an altar candlestick; the use of candlesticks *on* the altar in Henry's days was rare.

[6] 'quam redemit' *b*.

[7] Originally written: 'alia stola . . . cum manipulo pretioso.' Altered by a somewhat later hand.

[8] What is the particular use of the collarium, on which nearly all liturgical writers and ecclesiologists are silent? At Clermont, in Auvergne, *colliers* were, up to the last century, in use on feast days, but they appear to have been no more than the apparel of the amice. In his *Trésor de la Sainte Chapelle des Ducs de Savoie* (2nd ed. Lyon, 1875) M. Ad. Fabre discusses (pp. 25-30) the difference between the collarium and the amice, but does not dispose of the question so completely as he would appear to believe.

44. Dossalia[1] serica optima, quorum plura rotata[2] sunt, xxxix: et tria alia deaurata.

45. Palle altaris vi.

46. Palla altaris una in quinque locis et in circuitu ornata aurifriso.

47. Pallium quod iacet super regem Willielmum.[3]

48. Mantilia serica ii.

49. Sandalium unum par.

50. Mantilia altaris linea ii.

51. Baculi episcopales iiii.

52. Mitre due.

53. Cornua eburnea ix, et ungula grifonis.

54. Pixis eburnea in qua ponitur Corpus Domini in Parasceve.

55. Vexilla serica v optima.

56. Cortina serica ad peregrinos[4] et alia ad crisma.

57. Tapetia vii.

58. Duo panni lanei pendentes.

59. Pulvinar sericum unum.

60. Cerei iiii semper ardentes.[5]

61. Signa magna, id est campane, iiii; et alia vii.[6]

62. Corona que pendet in choro auro et argento et ere splendide composita.

63. Pannus laneus cui intexta sunt miracula beate Marie.[7]

[1] *Dossalia*: hangings for the sides of the choir probably, behind the monks at office.

[2] *Rotata*; with patterns in circles or medallions.

[3] William Rufus.

[4] Hangings put up when the sacred relics were shewn to pilgrims? See P. Morettus *De ritu ostensionis sacrarum reliquiarum* p. 57.

[5] A foundation; a similar offering at Glastonbury; see Stevens, *op. cit.* i p. 429.

[6] 'et alia minora vii' *b.*

[7] A different hand gives in the shorter list, towards the beginning, an additional item: 'Pes sanctae Agathae'.

XXI

FROM AN OLD NOTE-BOOK[1]

TIME flies fast, and so little is done in it. It is now some thirteen years since the notes were written in the book I take down from a shelf in our 'manuscript cupboard' at Great Ormond Street.[2] At that time calendars, and martyrologies, and 'proofs of cultus' of English saints were of absorbing interest, to some one at least; a row of note-books is proof of that.[3] Most of the relative manuscripts at the Museum, and I think all at Lambeth, had been examined; field-days at Oxford and Cambridge were within sight; then came a sudden stop, and from that day to this the collection has stood still, with not much prospect, now, of its being ever resumed. But, imperfect as they are, the gleanings have in some measure served the purpose for which the work was undertaken;[4] and now, even at this late date, I feel disposed to ask for hospitality in these pages for some disject memoranda made as manuscript after manuscript passed through my hands—mere odds and ends gathered as the fancy of the moment dictated, or simple aids to memory and helps to find 'curiosities', when required, at some later time.

The first manuscript which, on opening the note-book, catches my eye—viz. Harleian MS 3866—is one of the class which I found it convenient to designate as 'Norwich-Sarum', if only to distinguish the books from the rarer 'Worcester-Sarum'. It is singular to notice how many liturgical books formerly in use in the diocese of Norwich have survived. Of course, as the cathedral was monastic, there could be no Norwich use; that diocese, like others, adopted Sarum, and doubtless at an early date; it might be—though no record says so—even in the thirteenth century. These monastic cathedrals, much more than its own intrinsic merits, or even the excessively fine opinion the Sarum people had of themselves and

[1] From the *Downside Review*, July 1897.

[2] [Where I was from 1892 to 1902 living with Dom (now Cardinal) Gasquet.]

[3] [Now Additional MSS 36598–36602 at the British Museum, where I thought they might be more useful than on my shelves. Quite recently I have come across two or three more of these books; they have been sent to the Museum to rejoin those already there.]

[4] [To ascertain, so far as possible, the true dates of saints and collect liturgical *probationes cultus* as a basis for the late Fr Richard Stanton's *Menology* (printed in 1887 and 1892).]

their ways, have really made the fortune of the vaunted Sarum rite. Fashionable, or current, as it became, there was also a certain undercurrent of grudge against it, as being always in the way of supplanting its neighbours, and particular dioceses made more or less of a show of retaining particularity.[1] The Norwich books may be easily identified by their calendars; besides the occurrence, in special manner, of St Felix, the apostle of East Anglia, and St Edmund the Martyr, the feasts of St Dominic and St Francis are also marked as 'synodal', i.e. in this case, prescribed for high-grade observance by diocesan ordinance.

It is one of the drawbacks of a miscellaneous note-book to be continually in the way of drawing one aside against one's will into by-paths. Surely a missal (and such is Harl. MS 3866) is liturgical enough; but I find it taking me off at once to genealogy. The calendar contains several entries as to the Bedingfeld family; and as they supplement the great pedigree drawn up by Davy, the Suffolk genealogist and antiquary, I cannot find it in my mind to pass them over here, especially as they can be linked on somehow to the *domus Gregoriana*. For, to say nothing of more recent days, the list of *alumni Gregoriani* counts two of the name in the seventeenth century—viz. Henry and John, sons of John Bedingfeld of Coulsey Wood, second son of the first baronet. Our calendar entries relate of course to a much earlier time. Here they are, in order of date. 'Memorandum quod 15 die mensis Marcii, anno Domini 1438, circa horam nonam ante meridiem, obiit Thom. Bedyngfeld, miles, cuius anime propicietur Deus.' This is that Sir Thomas Bedingfeld whom Davy mentions only as 'living 1412 and 1417'. Next: 'Anno Domini 1480, 28 die Novembris, natus est Thomas bedyngfeld, filius et heres Edmundi bedyngfeld, militis valentissimi'; he died without issue in 1538, says Davy, and his next brother being a priest, the line was carried on by the younger Sir Edmund mentioned below. Next, at October 18: 'Obitus Edmundi Bedyngfeld, militis, qui obiit in anno Domini 1496.' This, the elder Sir Edmund, is the 'miles valentissimus'; Davy can only say that his will was dated at Calais Oct. 12, 1496, and proved on January 28 following. Next, at November 17: 'Profescio (*sic*) domine marie Bedyngfeld apud Elyens anno Domini 1499'; so far as age goes, on the assumption that she became a nun, this might very well be a sister of the Thomas and the younger Sir Edmund; the 'apud Elyens', which is quite clearly written, seemingly can only mean 'by the bishop of Ely'; was she a widow and vowess, and identical with the Mary Bedingfeld who,

[1] [Thus when the Sarum rite was adopted at St Paul's it was with the reservation that the traditional ceremonial should be maintained. I cannot find this in the late Dr Sparrow Simpson's *Registrum Statutorum*, but I remember the fact clearly, and I do not think my memory is here playing me false.]

according to Davy, was married in 1480 to William Grey of Merton, Co. Norfolk? Finally, one more entry at the bottom of the page for September: 'Mortuus erat Mr Henricus Bedyngffeld, filius et heres Edmundi et Gracie uxoris sue, hoc tempore anni circa festum Nativitatis Sancte Marie anno Domini 1511'; this Henry, son of the younger Sir Edmund, and Grace, daughter of Henry, first Lord Marney, is not noticed by Davy. But enough of pedigree intricacies; though I should like to say, before passing to something else, that the pedigree of the interesting Redlingfield branch of the Bedingfeld family given in *Records S. J.* vol. v p. 568, is, so far as the last generations are concerned, based only on conjectures and congruities.

The Harl. MS 3866 gives (f. 228a), in the mass for the feast of the Translation of St Edmund, this sequence, which I do not remember to have seen in print:

1. Per fidem solam
Rex Edmundus suam stolam
Lavit Agni sanguine.
Signum factus ad sagittam
Penam necis exquisitam
Fert pro Christi nomine.

2. Perforatus mille telis
Decollatur rex fidelis
Pro grege fidelium.
Caput exit in loquelam,[1]
Cui lupus dat tutelam,[2]
Predo patrocinium.

3. Sepelitur caro cesa;
Sana tamen et illesa
De sepulchro tollitur.
Sed pro nece sic illata
Vena quasi deaurata
Collo circumducitur.[3]

4. Ungues eius et capillos
Tondet anus, stupet illos
Tot annis recrescere.[4]
Opus furum inaniter
Iudex petit,[5] rex punitur,[6]
Rota fertur aere.[7]

5. Domus ardet sacerdotis,[8]
Claudi saltant, et egrotis
Prestantur remedia.
Qui sic fecit et medetur
Promovere nos dignetur
Ad eterna gaudia.

[1] See Abbo of Fleury's *Passio S. Eadmundi* cap. 13 (in Arnold's *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey* i p. 18).

[2] Ibid. The next line refers, I suppose, to the ravening wolf.

[3] This is a refinement on the naturalism of Abbo's 'tenuissima ruga in modum fili *coccinei*' (cap. 15 p. 20).

[4] See the end of Abbo's cap. 15.

[5] This must be a summary reference to Herman's story of Leofstan, the wicked sheriff (Hermannus *de Miraculis S. Eadmundi* cap. 2, in Arnold, i pp. 30–31); but the docket hardly seems to cover the document.

[6] This is the famous story of King Sweyn, which see at large in Herman, capp. 3–8, pp. 32–39; and in Samson's *Book of Miracles* cap. 4 (in Arnold, i pp. 114–119).

[7] This seems to be explained by Herman, cap. 11 pp. 40–41.

[8] The story, told darkly in the passage referred to in the note immediately preceding, is given clearly by Samson, pp. 120–121.

It will be seen that, considered as versification, this composition cannot rank high; but it has the merit of being (what so many pieces of this kind are not) at least intelligible from the beginning to the end. It is however to be remembered that a sequence is to be taken as a whole, words and song together. The sequence was not intended for a band of choice warblers, or for a select company called a *schola*, that was to perform whilst the dumb dogs admired, or were bored. It was for popular singing; and indeed, to hear a sequence sung, even indifferently, is, such is the swing of it, such the *entrain*, in itself an invitation to all and sundry to 'join in'. There must be readers who can remember, on a feast day spent in some out-of-the-way French village, anywhere from Normandy to Dauphiny, hearing the whole congregation—man, woman, and child—sing out, lustily and from the heart, a long sequence, without hesitation, doubt, or fear, or the betrayal of the least symptom that they were using a language foreign, unfamiliar, dead. And this essentially popular character of the sequence explains how, as in the sequence given above, as many facts as possible are crowded—nay, crushed—into comparatively few lines. A sequence constructed thus, in honour of some local saint, just touches on, or indicates by a word or two, a whole narrative; for instance, in that given above, 'rex punitur' or 'domus ardet'. And repeated as it was year after year, sung from childhood to old age, the words were imprinted on the mind as part of the song; and the sequence became a sort of *memoria technica* that kept alive the memory of past graces, miracles, just as the succession of kings and the battles and the dates and the rest of it were stored away in the schoolboy's mind as late as sixty or even fifty years ago by the gibberish lines that went under that fine Latin name. The sequence sung on the feast of the local saint thus corresponded in a way to the painted glass that told his story to the eye on the walls of the church. By means of both, the narratives of the deeds of the saints were kept alive from generation to generation, told by mother to child, or detailed by the grandsire to grandchildren at the family hearth. We can get some idea of this from the pilgrimage books printed in France (and elsewhere, doubtless) in the seventeenth century, a sort of sacred *Bibliothèque bleue*, which are now 'rarissimes', 'introuvables', so that the little scrubby ill-printed leaflets (for they are little more) sell for more than their weight in gold.

It is very true that when the lines and 'verses' of these sequences are regarded in themselves, many are a mere jingling doggerel. I have always found it difficult to understand how people can become enthusiastic over sequences—often insufferable, as regards both form

and sense—that come from the Middle Ages, and then freeze at once into the coolness of critical depreciation over similar compositions, but of a higher order of merit, to be found in modern French office books. Whether sequences, however, be new or old, their disappearance in recent times is much to be regretted from the point of view of the interests of religion, and the hold of religion on the people, in a country for instance like France, where their use was traditional. The void is not made good by the 'cantiques' of the 'mois de Marie'. They corresponded, in a sense, to the chorales, the singing of which in German churches by the great body of the congregation, and especially by the men, is so solemn and almost overpowering; in either country the character of the people was distinguished by the character of the song prevailing in each. If the German hymn is solemn and impressive, the French sequence had a freshness, a vigour, a brightness and a directness that we can hardly well forgo in these days; it was inspiring and inspiriting too.

I cannot resist the temptation of copying here another piece of just the same character as the sequence for the feast of the Translation of St Edmund, shewing how these compositions, which the people in those ignorant ages knew by heart, served to keep alive local traditions, and gave to faith something of the sense of patriotism. I copied out the document some five or six-and-twenty years ago, and can only hope that it may still have the merit of being (what is so highly appreciated in some quarters) 'inedited'. It comes from the Harleian MS 863, a most interesting Exeter psalter of Bishop Leofric's time (1046–1072). The calendar, which was edited by Hampson, dates from a century later; an obit in it relating to the great lawyer Bracton set (as I remember) the late Sir Travers Twiss on a line of enquiry developed at large in one of the prefaces of his edition of Bracton's book. The litany in this manuscript is highly interesting, though some of its best interest lies far over the sea. For this Exeter litany—to this day the record of a grateful and affectionate heart—is the earliest attestation of the liturgical cult of Pope St Leo IX and St Bardo, archbishop of Mainz, both of whom Leofric must have known in his younger days, and from whom he doubtless experienced acts of kindness that explain his singular veneration for their memory. So long ago as 1882, on my communication, Pastor Falk, the Mainz antiquary, called attention to these features of the litany in the *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* (xxii p. 438)[1]; but its interest is by

[1] [Unfortunately, in printing these suffrages of our Exeter Litany, Pastor Falk, for some reason improving on the information supplied to him, attributed the litany to the *twelfth* century, thus practically nullifying its interest as witness or proof of cult of Leo and Bardo.]

no means exhausted with these particular invocations, which in themselves are conclusive evidence that the manuscript must have been drawn up under the personal supervision of Leofric himself. That St Leo IX was intended, he left no room to doubt. For not merely is the Great St Leo invoked long before, but the numeral 'IX' is written by the original hand. It is worth while to observe that it is just at this period that the successional number of the Popes is introduced in their leaden bullae.[1]

Here is the hymn, or sequence, or whatever it may be called, contained in the Exeter manuscript. It was sung at the procession on the feast of relics:

In festo reliquiarum Exoniensis ecclesiae ad processionem.

Salve festa dies toto venerabilis aevo,
Qua datur in sanctis gloria digna Deo.
Sunt decus ecclesie, mundi decor et robur urbis
Huius, quos hodie grex canit iste Petri.
Gaudeat Exonia tot sanctos concelebrando,
Per quos est votis sepe potita suis.
Hiis favet ipse Deus; horum meritis et amore
Sepe nociva fugat, dat bona, mira patrat.
Labitur e turri quidam nec leditur. Alter
Huc manibus repens hinc pede sanus abit.
Et puer et mulier contracti restituuntur.
Huc dum muta venit, fit veniendo loquens.
Quedam surda simul et muta sopore soluta
Hic meruit duplam vocis et auris opem.
Debilis et mutus a sancto Glastoniense
Iussus ut hic vigilet, paret, ovansque redit.
Plaudit leta manu mulier prius arida nervos
Libera curvato cum fit ab ungue vola.[2]
Lumen aqua putei baculo mediante recepit
Cecus, ut in Syloe, sic operante Deo.
Innumeris aliis hos Christus mirificavit
Signis, que nequeunt sub brevitate cani.
In Domino sanctis, sit in ipsis gloria Christo,
Nobis qui det eos semper adesse pios.

These verses are written in a hand of the fourteenth century. No detailed record of the events here enumerated has, so far as is known, been preserved. The lessons for the feast in the *Legendarium* of bishop Grandison give only generalities. There is no mention in his *Ordinale* of this *Salve festa dies*; but that may be because the

[1] [See now for all this *The Bosworth Psalter* pp. 162–163.]
[2] So MS.

Ordinale notices, on this feast, the strictly liturgical services in the church only. Or it may not impossibly be that, after the way of reforming people, Grandison made a clean sweep of many popular observances, and the entry of these verses in the old psalter, now no longer used for saying office, is an attempt by some lover of old times and old ways to transmit to future ages a record of what was put aside as not 'up to date'. Oddly enough, however, there does exist a document relating to our Exeter miracles which has been in print for some three centuries or so, though I do not remember to have seen attention called to it. It enables us to make at least some conjecture as to the date when the verses may have been written. What is more, it gives assurance that at one time a 'history' of the miracles was written, and that by no less distinguished a person than Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans (1097–1125), afterwards archbishop of Tours (1125–1134), the friend of Henry I, St Anselm, 'Queen Mold', archbishop Thurstan of York, and indeed of all the great personages of the day. It is not quite clear what was the nature of this 'history'—whether merely a set of lessons for the feast, or a rhyming office, a fashion much affected in later times, but already in vogue for nearly a century before Hildebert in his own region, as appears by the office of St Eutropius over which the Saintonge and neighbouring antiquaries have of late years had so great a tussle.

Here is the best part of the document in question, a letter of Hildebert to a friend who was canon of Exeter (lib. iii *ep.* 3):

To my dearly beloved and venerated brother Clarembaldus, canon of the Church of Exeter, Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans, greeting most warm in our Lord.

I fear me, I fear me, brother most dear, that you will reproach me with neglectfulness in having so long deferred satisfying you, after you have so often asked me if I would not mind drawing out (*adnotare non taederet*) the miracles which our Lord has deigned to work in the Church of Exeter, in accordance with the authentic account sent to me. Wherefore you will accuse me of not having written *gratis* a work desired of me, since it has had to be obtained at the cost of such long waiting and of requests innumerable. . . . In fact, however, from the time I learnt your wish, I determined at once to comply with it; but the accidental loss of the manuscript hampered the will of the composer. After I had been without it for a considerable time, when found and returned to me it stirred up that inclination for the work which had cooled. I had just finished, when in came a messenger and handed to me a paper in your name containing, he said, just what I had read in the first copy; he added that the second was sent to me lest I should excuse my silence by the loss of the first. After I had taken the paper and read it more than once, the spirit of the reader was moved; for in it indeed were contained certain miracles as in the first, but related in a different manner. However,

the differences which I noticed, I did not conceive to be contradictions. Accordingly I determined to add nothing, to take away nothing, to change nothing in what I had already done in accordance with the first copy. For a varying report of the same event does not prejudice the truth of the story.[1] I have therefore reserved to your judgement, my brother, to correct the work, or to suppress it altogether if it be wrong. You will do the part of a friend to remove from the eye what you know the tongue will be shy of.[2]

Then some final salutations, in which the writer takes the liberty of punning—but punning handsomely—on the name of his friend: 'Clarembalde, immo Clare-valde'.

Beaugendre, Hildebert's editor, suggests that this letter was 'written perhaps about the year 1102, that is after Hildebert's return from his second journey to England'; it would be safer to be content with the statement that it was certainly written before 1125, the date of his translation to Tours. I do not find in printed Exeter documents the name of Clarembaldus; he may perhaps be mentioned in the margin of the old eleventh-century Martyrology, still at Exeter, which has many twelfth-century obits that, in whole or in part, were long ago copied by Henry Wharton. But it is evident, in any case, that this canon of Exeter must have been a person of merit and repute in his day. No less evident is it that, whatever the nature of the piece written by Hildebert, it could not have been the verses printed above, as will appear to any one who will give even a few minutes' attention to his 'poetical works'. Indeed the late M. Hauréau, than whom there could be no more competent judge, considers Hildebert to be the first Latin poet of the twelfth century, which is no mean praise. Our verses, however, are indeed homely, and sound altogether as if they were of home manufacture; but no one will be found to take exception to the statement that the events they record were those which Clarembaldus asked the bishop of Le Mans to eternalize by his highly admired pen. Please note the action of the 'sanctus Glastoniensis'. Who was that? St Dunstan (his relics, that is)? But after all the severe things that bishop Stubbs has said of the 'Glastonbury Saints', and Mr Plummer after him in full hue and cry, the only safe thing to do is to assume that there were no Glastonbury saints at all. As a private notion, I am inclined to think both these writers are a little too peremptory. But it is worth noting that here we have one of the Glastonbury band releasing himself from the importunities of the petitioner by pointing

[1] It is evident that the venerable Hildebert could teach the modern historical critic a few lessons. But in the course of a varied and busy life Hildebert has learnt much which the mere scholar cannot be expected to know.

[2] 'Si removeas ab oculis quidquid linguas noveris formidare.' This shews clearly that, whatever it be that Hildebert prepared, it was destined to be read or sung publicly.

to hope of effectual succour further on along the road. This may be taken as giving some countenance to the modern impeachment of their quality.

But it is time to close. 'Tempus nam prope est, iamque sol duplicat umbras, et obtenebrescit dies, deficit hora.' And, as yet, only one manuscript from the 'Note-book' noticed! One thing has such a way of suggesting another in this world that there seems no making headway out of the tangle. As it is, I must have already incurred the reproach which was addressed with emphasis (according to the testimony of an old story book that only seems to come out fresher and younger for all the stories that have been told since) by a staid young person of some six years of age to an elder, and it will be taken as proved that the writer of this paper 'is a *tatter*-box'.

XXII

HOW A CATHEDRAL WAS BUILT IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY[1]

ONLY two or three years ago the city of Florence held high festival at the unveiling of the new façade of its Duomo, our Lady of the Lily. This great work was a pure product of local patriotism. Some thirty or five-and-thirty years ago pamphlets and proposals were the order of the day; there were no great public funds to be drawn upon; there were no millionaires, no great landowners, or greater coalowners and such-like giants to appeal to; the days of the Florentine bankers and Florentine merchants were over long ago. But the people of Florence set to work as best they could with the talent available within their own walls, and by dint of patience and determination and making the most of what was to be had, the undertaking, compared to which the restoration of the fronts of our English cathedrals is rather like child's play, was completed, and the ticklish operation of setting a fair face to a masterpiece was done in such a way that the critics were fain to be silent. But local patriotism, if it be a living thing, means local rivalry. And Milan would cut a poor figure if it did no more than look askance at the efforts of Florence to remedy a defect which each on its own account had long contemplated with little self-satisfaction. As yet, hand has not been actually put to the business of replacing the condemned front of the great Lombard cathedral; though all have heard of the competition of architects. The Milanese however have not contented themselves with plans merely. Already in 1871 a spirited citizen, although he was not able to lay down money enough to carry out such a colossal undertaking, did what was within his power, and secured, as far as funds were concerned, that at least these should not be wanting some day. Count Giuseppe Resta accordingly assigned to the Committee of Administration of the Venerable Fabric a sum of 50,000 lire, to accumulate at compound interest until it should reach the amount of six millions, then to be applied to the work. Nine years later one Vincenzo Burocco left absolutely 1,000 lire (£40) for the same object.

[1] From the *Downside Review*, July 1899.

The restiveness of impatience shewed itself in the next legacy, whereby Aristide De Togni left to the fabric his entire property on the condition that the whole of it be spent within the next twenty years on rebuilding the façade. After this urgency no wonder that the administration took active measures; especially as the Government was meditating what would be equivalent to a confiscation of their patrimony.

Have more donations of the same kind poured in, in the wake of that modest one of Vincenzo Burocco? Let no one despise such evidence of what may seem, in view of the magnitude of the work to be accomplished, an expression of impotent good will. For it was by the Buroccos of the past, men who meant to do a work, who never allowed themselves to be dismayed by the disproportion to mere human eyes of the means to the end, who never allowed the sense of poverty and powerlessness on the one hand, and on the other the vastness of a design for God's honour and glory, to smother aspirations which they held to be, in themselves, good and just, meet and right. How many of those who gaze with wonder and admiration on the glorious pile that rises to-day in pure and resplendent glory from the Lombard plain, have thought of, have realized, its beginnings; how it is a living, nay almost a divine, witness to the unquenchable faith of so many humble souls 'whose names God knows', for they are written in the book of life. Yet there is still a record of them, or of some of them, even here and now; a record all the more significant because it is entirely after the fashion of this world, a record too which reveals what was the thorough good sense and practical spirit of these Milanese people, commonplace enough doubtless to look at, yet with hearts and souls big enough to conceive, plan, carry out a cathedral of Milan. The account books of the building and all connected with it and its adornment are preserved, with the minutes of their proceedings, by the Committee of Administration, in their archives, in a complete and unbroken series from the year 1387 to the present day. And this Committee has had the happy idea, when publishing in nine tall quartos the 'Annals of the Fabric' from the records of their meetings, of giving also a full print of the accounts of the first five years (1387–1391). From this authentic source it is possible to gain a full and lively idea of all that was done and discussed, even to the minutest detail; and so realize how a cathedral was built in the fourteenth century.

The statement has often been made with more or less confidence that the origin of the Duomo of Milan is due to the initiative and munificence of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Conte di Virtù, afterwards (1395) Duke of Milan, the founder of the marvellous Certosa of Pavia.

The question is dealt with at length by the venerable historian Cesare Cantù in the preface to the first volume of the *Annali*, and he shews that the original documents now published leave no reasonable or indeed possible doubt as to the answer to be given, viz. that this is not the case, but that the edifice is due to the initiative, public spirit, self-sacrifice, and devotion of the population itself.

In the spring of 1386 the archbishop had issued a circular pointing out how the existing cathedral was in a state of ruin and decay, and encouraging his people to undertake the rebuilding of it—a work, as he expresses it, *plurimum sumptuosum*. In October the Conte di Virtù gave his consent to a collection by the clergy throughout the county of Milan; priests, each one with his servant, were to go from place to place, and after celebrating mass in the morning, were to preach to the people and induce the local clergy and civil authorities to make a house-to-house collection. How far this was done does not appear, but the accounts shew that the sum collected during 1386 and carried to the credit of 1387 amounted to no more than £349 11*s.* 2*d.*[1] Until about July of the latter year the city itself was content with the produce of collecting boxes put up in the churches and elsewhere, as in the market-place and on the site; special collections were made also in the churches by bag (*bursora portata*), not plates. Early in March some enterprising inhabitant of the Porta Nuova (at Milan the name for the six quarters or divisions of the city was 'gate') took it into his head to carry round a bag and make a collection in his own quarter, and on the 9th he paid in seven shillings and six pence. The idea was taken up immediately by the Pavia Gate, where a collection on the 23rd produced nearly seven shillings; a second application in the same quarter a week later produced just six pence. And there, as if the pioneers were discouraged, the matter rested, for nothing more is said of any such effort in April, May, and June. But there was evidently some one who saw the possibilities that lay in these timid attempts; and by July a system on the same lines was fully organized by those who had taken upon themselves to lead the whole movement. It was arranged that a body of volunteers should undertake Sunday by Sunday to go through each quarter of the city in succession; rich and poor flocked forward to the service, as the presidents of the 'work' declared in the following month in a letter to the Conte di Virtù; and the response on the part of the givers was, they say, 'liberal and copious'. The accounts themselves give precise

[1] It would be dangerous for any one but an expert, and it seems commonly dangerous even for experts, to attempt an approximation of the present value or purchasing power of money of that date. It may be enough to say that the lira of that time consisted of twenty soldi or shillings, and each shilling of twelve pence, and on the whole must find a rough equivalent in our sterling coinage.

information. The experiment was first tried on Sunday, 7th July, in the quarter of the East Gate, the result being a collection of £86 9*s.*; next Sunday the Porta Romana contributed £73 16*s.* 1*d.*; the Pavia Gate, on the 21st, £153 8*s.* 11*d.*; the Vercelli Gate, on the 28th, £73 3*s.*; the Como Gate, on 4th August, £176 11*s.*; and on 11th August, the Porta Nuova, £174 14*s.* 10*d.* In fact these collections had already proved themselves the main source of revenue. Meantime, as the patronal feast, the Assumption, was approaching, a letter was sent by the presidents (their names do not appear) to the Conte di Virtù, stating in general terms what had been already done, and asking him to associate himself with the efforts of the citizens by sending to Milan a contribution in aid of the special offerings to be made in the old cathedral on the feast:—'That you and the illustrious Ladies, your lady mother and the wife and the daughter of your Lordship, would deign to send hither by such persons as you think proper, your devout offerings in aid of the building fund, and recommend your officials and the persons attached to your court to join also in the good work; for soldiers, and lawyers, and doctors, in a word the nobles of your said city of Milan, will be all ready to offer along with them, to the intent that the Almighty, who rewards a hundredfold those who give for his sake, may preserve and happily increase your good estate. Notifying also to your Highness that if your pious and devout oblations are thus forthcoming, an arcading[1] of the aforesaid church can in a very short time be finished, and a marble tomb, in which it has been already determined that the bones of the Magnificent Lord, your father, of good and happy memory, should rest, can be placed honourably under it.' This application to the Count, including the lady mother, wife and daughter, even in view of the bait thus held out, produced a response to the amount of 100 florins of gold or £160, which brought up the collections of the day to £311,[2] no great instance of liberality on the part of the Magnificent Lord, when compared with the weekly contributions, noticed above, of the various 'Gates', or with the offering of £299 4*s.* 3*d.* made by the clergy of Milan on the 18th.

The works already in progress in a more or less languid fashion were started with new vigour a few days before the Assumption. On Saturday the 10th of August the books were all made up and ruled off. On Monday the 12th, a fresh beginning was made with payments 'to 84 navvies, £13 13*s.* 6*d.*,' and to four stonemasons, six

[1] *Trahuna*, not in Du Cange; the glossary in the *Annali* has *tribuna*; it can hardly be a bay?

[2] Happily the accounts themselves give precise information as to the value at this time in Milan of the florin of gold, viz. 32 soldi. Accordingly the sum of the day's offerings was made up of £160 given by the Count, and £151 by the people.

hewers, one master blacksmith whose business it was to sharpen the tools (*ad aguzandum ferra*), besides Mollus de Bussero with a cart and two oxen; and finally a horse and an ass are engaged in the service, which appear later in the accounts as 'the' horse and 'the' ass of the Fabric. Moreover there was not wanting that which might give to all concerned great heart at the beginning of the great work, as is betrayed by the payment of *5s. 3d.* to the carrier who brought five brentas[1] of wine, a gift doubtless.[2] But this is not the place to touch on the items of expenditure, which raise and settle a number of questions of wide social interest. It is enough for the present to touch on the means whereby the sinews of war were provided, and to see how, generally, the managers set to work to attack the great undertaking.

The collection on the Assumption made a noise in the city in a very literal sense, if we may credit the entry in the accounts on the 19th, when payment is made to the trumpeters and fifers who attended on the fathers of the city as they made their way in state to the cathedral on that day. The oblation of the clergy on the 18th was a more solemn affair. A formal letter was addressed to the abbat of the great Cistercian monastery of Chiaravalle, inviting him to attend, and on the preceding day a horse was sent to Corbeta on which the archbishop might ride into the city—a rather primitive or precise sort of attention; even the fodder for the beast is noted in the accounts. The work now proceeded regularly from day to day; every item, every step of progress can still be followed in the two big books bound with leather thongs, bought on the 23rd of August—one for receipts to be kept by the treasurer, one for payments to be kept by the accountant. During the early part of September the presidents carried a great point in obtaining from the archbishop letters recommending the work to his diocesans; they themselves drew out the draft on the 7th; by the 13th it had been sent to him. His approval was soon obtained, and on the 20th notaries were busy making out copies and issuing them throughout the diocese.

Matters had now so far proceeded that on the 16th of October a meeting was held of the chief promoters—twelve nobles, nine canons of the cathedral, the syndic, with sixteen citizens, and three lawyers,

[1] *Brenta* is a long wooden keg, somewhat curved on one side, fitting on the back and used for carrying wine.

[2] As, for instance, on the following day, 'Portatura 2 brentarum vini donati fabricae'; on the 14th, 'Pro portatura 6 brentarum vini donati per Georgium Moresinum'. Similar entries continually occur. On the 5th of September there is a gift of a brenta and a half from the nuns of St Radegund's convent close to the site. The successors of these ladies less than thirty years later had a great struggle to maintain their position in face of the continually growing need for more room required for the cathedral; at last they had to give way and migrate.

as representing respectively the nobility, the clergy, the commons, and good counsel, to draw up, or rather give effect to, a general order or code of bye-laws. Besides the appointment of a general treasurer, accountant, paymaster, and an inzignerius (a combination of architect and superintendent of the works, with subordinate inzignerii, or clerks of the works under him) it was decided that a hundred 'deputies' should be elected among the citizens, men 'legal and sufficient', of substance and capacity. It should be their business in turn to oversee the work and the officials—in other words, as interested parties to see that there was a due return for money expended, and that nothing was scamped, and generally to look after the interests of the fabric. These hundred were divided into five-and-twenty *squadrae*, or bands, of four each, one of the four always to be a canon of the cathedral. Each squadra was to be in office a week, and during their week to consult on, and look after, all the work done on the fabric; to examine the quality of the materials used, stones hewn and rough, lime, sand, and so forth; to be present (or some of them) at the listing of the labourers and other persons employed when they came to work every morning, which list when signed was to be the roll-call of the day, and on it payments were made every evening; to be present at the high altar every day at the time of the offering, and to take account and charge of what was offered in money and kind; to oversee all receipts and payments, and to see that exact record was kept thereof in writing, for which they could be called to account should anything be found to go wrong. Their office was gratuitous, but it was no sinecure. The squadra of the week was responsible also for making due arrangements for the week following; and, to secure continuity of action, one of the deputies of the outgoing squadra was to remain on the board with the incoming squadra for their better information. So that in practice there was always an acting committee of five. On the first Sunday of every month the whole body of deputati was to meet along with the Syndic of the city and two provisors—or, as we should say, the mayor and two aldermen—for discussion of the concerns of the fabric, and to settle the squadrae of the coming month. As an instance of their caution, it may be mentioned that no less than six lawyers were appointed as standing counsel; and from the silence of the accounts it may be gathered that they too rendered their services gratuitously. Though it might not be without instruction, it would be tedious to pursue the provisions whereby the duties of every one connected with the work, either volunteers or employed on wages, are laid down with a minuteness which shews that every detail had been weighed and carefully considered beforehand. And so at last 'in the name of Jesus Christ and His Immaculate Mother' order was taken

for the continuous progress of 'the fabric of major Church of Milan, which, by grace of God, and by the intercession of the same glorious Virgin (under whose patronage long ago it was begun), now through an inspiration all divine and by His merciful favour is in course of building, and through the same Divine grace will one day be happily completed'.

And all this time what was the attitude, what were the thoughts and doings of the bulk of the population, the hard-working poor, the young, the devout, the artisan, the busy shopkeeper, the frivolous and fashionable, the leisured, the nobles? Did they content themselves with responding to the weekly collections, or dropping a coin now and then into the church box, and otherwise remain absorbed each in his own affairs, leaving the rest to the select deputies, and the voluntary collectors, and the Divine favour? The accountant of the fabric, in the combined aridity and detail of his pages, gives a conclusive answer with an eloquence all his own. Hitherto gifts in kind had been few and occasional; in January and February a packhorse and an ambler, which realized £2 10*s.* and £2 4*s.* respectively;[1] in June a bale of cloth, sold for £49 3*s.* 2*d.* With the month of August such items of receipt begin to multiply. First the produce of 'old tiles sold' appears every two or three days; these may have come from the old building, or more probably from houses being pulled down for the enlargement of the site. On 20th August 'for one pair of tallies with five pegs[2] sold', £3 was received; then come one or two small offerings or legacies 'to pay the navvies'. On 31st August comes 'from a certain lady, a widow, who would not be named, £241 12*s.*'; on 1st September, offered by Alberto Porcallo, scribe, and his apprentices learning the art, £36 4*s.*; on the 2nd, from a certain woman for paying one navvy, 3*s.*; on the 10th, from a certain woman who would not be named, £40 8*s.* On the 14th, Francischina, wife of Giacomolo della Porta, a number of amber beads; next day, Marcolo Carello, merchant of Milan, gives a piece of friar's-grey cloth (*petia una drapi beretini frateschi*), sold for £34 12*s.* On the 17th September the armourers of the city, thinking that every man with brawny arms could at all events dig, came in a body 'to labour for nothing', and they made an offering of £5 3*s.* 4*d.* besides. The ball once set rolling, it went on apace. On the 20th is this item:—'Offered by the drapers, who came to labour gratis, £42 2*s.* 5*d.*'; on the 23rd, 'offered by our neighbours of the East Gate, who came to labour gratis,

[1] Probably these specimens of horseflesh were of the same race as the venerable Apocalypse, once well known to dwellers in Downside.

[2] *Pro pario uno talliarum cum ruzellis 5.* The skilled may find a better version; nor does the writer pretend to anything more than a desperate venture in the text.

£10 16*s.* 6*d.*'; the same day, 'offered by the (twelve) servants (of the commune) of Milan, who came in the intention to labour gratis but it rained, so that they could not do so, £14 3*s.* 5*d.*' And thus they come trooping on at each other's heels 'to labour for nothing' but God's honour and glory, and to pay for the privilege of labouring so besides. On the 25th the skinners; on the 26th, 'our neighbours' of St Michael's at the Sluice, of Great Lawrence's and of the Pavia Gate; on the 29th, 'all the braiders[1] of Milan, except Giorgio Coiro', evidently a curmudgeon whom the accountant at least did his best to stigmatize to all posterity. On the 2nd of October come the shoemakers; on the 3rd the embroiderers (*magistri a rama*), with 'our neighbours' of S. Carpoforo and S. Eufemia; on the 7th, the neighbours of the East Gate, on the 8th those of the Roman Gate; on the 9th the grocers and the mercers (*marzagori*);[2] on the 10th the neighbours of S. Simpliciano, along with the scholars of the school of St Catherine of that parish, and these in the course of their digging came across old coins which realized £6 13*s.* But to pass over the 'neighbours' from this or that parish or quarter, the drapers and carders came on the 11th; the *fustanerii* (workers in coarse cloths) on the 15th; the butchers on the 16th; the bakers and millers on the 17th; the smiths (i. e. goldsmiths and silversmiths and other artistic workers) and the saddlers on the 18th; and on the 23rd, by a great effort, as if not to be beaten by anybody, the inhabitants of the Vercelli Gate, on coming to labour for nothing, made an offering of £632 11 shillings and one penny. On the 29th came the blacksmiths, as heralding, on the next day, a distinguished company—the notaries of Milan; the Podestà, the municipal officers, and his whole court; the college of advocates; the procurators and notaries of the archiepiscopal and civil courts. Let us try to fancy for a moment the Mayor (or Lord Mayor, as it is now) and Corporation going out for an afternoon's digging on the Manchester Ship Canal; but it is easier to imagine this than to imagine them helping to dig out the foundations of a new cathedral. On the 6th came the Humiliati monks and the labourers on their estates; and on the 7th 'the noble and notable' of the youth of Milan. These, one and all, came to 'work for nothing', and to make an offering besides. Nor is the mode of the offering without its significance. On the site of the works was a collecting-box, into which contributions liberally flowed; this was from loungers, or passers-by who lingered for a moment to see how 'the work' progressed. But it was not here

[1] *Frixarii, passementiers*; for which special commerce we seem to have in English no equivalent.

[2] The amount of the respective offerings is curious—of the grocers, £57 5*s.* 5*d.*; of the mercers, £7 3*s.* 6*d.*

that the volunteer workers gave their money; but they came into the church, up to the high altar, and on the altar itself the offerings were laid.

To turn from the record of these joint gifts to such as were more personal and individual. 'Offering made by a man who would not give his name, or any account of himself, but he said that it was the gift of a person who had come to true penitence, 2,000 florins of gold, which makes £3,200.' Nor is this the only appearance of a penitent in these pages; more than once with a pledge of sorrow came a Magdalen, it may be believed, though the accountant does not designate the offerer so. Entries like the following will give an idea of the way in which the whole population of the city united in one intent:—'By the young men of the East Gate, £31 5*s.* 2*d.*'; 'by Francischino Carcano, for the soul of Sempliciano Limiate, who formerly resided with him'; 'by Damiano Pessina and his wife, their workpeople and household'; 'offered on the high altar by a certain illustrious and exalted lady who would not be named'; 'from a collecting bag carried about by Guglielmo di Alessandria'; 'from a grocer as the price of a piece of marble sold to him, on his proposal that he would have certain figures of saints carved on it, and afterwards that he would give it back again to the said church'; 'from the masters and scholars of the Grammar School'; 'from the pupils of the school of St Babilas'; 'by all the bands of the flagellants of Milan' (only £12 9*s.* 3*d.*); 'by the noble citizens of Milan when dressed in white they went out to meet the lady duchess, daughter of the illustrious prince and our excellent Lord, the Conte di Virtù, on the occasion of her marriage'. In the summer of 1389 the young girls of nearly every parish in Milan, each rivalling with the other, offered the proceeds of a *cantegola* (a concert?) in aid of the funds. It was from the women that the offerings in kind mostly came, the sacrifice of some personal vanity generally. But not always so, as witness the following entry on 4th November, 1387: 'by Manuel Zufoneri, the price of a cloak offered yesterday at the high altar of the said church by Cathellina of Abiate, which cloak the said Manuel thus redeemed and gave back to the said Cathellina, for she was so miserably poor and was in great need of it' (*quae ipsa valde indigebat*). The following are entries of payments two or three years later: 'to Catherina of Abiate, serving the fabric without any salary, given in view of her poverty, that she may have wherewith to sustain life'; 'to Catherina of Abiate who carries the pannier of the fabric, for her journey to Rome, to meet expenses on the road, in consideration of what has been done by her in serving the fabric'. This last was in the Jubilee year of 1390. If the accountant's words as they stand

do not tell all the story of the poor Cathellina it would be useless to say more.

We have still to pass for a moment to the Broletto Nuovo on a day of the weekly or fortnightly sale of miscellaneous goods and items 'offered' on the altar, like the cloak of Cathellina. The Broletto of Milan was the centre of the civic, administrative, and commercial life of the town—Guildhall, Mansion House, Law Courts, Exchange, Market, all gathered in one—a sort of town within a town, summed up in the word *business*. Here the odds and ends that had accumulated on the hands of the custodians of the fabric were disposed of by public auction. It was a rather formal affair, at least on the side of the sellers, for the sale was conducted in the presence of the acting squadra of deputies of the fabric, sitting with two aldermen of the city. The things are put up without any order: a lady's houppelande and hood (*opellanda a domina*) of dark violet cloth braided around the neck and sleeves; a man's loose cloak *drapi misgii*; two silver pins with a pearl at the head; a knife-case with four knives, the handles of ivory, old, and mended blades;[1] three daggers; four helmets; three pairs of gauntlets; a checked banker; a copper mortar; two head mufflers; a string of amber beads; a little cross of copper gilt; a lady's cote-hardie or riding habit of light blue with 104 buttons of silver gilt, and another white, with 199 round gilt buttons on the hood and sleeves; one jerkin with stuff buttons; one gown of scarlet cloth with Venice braid around the sleeves and throat, without buttons; one gown with 56 buttons of silver enamelled, and gold embroidery around the neck; one set of furs, minever; one blue velvet gown; one green velvet gown, offered by Rugirina, widow of the deceased lord Alberto Visconti; one jacket of black fustian; two pairs of boots; one long towel, offered by a miller's wife; and so on, and so on.

There is neither space nor call to recount the works of the next year or two; how 'The Fabric' carried a canal round the city and dug a new dock to facilitate the transport of the stone, which came from quarries on the Lago Maggiore, to the site. Everything is full of life, spirit, enthusiasm; not the enthusiasm of mere vague feeling that evaporates into fine sentiment and sickliness, but an enthusiasm in possession of itself, controlled and directed by an abiding and determinate sense of the end to be achieved; and that end, one proper to ennoble high and low, rich and poor, ignorant and taught, and so bring all to an equality, for the end was not self but God. A truce to all attempts to idealize the middle ages. It was essentially a rough-and-tumble time, insupportable perhaps to our more delicate organisms;

[1] ['mended blades': I cannot pretend to gloss this now, and cannot recover the particular entry in the big quarto.]

a time of plenty of salt beef and salt fish for those who could get it, an age of peas and beans for ever, with a scant stock of clean linen, little furniture, and less comfort, an age when a brass pot and half-a-dozen pewter plates were heirlooms among country people; a day of shambles, and gutters, and narrow streets, and odours, and smoky rooms with little ventilation or too much, of bad drainage or none, days of hardness and discomfort; a time when gold and silver plate enough to ransom a province decked the buffet to-day and went into the melting-pot to-morrow. But those ages had at all events one great virtue; it was a time when men were wholly convinced that in spite of all drawbacks life was thoroughly well worth living; and when they seemed to enter (one way or the other) into the meaning of the words, redeeming the time because the days are evil. But is not this a mere 'Gothic' view of things, and, after all, what are stones piled on one another but stones still? What can they, without breath or soul, tell us of life?

XXIII

CHARACTER SKETCHES FROM MEDIAEVAL INVENTORIES[1]

'THE nineteenth century will one day be christened the century of curiosity, curiosity of every kind; sometimes indiscreet, noisy—nay, unwholesome; but not infrequently too, useful, well informed, stimulating, and abounding in revelations of unexpected truth.' So writes a quite recent editor of a specimen of the class of documents on which the present paper is based. This too manifest characteristic of our time is apt to call up the uncomfortable remembrance of an old-fashioned nursery rhyme, the hero whereof is 'Goosey, goosey, gander'. But, to reverse the common proverb, it is true that every fault has in it some spice of a virtue; and if the curiosity of the present time is often impertinent, ill-mannered, it also may help to correct a smug self-satisfaction which is a happy mother of the worst sort of ignorance, and a bar to all improvement. This curiosity of ours has led us to pry into every nook and corner of the past; and explains the ever accumulating load of account books, *livres de raison*, inventories, wills, that issues from the press. We literally penetrate everywhere, 'upstairs and downstairs and in my lady's chamber', ransacking wardrobes, opening (though not fingering) jewel caskets, turning over every item of a *batterie de cuisine*, rummaging the master's books and confidential papers, giving a hasty but sufficient glance into the hutch that does for the serving man's sleeping place; who shall say then that, though it be the past that is dealt with, we are not thoroughly impertinent after all?

Perhaps on a comprehensive review of this mixed medley of life's common gear, and life's daily way, a sense may come to the reflective mind that little indeed divides us from the centuries that went before; that the fourteenth century and the nineteenth, however much circumstances may have seemed to change, have a oneness of life even in their petty details, and that we are much the same sort of men as those who went before.

[1] A paper read at a meeting of the Guild of St Gregory and St Luke. Printed in the *Downside Review*, March 1894.

From this point of view, as revelations of individual character, with their unexpected touches of nature, it is proposed to notice here a few mediaeval inventories. Not the giants in that kind, like those of the four noble brothers, the sons of King John of France, namely, his heir King Charles the Fifth, and the Dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy, whose inventories afford a picture of dazzling splendour, and in the reading pass like a dream rather than a record of simple matter of fact. As the eye runs over, for instance, the list of plate of the Duke of Anjou,[1] we are inclined to conclude to the distinct inferiority of the goldsmiths and silversmiths of the present day as compared with those of the fourteenth century. In fashioning the precious metal fancy has run riot, ingenuity is boundless. But the precious metal itself, wrought into forms of such variety, is often only a foil or a setting for enamels, the brilliancy and delicacy of which our most skilled workers can only look at with despair. The next succeeding generation shews a triumvirate of no less noble brothers, our hero-King, Henry V, and the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, evident rivals of those French princes whose collections they must often have heard of, and in part certainly seen. It is impossible not to give expression to the passing feeling of regret at the neglect with which, in comparison with our French neighbours, English antiquaries have treated these lovers and patrons of art; a neglect which has perhaps encouraged these same neighbours to account for the disappearance of nearly all the precious things accumulated by the sons of John of France on the theory that they were carried off into England, spoils of war, by the sons of our Henry IV.

Our business, however, is not with amateurs such as these, or the great collectors of a yet later time, the Medicis and the Pietro Barbos, but with commonplace people, with small folk. The clergy first: and as, for reasons which will appear, there is a little difficulty and delicacy about the matter, let us get over the introduction quickly. Here is Messire Hugues du Chataignier, a member of the venerable Chapter of the Metropolitical Church of Rouen, in the year 1368. There is no need to stand on ceremony further; his

[1] [When this paper was written a view of the Duke of Anjou's gold and silver plate was possible only in an incomplete form as found in vol. ii of Laborde's *Notice des émaux du Louvre* (1853) pp. 1–114, comprising 796 numbers in all. This was a vision of artistic splendour. Since then the complete inventory has been found, and, with omission of mere common silver objects, now fills in print over six hundred pages large octavo, and comprises some 3,600 numbers, plate and jewels, edited by H. Moranvillé (1903–1906), a volume of the *Collection d'Inventaires publiés par la section d'Archéologie du Comité des Travaux historiques*. This forms an almost incredible record of *faste* and vainglory. Almost all the plate was in the melting-pot, and the jewels pledged, a few years later. The owner's taste had turned in another direction, the possession of the kingdom of Naples.]

house is open and its contents are now at least free for the inspection of all. As we look round, on entering, there is nothing inviting to see; in the hall or dining-room three or four tables on trestles, a couple of forms, as many dressers or buffets on which is an assortment of cups, dishes, plates and such like, brass the best, others pewter, many battered and well used, two or three stools, finally one or two wash-pots and basins, for meals in those days meant a good deal of washing and rinsing and cleaning afterwards. Further on is the canon's own room, almost as bare as the hall; a table of walnut wood, a little stool, a dozen or so of worn cushions in the window seats; in the alcove or bed place a couple of good feather beds, one or two coverlets; in the fire-place andirons; a dresser against the wall, one or two bits of carpet on the floor; and quite a collection of trunks and chests. In the rest of the house there is very little furniture; in the pantry an array of dishes and plates and drinking vessels, all of mean quality and base metal; there is a great wine cooler, of tin or pewter; the only articles to attract attention are a few bits of carpet, half-a-dozen cushions covered with silk, to be brought out on great occasions, and four candlesticks of Limoges work. Indeed there are one-and-twenty candlesticks in all, a number quite out of proportion to the supply of other articles: the old gentleman did not like to be in the dark. He indulges in another fancy, curious in an ecclesiastic, quite a passion for arms and armour: three or four old breastplates and gauntlets might induce the belief that he was a collector of curios in this kind; the bulk however is not antique, but new, good and practical, bassinets, gorgets, gauntlets, half-a-dozen complete suits; swords, five; and here is a handsome instrument of a thoroughly practical character—a heavy club with an iron spike at the head, of the kind grimly called by the Flemings, its inventors, a 'Godendac', a 'Good morning to you'.

Now let us begin rummaging in these well-bound coffers in the old man's room. Here is his wardrobe; a fair, but not an undue, supply of clothing, of the usual bright colours affected by the clergy at that date, green and red, well lined with fur; expense has not been spared here to secure warmth and comfort. And here is his seal with the extravagance of a silver chain. Has Hugues du Chataignier then so much need of a seal that he must wear it continually about him? Let us pass on to the other coffers. Here are, and in profusion, pots and plates and saucers and goblets, of silver, of all sorts of makes and sizes, to say nothing of (unheard-of luxury in Rouen) silver forks. Here too are girdles of silk richly mounted with silver, such as are worn by fair ladies and gay gallants, but curious items in the coffers of a venerable canon. There are little labels on some of the articles

of plate and jewellery, inscribed 'put in pawn' by so and so. The secret is out; there is now no wonder to find bag after bag of coins of many mints—mostly gold—florins, royals, muttons, franks, by the hundred together. And one of the executors, who also bears the name of Chataignier, a trusty man we may be sure, produces one bag bigger than the rest, in deposit with him, containing 1,200 florins of gold, French coinage. Hugues du Chataignier is not merely a miser, he is also a usurer. For in spite of the rigid laws of the Church, the trade of usury was not confined to the Jews or their confederates; even churchmen joined discreetly in the traffic. In a dozen ingenious ways means were found to elude the law; for instance, a piece of plate is sold at a price greatly below its value, with a power of redemption reserved to the seller within a period so short that redemption is impossible. This is how Sir John Fastolf, a thorough-paced usurer, obtained possession of the famous jewel called 'The Rose of York'; and it is by this or one of the many other means enumerated in the casuists' books of the day (as casuistry then was) that Hugues du Chataignier made (like Fastolf) his great hoard.

And now to Paris. Master Pierre Cardonnel, archdeacon of Auge in the Church of Lisieux and canon of Notre-Dame of Paris, whose ordinary residence is the capital, has just come to the point of time when inventories, then as now, were most commonly taken; he is dead (1438). Cardonnel belonged to a gentilitial family of modest pretensions. What a contrast in all respects to the canon of Rouen. His house, of two stories, has ten rooms; on the ground floor, a kitchen, a pantry, and a small room near it, a hall or general dining-room, and offices. Above, a large room looking out on the street with a little room near it; then the usual dwelling-room of the master of the house looking apparently over the garden; close by this the chapel which was also the book room; finally a study. The furniture is of a modest kind, but everything is neat and good, nothing affectedly old-fashioned, and there is plenty of it; over all there is an air of reasonable comfort though nothing of luxury; everything is ordered and in its place. Let us look into the *salle basse*, the rough room of the house: instead of merely stools there are three or four chairs—square chairs they are called—with high backs; instead of mere forms, settles cosily closed in to keep off the draughts, and with foot-paces. The *salle haute* is for better company—carpeted, and there are some attempts at more ornamental furniture. The room of the deceased master of the house shews a novelty of the day—at least in Paris—a round table supported on a centre pillar, the occasional table of the time. The walls are covered with red hangings, partly sprinkled with white roses. There is a single picture

—the Annunciation—and there is a holy water stoup with sprinkler. In the wardrobe are mantles and cloaks of the favourite red, and of more sober violet, one or two only of which are lined with fur. What a contrast is the chapel to Hugues du Chataignier's church stuff, which consisted of only an undescribed chasuble, stole, &c., and two pewter cruets. At Pierre Cardonnel's, the chapel is the most furnished apartment in the house, with all sorts of odds and ends, besides strictly ecclesiastical objects. The altar is of wood, with a cupboard at either end; there are two or three frontals and dossals, the foot-pace covered with a dark blue carpet with red roses; a statuette of alabaster; three Limoges candlesticks, and two more with prickets; an every-day chasuble of silk sprinkled with gold roses, and three best chasubles of bawdkin with orphreys of Lucca gold—one ash colour, one red with stripes of several colours, the third red and green with many other colours; there are two or three chests, a dresser or desk, some kneelers, and cushions of silk and of leather, a little bell, an inkstand, a pair of little scales, a pair of chamois leather fingerless gloves, several surplices and rochets, and one or two skull-caps well lined; and finally the books, some thirty volumes—a breviary and a psalter according to the use of Lisieux, a missal, one or two other religious books; all the rest relate to medicine. The study was simple enough: five little desks or book-rests, a couple of stools, and a broad writing desk.

From the sixth century up to the destruction of the ancient Chapter at the Revolution, the clergy of the cathedral of Paris kept their church in the highest reputation for regularity and perfect observance of their duties. The names of few of the canons have been heard of by the world at large; here and there one is known to the curious enquirer; they passed away blamelessly, men content to sink themselves in the good repute of the corporation to which they were attached, and to hand on the good tradition as the best heritage to those who should succeed them. Such a man in his day was Pierre Cardonnel.

Just outside the walls of Paris at the close of the fourteenth century, near the Porte St-Victor, and called significantly the Rue des Murs—Wall Street—was a tall narrow house of three stories, with gable ends; at the back, between it and the city walls, was its garden and greensward. The neighbourhood was poor, inhabited for the most part by masons and other day-labourers. This house was the last retreat of Pierre Bersuire, a Benedictine monk well known in his day. He had been drawn out of his monastery, and greatly patronized by John, King of France, from whom he had received many small benefices—no object of ambition to him, but enough to keep the

student, wholly devoted to his books and sacred studies, from care and solicitude for his daily bread. Peter's great work was a sort of cyclopaedia of morals in many volumes, based on the Scriptures, which were his constant companion; but his book of books was his translation of Livy, made by order of King John. Nothing could be more in accordance with the taste of the time—the very heyday of chivalry. Here was an opportunity for the limner to portray with all the brilliancy of colour, on pages heightened with glory of golden scrolls, battles and sieges, cities and castles, town and country, knights and dames. And well did the limner take advantage of the opportunity, as witness the library catalogues of the sons of King John. First, that of the Louvre, the royal library, contained a Titus Livius of Bersuire, 'very perfectly well written, in double columns, and very well storied and illuminated, and signed "Charles"'—that is, King Charles V, John's son and successor. The same library possessed also Bersuire's original MS. It is one of the first items of the whole list: 'the original of Titus Livius, in French, the first translation that was made of it, written in a bad hand, with poor illuminations and no pictures.' Bersuire was evidently no scribe; but the king could easily provide for that side of the work. The library of the Duke of Berry has no less than four copies—two in three volumes, and two in one; two only 'finely written', and two 'very richly historiated and illuminated'. The library of the Duke of Burgundy had three copies—one in one volume richly illuminated; another in two volumes illuminated in azure and gold, much thumbed; and one in five volumes. These all, except 'the original', had bindings of velvet and leather, and clasps of silver, and enamels, and 'shirts' of satin and silk. Advancing in years, and his work done, Bersuire had bought this house in the Rue des Murs, close to the little priory of St-Éloi, one of his benefices, in order, as he states in the deed of purchase, to be near the family of his relative, Jean Bersuire, who lived in the same street. The house was bought in the midsummer of 1361; in the early months of the next year the old man was dead. The house remained long shut up and neglected; the key was to be had on application to Jehan Hays, sexton to the church of St-Éloi hard by. The furniture, thirty and more years after, remained as it was left by the former occupier; scanty always, it was now old and worm-eaten and covered with dust. But it shews that the habits of the man clung to him to the last; the whole topmost story, a panelled room high up and away from the sights and sounds of the street, was Bersuire's 'study'; it contained a little bench, well made but old; a table with four legs; a little standing desk; a little wooden bedstead and its mattress. The tall house in the Rue des Murs was

indeed a retreat for declining years, but it was the retreat of a man with whom work only ended with life.

It is a change from Pierre Bersuire to Marin Faliero; from the solitary old scholar in the house-top in Paris to the doge of Venice, who at the age of eighty must needs aspire to sovereign power in that mercilessly resolute republic, and not merely lose his own head in the attempt, but entail a like loss on some four hundred of his dupes or accomplices. This was in 1355. But it was in April 1351, at the ripe age of seventy-six, that he called in as an expert John, the priest of his parish church, to make a list of the treasures of 'The Red Room' in the big house by SS. Apostoli near the bridge; though not at all with the idea of a leave-taking and making his last will and testament. Why the room was called 'Red' does not appear, unless it were on account of a *triclinium* of red wood in the middle of it, a somewhat hard specimen of ottoman or couch. At any rate the 'Red Room' at Marin Faliero's seems to have been as well known in Venice in those days as the 'Peacock Room' is, or was, in the London of the present. And no wonder; for the collection of curios, though small, is one which only first-rate opportunities could have rendered it possible, even in Venice, to bring together. There is a picture-book in sheets (*quaternum*) with representations of all sorts of outlandish peoples and races; a box of fifty ancient coins; the ring given by the Great Khan of Tartary to Marco Polo, with the inscription 'the gift of Ciuble Can'; a collar of Tartar workmanship, with animals wrought in metal; a marvellously ancient sword with inscriptions; a sword of brass dug up at Padua; two heads of wild men, from Africa, brought by Jacobellus, the sailor; garments of all sorts of nations; a crimson silk cap wrought with gold; a book with pictures of all sorts of animals; another book of the Lives of the Saints, full of pictures; a gold statuette of S. Marina; a wonderful sword which has three swords in one, which had belonged to Marco Polo; a little white leather bag with all sorts of little gold and silver objects given to Marco Polo by the Khan of Tartary; three ancient marble inscriptions found at Treviso; hangings of Indian stuffs; a volume written by Marco Polo's own hand; two candlesticks of exquisite beauty, of alabaster and gold; a brass sphere that had belonged to Master Anthony the Astrologer; finally many volumes of Astrology and Physic. A strict moralist has condemned the collector's weakness as infected by inherent vice. That question apart, there is no difficulty from this inventory in discovering the special weakness which brought the venerable age of the respected and honoured Marin Faliero to so miserable an end.

But that the vice of collecting was certainly prevalent in Venice

at the time is clear from a 'Note of things to be done in Venice' jotted down in the year 1335 by one Oliviero Forzetta, an inhabitant of Treviso (a city some twenty miles to the north-west), from which it may have been noticed Faliero had obtained some ancient inscriptions.

What I have to do at Venice (runs the record). First to pay the rent for my house there, and bring my goods and chattels back to Treviso. Note: then with the goldsmith, Ser Giovanni the German, as to various medals and old coins of the Morosini, and a head of marble sculptured by Maestro Ogniben.—And Master Simon has promised to give me fifty ancient coins.—From the convent of Friars Preachers a Seneca, complete.

From others, not precisely indicated, Ovid, Sallust, Livy and other classics with the *Moralia* of St Gregory the Great.

And note: by wit or by pressure, to get hold of all the drawings of Master Perenzolo, deceased; they are in pawn with Masters Francis and Stephen at S. Giovanni Nuovo; also his book, in sheets, in which are paintings of all kinds of animals, and they are all beautifully done and by the hand of the aforesaid Perenzolo himself; and the work of his chisel too (*taglos*), and all his drawings whatsoever, wherever they be, in pawn, or on deposit, *et cetera*.—And to seek for the four stone boys taken from San Vitale's at Ravenna.—And note: as to that head, and the lions, and the ducks (*anera*), and the horses, painted, which Anna, sister of Joachim, has; and she has too a cameo with a head and a garland of roses on it.—And that marble statue of a boy which belonged to Guglielmo Zapparini, now dead; with many drawings of Perenzolo: the widow has them all.—And to remember, specially, that Martino di Gallera has lions, and horses, and bulls, and men naked, and birds, and anatomical drawings (?) of men and animals (*cechaturas hominum et bestiarum*[1]); all the work of Perenzolo.

Then Forzetta meditates a descent on the Friars Minor for various objects, hangings of Arras, and stained glass, as he had fixed on the Preachers for books. But it is enough; and we may pass over the details of the way in which the man hunts down the original drawings of Perenzolo which he means to get hold of by hook or by crook. Could the dire spirit of a collector's greed betray itself more faithfully than in this record? Has not the noxious root produced a most rank growth? Could a Spitzer have gone to work in a more thorough, a more business-like way? How varied Forzetta's fancy is; and yet how his mind runs on securing the great haul of Perenzolo's handy-work—the whole. The 'four boys' from Ravenna deserve a special word. They are a fragment of an ancient bas-relief, attributed once to Praxiteles and declared worthy of Phidias, a part of

[1] There was a celebrated school of anatomy at Bologna in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

which still remains at Ravenna: the 'four boys' found a resting place in the choir of the Church of Our Lady of Miracles at Venice, at least up to the close of the last century. Did our Trevigian antiquary secure the prize, and did it come back to Venice after his death; or was it seized too soon by some amateur on the spot? The history of Forzetta's museum can never now be told.

Let the lawyers have their turn: an uninteresting race, judged, that is to say, strictly from the point of view of inventories. As types there is an old bachelor, Mr John Underwood, practising on the turn of the fifteenth century in the Archbishop's Court at York; a London practitioner, Mr Serjeant Keble, about the same time; and, of an earlier date by a hundred years, a Genoese jurist. Mr Underwood has made his hoard of money; all else—and very little it is—is meanness, discomfort and dowdiness; 'an old keveryng in tapster werke', 'an old typett', 'an old chyste' represent the run of his effects. There are two articles of choice and price: a spoon silver and gilt, and a pair of beads of coral. His books, thirty-eight volumes, are legal, one or two excepted, and bear titles, beginning with *Mandugud, de Electionibus*, proper only to strike dullness and deadness into the soul. Mr Serjeant Keble, on the other hand, is wealthy, prosperous, and a generous liver; his kitchen well set up; plate to the amount of some 1,200 ounces of silver, besides two or three small pieces of gold; a farm amply stocked; a chapel decent, so far as bare necessaries go, but not an item of luxury. Books are very few; the only one legal is entitled (let us hope it was not a specimen of his special line of practice) *La Abuse in Court*; there are a printed Ludolphus of Saxony, a book in French of the Chronicles, and another volume only described as being of parchment. It is in his hangings and arras, and his 'remnants' of satin and stamyn, of velvet and 'bord-alexander' that he excels; and especially in the profusion of his 'wearing gear', only one of two items of which can be set down to his wife; and of wives he seems to have survived two. Altogether Mr Keble's was an ample household, given to good cheer. All with the Englishman is very human; but with the Italian jurist more than a century earlier (1390) we are already with the humanists.

Bartolomeo di Jacopo was the son of a notary of Genoa, and at first a notary also. Feeling within himself something Tullian, he ambitioned the bar, was a great success, and was considered by many of his contemporaries as a Tully of his time, though his one speech extant is said by a person who has read it to be poor stuff. He soon was numbered among the Council of the 'Ancients' of Genoa, was successively ambassador of the Republic at Naples and at the Papal Court of Avignon, was Consul of Caffa, the Genoese settlement on the

shores of the Black Sea; later, ambassador of Pope Gregory XI to Florence, and of Genoa to the kings of Castille and Portugal. Finally he attached himself to the brilliant and lettered court of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, and his last years were spent as councillor of that prince, at the castle of Pavia, in which had been gathered the finest library in Europe. Bartolomeo's career was a brilliant one; but it is astonishing to see how comparatively simple, though not unbecoming his station, is the list of his effects. His books show extravagance; a few are law books; there is a wonderful collection of the classics, many of the Latin Fathers, the greatest only and best stylists; of modern books, Dante's great poem, glossed, and the *De Monarchia*. The 'stuff' of his chapel, or oratory, at Genoa (which place, it is true, he has left four or five years before) is represented by such articles as two or three plates and as many basins of pewter, two or three of bronze, an iron lantern, a brazier, an alembic, some bundles of wood, and so forth. His 'animals' at Genoa are, 'first, one slave named George. Item, one mule. Item, one horse.' 'Animals at Milan: first, one horse. Item, one sumpter. Item, one woman slave, named Catherine.' The deeper characteristics of the movement, which were only to be developed and brought into the full light of day in the high tide of the Renaissance, are already clearly marked in the inventory of Bartolomeo di Jacopo.

But one more presentment, and I have done. It is drawn from the inventory (1497–1498) of Bernard of Béarn, known in his day as the Bastard of Comminges, an illegitimate offshoot of the powerful and illustrious house of Foix. Though he had held public positions of trust and importance, and lived in a style befitting his wealth and station, Bernard had passed a solitary life. Not, be it understood, that the stigma attaching to his birth was any social bar; for in those days, whatever be the explanation, the sins of the father were not thus visited on the children. His position in his castle of Monteux was one of more than usual isolation from the world, situated as it was close up under the Pyrenees, in a wild, rocky district, on the less savage outskirts of which is situated Lourdes. He had lived alone, but still a life not unloved; for he had secured the most affectionate devotion of his own household. There seem to have been no others but his servants with him at the time of his death, and it was his servants alone that were found in the house when, the next day, the notary Elzear Grassi came, along with Bartholomew Pauli, the representative of the Pope (for the heir was a bishop), to take the inventory. Grassi is the great figure of the piece, 'me, a public notary, a common and public person', as he describes himself. It was not every day that Elzear was called to take such an inventory as this, and he rises to

the occasion. With his pompousness, his ridiculous pedantry—a mockery in the house of death—he is the master of the situation. The proem of the act is long drawn out, and not an item of verbiage is spared. When the papal representative reaches the house, the aged major-domo ('the noble Johannes de Confita' Elzear calls him), whose duty it is to certify his master's death, comes forward and, bursting into tears, signifies in broken words how 'it had pleased our Lord Jesus Christ to take to Himself the noble Bernard of Béarn, who had departed this life yesterday about the hour of tierce'. 'Then the noble Johannes de Confita, major-domo of the said magnificent defunct, applied with many requests, as aforesaid, to the above mentioned noble Bartholomew Pauli, and begged him, and asked him, that he would deign to cause an inventory to be made', &c. Thereupon the notary sets to his work, and gloriously he does it. He is of the *super grammaticam* race, too; concords, in his Latin, are flung to the winds; singulars and plurals, masculines, feminines and neuters are thrown about at haphazard; subjects are in the accusative, objects in the nominative;—'all 's alike to Elzear'. But withal he proceeds at a solemn, measured pace in describing each item of the belongings of the 'magnificent defunct'; how, for instance, 'in a certain greater coffer was found a certain smaller coffret, in which coffret was found a chain of gold (*fuit repertum unam cathenam auri*) of about eight crowns of value; and on the said chain was hung a certain ring called *uno ota*, and it was of gold; and one cross of gold', &c.

'And further in the said little coffret was found a signet of gold, and in the signet was set a "cameo", and about the said signet were written these words, or in effect like words, "*Jhesus plus que tout*".' And indeed the inventory tells plainly enough that the motto Bernard had chosen, wherewith, too, he confirmed and sealed every act, was the secret of his life. These are matters which do not fall within the cognizance of a public person like Elzear Grassi, who still picks up every item that he can by the way. The old major-domo, full of affectionate recollections, mutters an 'Aye, and these goblets were always on the buffet when my lord dined'. Down the remark goes in the notary's own way, thus: 'which daily, and incessantly, the foresaid magnificent lord, whilst he was alive, had at his table' (*fuit repertum sex taxeas argenti que et quas quotidie et incessanter*, &c.). The fellow cannot even keep his hands off the body of the dead man, on which the loving hands of the old servant had placed a few gold trinkets of his daily use and wear; Elzear handles them, weighs them, appraises them, and declares them '*circa totum ponderis triginta scutorum*'. At the chapel his redundancies suddenly desert him; he throws everything together as 'a chalice and things proper for masses',

and, unable to command his Latin further, breaks out into good Provençal, ' et hun bel retaule pint de cascuna part que se bara ab clau ', which, I take it, means a triptych, with shutters painted within and without, and fastening with a key.

Leaving the notary to go on with his work, let us take a last rapid glance at the study. The simplicity is cenobitic: a little bed, a table covered with a carpet that had seen long use, with one or two other items, make up the furniture. There are heaps of papers, a small chest or two, several swords, and a number of odds and ends, *bric-à-brac*, which the notary did not describe, being ' of small value '. On a set of shelves are some sixty or seventy books. On examination they prove to be a collection, small as it now seems, fit to vie with the more celebrated library of his contemporary, the lettered Charles of Orleans, the father of Francis the First and of Margaret of Navarre. This is all the more remarkable, too, in a district so wild, so entirely cut off from cultured society and away from the high road of life as the country of Comminges. Moreover, the books are, almost without exception, printed ; and, a Roman Missal and ' Mode of Confession ' apart, they are in the French language. It would seem as though the owner were not familiar with Latin. Almost every subject is represented—history, belles-lettres, physic, but most largely theology, philosophy, and morals. Here is a Froissart in three volumes, Bersuire's Livy, along with a few romances, and Boccaccio's Hundred Tales. There is also a Bible, both Old and New Testaments. The collection as a whole is evidently the reflection of the personal tastes of the possessor, who has left the best proof that he had read well in the shape of several commonplace books written with his own hand. One is on medicine ; another comprises extracts from the Fathers and theologians, verses, extracts from the psalms, the psalter of the Blessed Virgin and other prayers ; a third consists entirely of prayers and religious pieces, beginning ' Si tu veulx bien confesser '. In his solitude Bernard de Béarn had learned to penetrate the full meaning of the motto he had chosen long ago—*Jhesus plus que tout.*

XXIV

LEAVES FROM THE DIARY OF A PAPAL MASTER OF CEREMONIES[1]

FROM the later years of the fifteenth century the Masters of Ceremonies of the Papal Court have been in the habit of keeping a diary of events falling within the somewhat wide sphere of their functions. From the year 1484 the series is complete. But the earliest of these diarists, the German Burcardus, can hardly have introduced the practice, for at least a fragment of a work of the same character, relating to the acts of the antipope Benedict XIII for the years 1406 to 1408, is still extant. The diary of Burcardus, which includes the pontificate of Alexander VI, is the only one as yet printed in its entirety. That of his immediate successor, Paris de Grassis, is to be included in the quarto series of publications of the *École Française de Rome*.[2] Copies in manuscript of the whole, or nearly the whole, of these diaries are to be found in London, Paris, in several Roman libraries, and doubtless elsewhere. At the first glance the volumes do not present a very attractive appearance; the sameness of the subject cannot fail in the long run to be tedious. The liturgist Catalanus, who, in preparing his commentaries on the various ritual books of the Roman Church, had made it his business to read them all, summed up the character of the writers shortly enough: 'An ignorant set', he says, making an exception to this verdict in favour of one or two only. But Catalanus, though possessing sound judgement in the main, and good sense, had rather a rough tongue, and a strong way of expressing himself. He demanded of them that they should know the reasons of what they did, or prescribed for others to do. But it would go hard with most of us to be called to such an account. After all, even in these scientific days, a man commonly cannot do much more than know his business in a practical, if somewhat rule-of-thumb, fashion. But did our diarists succeed so far? As Paris de Grassis has been mentioned, let us take a sample from him. Though the highest personages occupy the foreground in

[1] From the *Downside Review*, December 1892.
[2] [This project seems now to have been abandoned.]

his pages—Cardinals and Kings and Popes—yet, like a true diarist, he looks at them all from his own point of view, and as Master of Ceremonies he is apt to consider them as the puppets which he sets in motion. It may not be without interest to see some familiar personages from this new standpoint. And it must be admitted that Paris de Grassis was in a favourable position for throwing sidelights on character, which now and then it is more precious to catch than any that may be afforded by whole bundles of state papers.[1]

In the month of December, 1515, Pope Leo X met at Bologna King Francis the First of France. Francis, then about twenty-one years old, had succeeded to the throne on the 1st of January of that year. Thirsting for glory, the youthful 'Caesar', idolized at home, desired to appear as hero in the eyes of all the world. Emulating the deeds of his immediate predecessors, he at once formed the design of an invasion of Italy; the pretext was the recovery of the Duchy of Milan. The position of the Pope in this conjuncture was a difficult one; on the one hand his alliance was solicited by Francis, on the other by a league formed by Maximilian, the Emperor-Elect, Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, and the Swiss. Leo desired to take up a neutral position; but this was impossible, and he declared for the league, supporting it only, however, in a measured way. On the victory of Francis at Marignola in September, he veered round, and, at the cost of heavy sacrifices, came to an agreement with the victor, who now desired an interview with the Pontiff. The circumstances of the meeting, it will be seen, were sufficiently delicate.

Now Paris de Grassis enters on the scene. Fussy, and a flunkey born, he was yet a faithful servant, was full of energy, of considerable resources, never abashed, and, with all his activity, simply stolid in his self-satisfaction. Besides, he had ever in hand a task worthy of all his powers, for he felt that to him was entrusted the care of maintaining intact the honour, the dignity, and the pre-eminence of the Papal Court, of the Supreme Pontiff, and of the Roman Church. The present occasion was one calculated to tax his capacities to the utmost.

On Friday, the 7th of December, the Pope reached Bologna and spent the night at the monastery of the Crutched Friars in the suburbs.

[1] [It may be as well to explain that the following account is drawn from pp. 86–96 of the incomplete and unpublished vol. ii of G. B. Gattico's *Acta ceremonialia Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae* (of course without title and date). The first volume was published in Rome in 1753. It was suppressed by Benedict XIV; probably in compliance with the clamour of jealous officials, ignorant and obscurantist. See Zaccaria *Bibliotheca ritualis* i p. 177. The 208 pages of vol. ii, after which the printing must have been stopped, are to be counted among *rarissimes* books; Zaccaria seems not to have known of their existence. The copy used is in my own collection.]

The next day he made his entry into the city, where he was received, says Paris de Grassis, who may be allowed henceforward to speak for himself, in a very rough and indecorous fashion, 'and that, after I had been busy for two or three days previously, and had arranged everything for a reception worthy of the Pontiff; there was no order, no preparation, no sign of public joy or festivity'. It should be explained that the Bolognese were at that moment simply sulky; the Pontifical rule had lately superseded that of the Bentivoli in the city. Leo's determination to allow them at least to return to Bologna displeased the one faction, their enemies, whilst the delay in permitting that return displeased their friends. So both factions agreed in pouting in the presence of their actual Sovereign, the Pope. 'The clergy did not come to meet him at the gate of the city, though the cardinal was there to offer him the cross to kiss; but no cross had been brought, and a simple rude one was fetched from a parish church close by, which the Pope kissed, though with a smile on his face. Two canopies were brought by the *facchini*, or public carriers, things at the sight of which the cardinals (there were twenty in Leo's train) laughed outright. The one for the Blessed Sacrament was of serge, the one for the Pope was of a common stuff, old and worn, and covered with stains. To offer such a thing to the Pope was not only ridiculous but most infamous. I said to the Pope that it was nothing less than criminal, and all the cardinals were most indignant. But the Pope took it very quietly, and only ordered an equerry to give a canopy of silk and gold for the Blessed Sacrament, and said as for himself he had no need of one.[1] In which occurrence he acted right well and with perfect propriety. But there was more: of the hundred young men who had been appointed by me to meet the Pope, hardly twenty appeared, and these were in unseemly dress. On which I remarked to the Pope that the citizens of Bologna really shewed little respect for his dignity. But the Pope did not seem to mind in the least, and smiled ever and anon at it all.' Needless to say that the master of ceremonies is precise as to the papal attire, and the changes in it during the progress; hardly any acclamations were to be heard. 'And afterwards I spoke to the Pope aside, and urged him to animadvert to the magistrates and the people on their ignorant churlishness; but he would not shew his mind on the subject, except to order the payment of thirty ducats for the canopy, which the officers divided among themselves.' Altogether, in the opinion

[1] It was the practice, until the time of Benedict XIII, to carry the Blessed Sacrament before the Pope when he was journeying. The last example occurs in 1727. See Barbier de Montault *Le Transport solennel du Saint-Sacrement quand le Pape voyage*, in the *Bulletin Monumental* for 1879, and in a separate pamphlet.

of Paris, the Bolognese conducted themselves shamefully on this occasion, 'but the Pope would not utter a syllable of comment on the subject'.

The next day was the second Sunday of Advent; twenty cardinals and some forty prelates of the Pope's train were present at High Mass at San Petronio. The people now recovering their temper, which they had no intention of really allowing to interfere with their enjoyment of the coming festivities, flocked in crowds, 'and', says Paris, 'I proclaimed an indulgence of five years at the end of the Mass'. With the Monday he felt himself to enter into the fullness, though not as yet into the height, of his functions; for with this day he began the immediate preparations for the great events now at hand. 'The Pope held a Consistory in the morning, and asked me again what arrangement I would make for the King on his coming this day. I replied, as I had already done in the Consistory at Florence, that it seemed to me proper that I should present myself to the King at an early stage, and inform him of our ceremonies usual in such a case as the present, and, if it pleased His Holiness, a cardinal also, who should in His Holiness's name exhort him to allow himself to be honoured by the Apostolic ceremonies. The Pope asked me on what points should the King be advertised. And I said that the King should be informed of the order of our ceremonies, which I would explain to him at length, in regard to his entry into the city as far as the palace; and then in regard to his ascending to the hall of the Consistory'—and a series of points of detail which may here be spared. 'And so I would explain all these points to him, and then take his pleasure whether he would observe them; and that he was not to be surprised that no processions went to meet him, and that the clergy did not come to receive him, all which was only done when a king entered the city of Rome itself, in pilgrimage; and then I would ask the king whether there were any special points which he wished to be observed; if he would explain, I would take care to satisfy him; and whatever it might be, I would take care that all should be meetly done for his satisfaction. Also, whether he would be pleased to name any of his confidential officers to arrange everything with me according to his pleasure. Also' . . . a whole litany of matters he thought proper to be impressed on His Majesty, the last of which runs that he would instruct the King to take off his cap and be bareheaded on the appearance of the Sacred College of Cardinals at the city gate; 'and to answer aptly and courteously, and listen patiently, *et similia*, and so on'.

'And when I had opened my ideas to the Pope and to the College

in the Consistory, they were approved of, and he ordered that I should act accordingly, and that I should diligently inform myself from the King as to the foregoing, so that there might be no mistake, or risk of offence.' And now Paris de Grassis had a catalogue of enquiries just as long to make of the Pope, in which are oddly jumbled matters most delicate and full of offence like the 'form of obedience' to be pronounced on behalf of the King, down to the letting off of guns, *bombardae*, which the Pope forbade as wanting in religiousness. The Master of Ceremonies at last (and the mere summary list of his doubts and suggestions runs a good way beyond the limits of a folio page) winds up with reminding the Pope as to the words in which he should answer the King's first salutation: 'And the Pope replied that he would say whatever came to his mind and tongue at the time' (*quidquid in buccam et in mentem veniet*).

'My enquiries having come to an end, the Pope told Cardinal Sanseverino to meet the King outside the gate of the city, and I was to go with him, and we were to conclude our consultations with the King himself to-day, so that to-morrow we might have the Consistory and receive him solemnly. So we found the King coming between our two Cardinal Legates, talking with them gaily. And I also went up to him and said that I was the Master of the Ceremonies, and the King, smiling, said that he would be in great need of my help, as being himself raw (*rudis*) and inexperienced, and that we had better confer at once at his lodgings', a hostelry about a mile from the town. 'So we entered, and there were six Cardinals present, of whom one, Sanseverino, talked much with the King upon the proposals which I had made at the Consistory, and how the Pope and all the Most Reverend Lords the Cardinals had remitted everything to his pleasure. And the King indeed replied affably on all points and singular, although in his own French tongue, so that I did not understand the conversation; and hence, at the end of the conference, when the King along with the Cardinals present asked me whether I perfectly comprehended what had been settled, I openly declared that I had not understood a word of it; at which the King and the Cardinals laughed, and then gave me the heads of the business in Italian.

'And first, as to the processions, he said that he had understood all that before, and did not care about it at all; that he wanted nothing special on his own account, only that none of the observances due to a King should be omitted, but that all should be done in a way befitting his kingly dignity; and he at once named one of his chamberlains who should be always with me to arrange matters for the King—a man well versed in his business; and indeed well versed he was, and one who took upon him, may be, more than became him.'

The King now insisted on some particulars relating to his dignity which had not entered into the calculations of Paris de Grassis, who, however, stood firm on one point. Francis wished for two Consistories, one for a formal salutation of the Pope, the second for making his obedience. 'This proposal pleased me not, for the Pope had strictly commanded me that all must be concluded at one and the same meeting; on account of the expense, as I think,' says Paris, 'and a thousand inconveniences which time and delay can bring with them. On this we laboured long,' but the Master of Ceremonies carried the day at last. When finally he came to his instructions how the King was to take off his cap on meeting the College of Cardinals, Francis turned round on poor Paris with the remark that there was no need to remind him of that, for he was not *sic rudis* as not to know what to do in such a case. And the Master of Ceremonies, a diligent reader of the diary of his forerunner, Burcardus, essayed to mend the matter by informing Francis that his majesty's predecessor, Charles VIII, had not known how to comport himself so civilly in the same circumstances. And, with this incident, the present conference, so far as Paris de Grassis is concerned, closed, for the King gave him his congé; but Cardinal Sanseverino remained behind to conclude the affair.

The Master of Ceremonies returned, to give an account of his mission, to the Pope, 'who was satisfied, and remained content'. 'And as the King wished, on reaching the palace, to dine before going up to the Consistory, I suggested that dinner should also be prepared for the Cardinals who would go to meet him. But the Pope said, no; and that the Cardinals could very well wait, as he himself would have to do. But it did not turn out so in the event; for early next morning they sent one of their number to him to beg, in the name of all, that he would be pleased to have dinner arranged for the whole Sacred College, whilst the King was dining; and so it was done, as I shall tell. And whilst awaiting Sanseverino's return, the Pope heard from me the whole series of my proposals. Whilst we were talking he said to me he would gladly be spared the singing of the mass, which he understood the King wished to see and hear; or at least that he would gladly not have to wait until Sunday.' Leo had indeed many and weighty reasons for dreading the 'inconveniences that time can bring with it'. To bar the path of a young monarch, flushed with success and eager for another expedition of Naples, there was none but the Pope; a chance street brawl between elated Frenchmen and surly Bolognese might conceivably have consequences that neither Pope nor King could control. No wonder that Leo was anxious to see the return of the Frenchman northwards without delay. Paris de Grassis was equal to the occasion: 'and I said that next Thursday, that is

feria quinta, was the feast of Saint Lucy, and that he might celebrate on that day, as Pope Alexander had celebrated in the presence of King Charles on Saint Andrew's Day; and that he might say one prayer in the mass without commemoration of the feria, for we could have the mass of the feria said earlier by someone else; and that pleased the Pope, especially when I said that all things were observed at this mass as on Christmas day, with a Cardinal Bishop assistant, and two epistles (Greek and Latin), and two gospels, and the other solemnities; and it pleased the Pope so to do, and he immediately ordered me to begin at once to make preparations; and at once I'—had a whole army of carpenters and workmen busy transforming the interior of San Petronio and providing for the crush.

Tuesday, the 11th of December, was the great day of the royal entry and the Consistory. It would be more than tedious to narrate the details which Paris (or for him Cardinal Sanseverino or the French King's chamberlain) had arranged. The Cardinals bareheaded, the King bareheaded, the speeches and compliments, the dresses and processions, the crowds, the banners, the bells, the trumpets, the clamour and confusion. But Paris never loses his aplomb, has an eye for every item, and is ever master of himself and everybody else. Whilst Francis was dining before the Consistory, 'by the Pope's command I went to the King and forbad him to ascend to the hall of the Consistory until I knew that the Pope was already seated.' All at last was ready, and then came the crush towards the hall; 'we could hardly move for the crowd, and it was half an hour before a way could be cleared and we could get to the top of the stairs, the king laughing' and keeping a good countenance 'all the time'. Now came new difficulties; there was hardly a gangway in the hall, so that even then it was a whole business to make any advance. But they worked on, and succeeded. 'Sanseverino went in front; then came I *simul coaequalis cum Rege*, whom I never let go, leading him always by the hand; so he would have it, nor would he lose hold of me. So thrice we genuflected, the King and I, and then the King went up to the *osculum pedis* . . . The words of compliment over, I called to the Most Reverend Lords the Cardinals to come up to the throne, if they could; *et vix pauci venire potuerunt.*' Then followed the offering the obedience in an address delivered by the Chancellor. With the Pope and the King now brought face to face, and free themselves to act and speak as they would, the native graciousness and courtesy of these chief actors in the scene is perceptible, even through the narrative of Paris de Grassis, who, however, kept his severest eye on the Pontiff lest in familiar converse he should so far forget himself as by an unguarded movement of the hand to seem to touch his cap, a fault which

Paris's predecessor Burcardus had noted in Pope Alexander VI on a like occasion. Leo X was better schooled; he did nothing of the sort; 'at least as far as we could see', guardedly adds the Master.

But a still greater day was in reserve for Paris de Grassis—the mass on Thursday. It is impossible not to feel a certain respect for him in reading his description. What a head, to think of and provide for all these details! What a mind, to write them all down afterwards when the day was over! He was in his glory too in the act. He was always by the King's side; he had the King's footstool placed on the broad steps of the papal throne, 'for as often as the Pope moved from place to place, the King always followed, so that he might see everything, as well because he was devout, as that he took great pleasure in seeing everything and understanding our mysteries. And indeed I assigned to him one of our prelates, the Most Reverend Lord Scaramuccia Trivulzio, bishop of Como, to explain to him each and all of our mysteries, and what each was and signified and imported. I deputed him for this reason, that he knew the French language very well, and was moreover known to the King; and I deputed two of the King's pages, who, as often as the King should go with the Pope to the throne or to the altar, should carry the King's footstool for him to sit down upon'. 'And the footstool was covered with purple falling down to the ground on all sides, and there was a cushion upon it with gold cord all around like a sort of fringe, with the arms of the King in the middle of the seat. And when the King went first to sit down on it, *mirum quod casu cecidit*; but the King did not fall; indeed he laughed, and the footstool was set up again, and he sat firmly down upon it until the end. I instructed him that as often as the Pope rose from his chair during the mass, he himself should rise also; a behest which he always graciously obeyed.' And Paris brooked no unauthorized interference. 'The King had kneeling at his feet his confessor, as they call him, who was shewing all our mysteries in a picture; and in the King's hearing I turned to him and said that there was no need for him to take so much trouble, for if the King so pleased I would afterwards give an explanation of all at length in writing. And the King expressed his approval, and at the end of the mass he enquired of me about everything, and expressed himself as highly delighted.' 'At the elevation of the Sacrament, when all, especially the prelates, rose (and stood), the King would not rise, but kneeling devoutly on both knees, he remained with hands joined before his face.[1] Also when the

[1] The particular object of the introduction of the elevation was that the faithful might expressly 'gaze on' the Blessed Sacrament in adoration. Indeed Jubés and choir-screens were not infrequently ordered to be removed by the bishops in their

Sacrament was carried to the Pope's throne, and so long as It was there, the King always remained devoutly kneeling.'

On more than one occasion during the mass Francis again shewed that he was not *sic rudis* but that he could, at times, better the instruction of his new tutor. When at the beginning of the mass 'the Pope went from the steps of the altar to the throne, the King, on my handing it to him, took the Pope's train; whereupon I immediately called the Pope's attention to this, and the Pope turning to the King begged him to desist; but the King graciously persevered, saying that he was glad to serve the Vicar of our Lord even in the lesser things, and so he continued carrying it to the throne, when the Pope gave him a blessing'. And again at the end of the mass, the King stood ministering water after the purification, 'and I asked the Pope whether such was His Holiness's pleasure; but the King, catching what I would say, would not suffer me to put the question, so we laid the towel on the King's shoulders', and so on, and so on.

The mass over, the King thanked the pontiff *de laboribus passis*; 'and, as he was unvesting, the Pope said that he did not think that there were so many people at this moment in any one town as now in Bologna'—the only casual remark of Leo's which Paris has thought worth recording during this memorable visit. The diarist's comment may explain its importance: 'and so it was in truth; for if I had not caused the doors of San Petronio to be closed so that no more of the townspeople could enter, it is to be feared that many would have been crushed to death, and, as it was, the press was intolerable, so that everyone was crying out'.

On the following day, Friday, the 14th, there was a secret Consistory in which, at the prayer of Francis, Adrien de Gouffier, bishop of Coutances, was created cardinal; an act which draws from the Master of Ceremonies remarks as to the dangers of such creations of court minions. On Saturday the King took his formal farewell of the Pope and cardinals; of the former in his palace, of the latter outside the gates of the city. 'But I followed him a few paces further, and begged his pardon if I had not served His Majesty satisfactorily; and he said kind words to me, busy meantime arranging the strings of his cap. I wondered what it meant, and suddenly he got off his horse and mounted another, for he was in a hurry, as he said; and turning round he said that he would give me the horse from which

visitations, on the express ground of their preventing the people *gazing on* the Blessed Sacrament at the elevation. 'Ce qui prouve une fois de plus qu'au lieu de s'incliner *pour ne pas voir*, ainsi qu'on pratique de nos jours, l'on se tenait droit pour regarder la sainte hostie' (Barbier de Montault *L'Appareil de lumière de la cathédrale de Tours* p. 156).

he had dismounted, only it was not fit for long clothes, but he would send me a good one from Milan. And so he departed between the two legates who had brought him to the city of Bologna, and they accompanied him to the place where they had met him on his arrival. But the four prelates, who had gone thither to meet him on that occasion, did not now go back with him; for the Pope had ordered this'—and Paris de Grassis remains himself to the last—'I so arranging'.

XXV

PASTOR DREYGERWOLT'S NOTE-BOOK

1521–1525[1]

NOTWITHSTANDING the publication of churchwardens' accounts and inventories, and episcopal visitations, very little that is definite is really known as to the actual working of a parish priest and a parish church before the change of religion. There are records abundant enough and sad enough of the state of things in the days of Good Queen Bess; and comparing with this picture the condition of the material fabric and the accessories of Divine worship as they are known to have existed on the eve of the Religious Revolution, it is possible to gain some general notion of the change that must have taken place in regard to what is called 'cure of souls'. But it is, after all, the imagination which is left to supply a descriptive notion of the church life as it actually existed in the last days of Catholicity in England. What would we not give for a diary—a good humdrum, professional, daily-life diary—and note-book of a London or a country parson in the early years of the sixteenth century. No such document has, so far as I know, hitherto come to light. In default of an English example I purpose to call the attention of the Guild for a few minutes this evening to a paper containing some few details of the kind we are in search of, written by a parish priest of Münster in Westphalia, just before the Anabaptist outbreak. It is a short and scanty record at best; and what prevailed there by no means necessarily existed with us. Still there are in Catholic life sufficient common features, there is enough *unius moris in domo*, to help us to realize, from whatever quarter the information may come, what must have taken place year by year in any one of the little ordinary parish churches in England, or even in this our London town.

Pastor Dreygerwolt ('pastor' is the name for the parish priest still in those parts) made his notes some time between the year 1521 and his death in 1525; the Anabaptist outbreak, which ravaged Church and land in its mad fury, dates its beginnings, it

[1] A paper read at a meeting of the Guild of SS. Gregory and Luke, January 1893.—Reprinted from the *Downside Review*, March 1893.—The tract on which this paper is based is Fibus (A.) *Die Jakobipfarre in Münster von 1508–1523* (Münster, Regensberg, 1885, pp. xxx, 141).

will be remembered, from 1532. The object of the writer was to put his successors in possession of accurate information as to their income and dues, the foundations, obits, obligations, and, in general, the ritual use and wont of their own particular parish church of St James in Münster. Now St James's was a little parish, of some three hundred souls apparently, lying just under the shadow of the cathedral, and altogether under the patronage of 'the venerable lords of the Chapter'. But even so it is characteristic of the time, and of Catholic life too, that the parish has a 'use' of its own for Divine service; in regard to minutiae only, it is true, but still there is enough proper to it to induce Dreygerwolt to construct a sort of diary of the year for the instruction of his successors; an *Ordinarius* he calls it of what was done *hic*, 'HERE,' that is emphatically, *Iacobi*, 'AT JAMES'S'. For it is to be observed that in this document the patron saint is mentioned in a familiar, not a ceremonious, sanctified fashion, just as in so many Wells wills the patron saint of the cathedral is designated 'Andrew' simply. So it is 'Andrew' in Wells and 'James' in Münster.

The church had three altars, and, besides the pastor, two vicars; these appear to have been stipendiary or chantry priests, each attached to a minor altar; but these vicars make very small figure in the *Ordinarius*, the pastor being *persona* indeed, a veritable corporation sole. It would take too much time, and would be moreover measurelessly dull, to follow him through his yearly course, even in its main features; it will be sufficient to observe what he has to say for the single season of Christmastide. The first note (Advent apart) is sounded pretty early, viz. on the feast of the Conception of the glorious Virgin Mary, when (as on all other feasts of the Blessed Virgin) there was sermon at James's at half-past four. In this nineteenth century in London it may be necessary to observe that this means half-past four in the morning, not the afternoon. After the sermon the first notices were given out of the indulgences of the coming great feast of the Nativity. Thereafter, at 5 of the clock, the mass of the day was sung. In this way all was over by 6 a.m., at which hour on Sundays and feast days there was sermon in the cathedral. James's always made a point of not clashing with the hours and times of its great neighbour, and that not merely out of compliment, but in order to give the parishioners an opportunity of attending also the more solemn offices and occasions in the great church.

'About this date', Dreygerwolt writes, 'we (that is, the parish priests of the city) agree amongst ourselves as to the fast to be observed by the Christmas communicants, settling it according to

the exigencies of the time. They should abstain from flesh meat at least six days before Christmas, and from milk, eggs, and so forth at least three days. Though it used to be always the practice in Münster for them to abstain from meat from St Lucy's day' (13th December).

'Note (he continues): few people come to confession before St Thomas's day (21st December); but about this time the pastor must be in church at five o'clock for hearing confessions. Note, too, on Sunday before Christmas-day give careful notice of the coming feasts, and warn the communicants to keep sober on Christmas-eve, *ne graventur ac indispositi fiant*; also that all who have come to years of discretion offer the customary dues to the pastor. Also on that day he is to read the register of excommunicated persons.' The fact was the pastor of James's had a special difficulty to contend with at this season of the year in a certain 'St Paul's cup', a well-known and highly appreciated Münster institution. Some four centuries earlier a bishop of Münster had given to the chapter a silver cup, and had left funds to keep up a stock of wine to supply all, high and low, rich and poor, with a generous draught from St Paul's cup every Christmas-eve in the cathedral close. The intention was good; but it is easy to see that the foundation could degenerate into an abuse. The pastor, for his share, came in for as much as a quart of good wine, delivered at his door; and it was his habit to set this aside for the communicants on the feast day.[1] But it is certain that not all the wine from Paul's cup was put to so pious a use; and it is no wonder that there was need of the warning to his flock —*sobrii estote*. Yet it must not be supposed that Dreygerwolt was altogether a Puritan, and a mere foe to wassail and good cheer in due time, place, and measure. The fact was that the contents of St Paul's cup was not the only wine that found its way on Christmas-eve to his house. On this day it was the dean's turn to sing as the antiphon of *Magnificat* the last of the great series of Christmas antiphons designated from the initial word 'The antiphons O'. At Münster this was *O virgo virginum*: and as the pastor of St James's took part in the festal song, he received for his perquisite from the Chapter's cellarer a flask of wine, 'and this is for the pastor's table'.

Another notice to be given out on the Sunday before Christmas deserves attention: 'Bid those communicants who do not come to confession here (at James's) to give notice of their intention to communicate, on account of the (number of) hosts (to be consecrated).' It would be interesting to know whether any such practice prevailed

[1] That is, for their 'confirmation' with (unconsecrated) wine after holy communion.

in England. Parish rights and parish duties, of course, were much more strict then than now. As in this case, so elsewhere, many persons would go to confession to the friars, but communicate in their parish church. Of course, as the Blessed Sacrament was reserved for the sick, there was no need to be scrupulously exact in consecrating just the number of hosts required for the communicants. As Dreygerwolt says elsewhere: 'Better consecrate more than is necessary, so that some may remain.'

Christmas-eve was a busy day, what with confessions and other preparations; everything was late, so late to-day in the little church that the pastor has to say his vespers in the evening, as he tells his successors.

But on Christmas night by twelve he is up and on foot again 'at the first peal of the bells'; and he says privately the office of the Blessed Virgin and his preparation for mass. James's and the cathedral ring, and have the offices at the same hour this night, viz. matins begin in both at a quarter to one. The matins were said at a pretty smart pace; the reason being this, that the people—that is, the parishioners of James's—liked to get matins and mass in their own church first, and finish them in time to get to the cathedral for the first mass there. But for all this they still found time to indulge in a little solemnity of local use: it was the practice at James's to sing the *Grates nunc omnes* with special gravity and manifold and alternate repetitions by pastor and by choir, especially of the words *Gloria in excelsis Deo* with which it concludes. All was over by four o'clock, and those who would went over to the cathedral, where matins were just concluded. At James's one of the vicars proceeded at once to say the second, a low mass; the pastor sat hearing confessions of any chance late comers, and at five he began his Christmas-day sermon; 'let it be very short, and just a simple account of the story of the day; and the pastor should say that at twelve o'clock noon to-day vespers will be sung, and should earnestly exhort *all* to flock hither and hear them with all fervour of spirit.' Then there came, amidst the ringing of the bells and with extinguishing of candles, the excommunication of non-communicant witches, and all the godless ones of the parish, those whose names had been read out the Sunday before and still remained impenitent. At half-past five began the third or high mass, sung by the pastor, after which, putting off his chasuble, he gave holy communion. The practice of James's was to sing the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* as a preparation. 'I have had at Christmas sometimes a hundred communicants (says Dreygerwolt), sometimes eighty, more or less. At twelve we sing vespers. *Domini ecclesiae maioris habent pro grato* (the big-wigs of the cathedral take

it kindly) if we get our vespers over before theirs begin. There is censing before the *Venerabile*, and the three altars are censed, and there are two *Magnificats*.' Great doings indeed at James's on such feasts as these, for there was a cope at vespers; the church did not possess one, so the küster, or sexton, used to go and borrow one from the cathedral, which was always ready to lend 'when we need one'; as on Christmas-day, or at Easter, St James's day, or the feast of the Dedication, or such like very high days. The two *Magnificats* were on account of the censing of the altars, and the origin of the practice of repeating the canticle was doubtless to give time for performing such ceremony with dignity and decency. Many members of the Guild may have had occasion to notice the mean effect of the ceremony of censing the altars on a feast of dedication, where they are many. It is true, however, we have no time to lose over mere ceremonial majesty nowadays, even the most leisured amongst us; if, indeed, for many the idea still retains any meaning.

It will have been observed in passing that the pastor of St James's was content to say two masses on Christmas-day, not three.

As the feast of St Paul the Hermit (10th January) was the anniversary of the Dedication, it may be considered as closing, in this little parish, the great festivities of Christmastide. 'On the Sunday before, we announce the Dedication of our church (says Dreygerwolt) and it is a feast like one of the highest; for there we hear and receive things Divine, and there too we shall be buried.' 'And note that on this Sunday the pastor sends a missive to all the parish churches of the town, in this wise: "Honourable Sir,—For the love of God, I earnestly beg you to give notice to your parishioners that the dedication of St James's Church will be kept on the day of St Paul the hermit (that is on Tuesday or Wednesday, &c., as the case may be), and that there will be a sermon in the cathedral hard by after matins." And I send a tip in the shape of coin to every one who is to give out this notice, so that they may not fail herein.'

On this day of the Dedication the masses were celebrated before the Blessed Sacrament exposed in a monstrance placed above the altar. The first mass at St James's was begun a little before five, so as to be over at the same time as matins in the cathedral. 'After matins I always preach in the cathedral up to seven o'clock or nearly, and I tell my küster to bring a candle for me to read out the register of the dead; and I wind up by telling the assembled congregation that they should now go to James's for divine service there.' The second mass in that church immediately followed. 'And if you can secure *discantatores*, those who can sing in harmony, good: but if not, it does not matter, and

it is no harm'—*nihil impedit aut nocet*—which is a sufficient expression of Pastor Dreygerwolt's opinion on a question at times rather burning among us in these days. At half-past eight a low mass, and at half-past nine high mass—*summa missa*—'which I have always been in the habit of singing myself; and it is over by half-past ten, or about eleven, for they sing it very slowly and solemnly. At one time I used to have deacon and sub-deacon for this last mass, but I have now given that up.'

After six hours of almost continuous religious exercise come the secular festivities at home, which Dreygerwolt shall give account of for himself: 'It has been my custom to invite to dine with me this day the three priests helping me, and some of the singers who have shewn themselves most ready with their services. And I give them beer. Also I have sometimes had in the evening some of the maid servants (that is, of the dignitaries of the cathedral close) and the singers; a mixed company; but I find it does not do—*sed nequaquam placet.* Some of these maids say: "He invites me for the sake of a present;" others say, "And why has he not invited *me*?" And the *domini* think that perhaps their servants give me things. Therefore invite none of whom you are not quite sure. For long experience has taught me something, and a good deal more will become clear to those who come after.' The fact is the new doctrines of Luther had already made their way into the cathedral close of Münster, and stately as seemed the edifice of ecclesiastical greatness in the ancient episcopal city, it was just on the eve of a crash and ruin, and the pastor of James's already saw the dangers ahead.

This may suffice to give an idea of the nature of Dreygerwolt's *Ordinarius*, half technical, half gossiping, with a fair admixture of practical business sense in both elements. It is interesting in particular as giving a glimpse of what may be called clerical low life at a much-abused period. What can be more simple than the simplicity and poverty of this little town church? Yet what life there is in all; a robust religious life of its own that maintains itself independently of its great neighbour. And with the poverty there is no carelessness; for the personal religious sense asserts itself in the most artless and unconscious manner. Witness what the writer has to say in regard to the Host destined for exposition on the Dedication feast: 'I consecrate this Host the day before, as perhaps the priest who comes for the occasion to say the first Mass may not have much experience in the way of placing It' (in the monstrance)—*quia forte primissarius non peritus in imponendo*; he might very possibly be one but recently ordained.

It may be well before closing this paper to touch on this matter of exposition of the Blessed Sacrament and on a few other points illustrated by the *Ordinarius*, which often excite our unsatisfied curiosity—as to communion, confession, and so on—about the time of the Reformation. At the council of Cologne of 1452 the papal legate, Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, forbad exposition of the Blessed Sacrament on more than a single day in the year besides Corpus Christi—that is, on the occasion of some need. But this does not necessarily imply an exposition on the altar in our modern sense; it might mean only a procession, for instance. But the text of Dreygerwolt is quite explicit: the host consecrated the day before was exposed (*tenetur*) on the altar during the masses of the feast, and reserved until the next day at least. The same practice was observed by him on the feast of Corpus Christi: 'A Host (he says) is consecrated the day before, so that on the feast *Ecce panis angelorum* may be sung, and that it may be exposed' (*apponatur*). That this exposition in our modern sense during mass was, at least as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, an established practice in northern Germany is fairly certain. I recall a description of the ancient Catholic services written by the burgomaster or head-borough of a town on the Baltic just before the change of religion, which opens with a description of the way in which before high mass on the first Sunday of Advent (if I remember rightly) the Blessed Sacrament was placed in a monstrance held in the hand of a silver statue of the Blessed Virgin which was placed over the high altar; and an inventory dated 1540 of the parish church of Greifenberg, a town of Pomerania, contains a description of just such another statue—a product, all this, it must be allowed, of a somewhat curiously refined devout fancy.[1] With a little trouble

[1] [As the tract from which these details are derived can be in the hands of only a very few persons in this country, I give a translation here of the passage in question; not only is it interesting in itself, but it will give the reader a specimen, just a momentary glimpse, of that type of late mediaeval piety and devotionalism which I have in more than one place insisted on as specifically German.

The town on the Baltic was Stralsund. Our informant writes thus; it is the opening of the tract:

'Of Advent.—First, in Advent, before Christmas, a mass was sung every morning at the stroke of half-past six at the altar in the middle of the choir; a silver Mary image was brought there, about three feet high, with a monstrance in her hand, and therein was a Host. The chaplain who said the mass brought it to the altar from the *ciborium* [i.e. from the *repositorium*, whether Sacrament-house or what not, from which the Host had been taken to be placed in the monstrance described]. Two "monstranten" [evidently a special name; these "monstranten" were in fact the deacon and subdeacon of the mass] went before, each with a burning torch in his hand, and meanwhile the bells were rung. These three wore costly mass vestments of silk shot with gold [or embroidered?: "van siden, golde undt sus thogerichtet"]. Before them went twenty or thirty boys, each with a burning wax candle in his hand, and these lights were placed before the altar which was decked out ("besettet")

doubtless a whole history might be recovered; but it is to Germany, and not to Italy, I think, that we must look for the origins of these particular forms of modern Eucharistic devotion called 'Exposition' and 'Benediction'.

As regards communions at St James's, Münster, the regular communion days during the year were: Christmas; Maundy Thursday, Easter-eve, and Easter-day; Pentecost, the Assumption, and All Saints. As we have seen, the communicants at Christmas were from 80 to 100, more or less; on Holy Thursday, 80 or 90—the young people of the parish especially communicated on that day; on Easter-eve, about 50; on Easter-day, 150; Pentecost and the Assumption, 30 to 40; on All Saints, *aliqui*, some. The absence of communicants on Corpus Christi day seems more singular to us than it would have done to people of that day. Communion was invariably given after the Mass was finished; on Maundy Thursday, after the Blessed Sacrament had been carried to the place of repose and the whole office was over (*et deinde communicant, postquam omnia rite peracta*); in a passage already quoted it is stated that the celebrant divested himself of the chasuble before giving communion. *Veni Sancte Spiritus* was sung immediately before; and, generally, an antiphon of the Blessed Virgin afterwards. As regards confessions, the Easter confessions began regularly on Wednesday: 'The Pastor must be in the church the whole day (says Dreygerwolt) for a great many come to confession; on Thursday, too, a good many come, so it will be well for you to say matins overnight, or at least to get up early in the morning;' and again: 'On Easter Eve read all your office up to vespers in the morning very early, for you will be occupied all the day long in hearing confessions.' But the preparation for Communion days was not only a serious business for the pastor; the communicants addressed themselves to this holy duty with a seriousness which would certainly be dispensed with in the present age. We have already seen the fasting imposed at Christmas; for the Easter communion, the fast of Lent was taken to suffice; on the week before

with two or three hundred lights and [there were lights] also (? "sus") all about in the church. This mass lasted an hour with singing and figuring and playing on the organ and with such a sounding noise ("brasse") as ever you can imagine. . . . The above-described Advent-mass was celebrated up to Christmas Eve; that was the last.'

So our narrator. How many churches in London, except three or four perhaps of the richer sort, could celebrate their *Quarant' ore* with greater bravery to-day? The foregoing passage is drawn from p. 3 of *Franz Wessels, weiland Bürgermeisters der Stadt Stralsund, Schilderung des katholischen Gottesdienstes in Stralsund kurz vor der Kirchenverbesserung*, hrsg. v. D. Ernst Heinrich Zober (Stralsund, C. Löffler, 1837, pp. 28 in 4to). Wessel was born in 1487 and died in 1570. He was a prominent burgher and active in introducing the religious changes in his native town; the tract was written by him in 1550.]

Pentecost communicants ate meat on Sunday and Monday, abstained on Tuesday and Wednesday, and fasted on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. At the Assumption they abstained six days from meat and three days from eggs, milk, &c. 'The pastor, however, may reduce this (he writes) according to the requirements of the time; but this is the ancient custom.' For All Saints the pastor settled the fast according to discretion.

A few words of more general import before closing. When there is no polemical end in view, where there are no Protestant objectors in sight, Catholic writers are apt, at least some of them, to vie with Protestants in the loudness of their lamentations over the terrible state to which the Church was reduced at the period just before the great revival of religious zeal in the sixteenth century. I am inclined to think that we overdo this abasement of soul, and that we have not need to be so greatly ashamed—of our forefathers. True, there were abuses, there were scandals; and if we wish to be sincere and true, Rome, too, in the fifteenth century was both a seat and a source of them. But after the most has been made of unpleasant facts, I think that in Rome and elsewhere there is an amount of good existing in the century before the Protestant revolt which it would in many ways profit us to realize more than we do. The piety then existing, and the devotion, was different in its manifestation from that of our own day. But I doubt whether even in our strong points the advantage lies all with us.

There is another matter I should like just to touch on. We are very fond of attributing the origins of the modern ways of devotion to Italy—'Italian' they are called. But just as so much of the Roman rite in its most imposing and significant manifestations is now recognized as not Roman at all but really Gallican, so I will venture to suggest that much of what is called nowadays Italian in devotion is really German.[1]

[1] [Since this paper was written two or three other documents of the same kind as Dreygerwolt's have been printed. It is useless to attempt any detailed account of them here, and only necessary to say that they all go to confirm, and even to develope, on the same modern lines, the sort of Eucharistic practice and devotion of which Dreygerwolt gives us an idea. I should like to direct attention also to four articles by the Rev. H. Thurston, S.J., entitled 'Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament', in *The Month* for June, July, August, September, 1901. As regards the modern rites of 'Exposition' and 'Benediction', he comes to the same conclusion as that suggested in the text above.]

XXVI

ABBAT STENGEL[1]

It is difficult to see why, after the lapse of two centuries and a half, the *Laudes S. P. N. Benedicti* of abbat Charles Stengel should have been reprinted.[2] It cannot be viewed as a contribution to learning; indeed the title-page declares it to be a skimming of Haeften; whilst the Benedictine Order cannot need any panegyric or apology that Stengel, working at his very best, could possibly supply. I intend to use it therefore here for quite another purpose, and to make it the text of quite a different discourse; and nothing, or next to nothing, more need be said by me about it. As abbat Stengel viewed as a monk and writer is a more than usually favourable specimen of a class of Benedictine scholars before the Maurists set another pattern, I propose to give an account of him, and thus make him serve to indicate the character of the German Benedictinism of his time; and when Stengel has been considered, I intend to add a few words on the contrast afforded by the dominant character and spirit of the German Benedictines for the century and a half after the close of the Thirty Years War to the character and spirit of the French. Charles Stengel was the son of a man who held office in the household of the Fuggers of Augsburg at a time when these ennobled merchant princes passed as equals of the most ancient and powerful subject houses, and were the friends and confidants of ruling sovereigns. The father died young, leaving two boys, of the ages of seven and four. Both boys received their early education with the Jesuits, the younger (George) becoming a member of the Society. The elder (Charles), at the age of twelve, removed in 1593 to the great Benedictine house of SS. Ulrich and Afra, in Augsburg, where he was professed some three years later,

[1] From the *Downside Review*, March 1900.

[2] *Laudes S. P. N. Benedicti, eiusque sanctissimae Regulae et Ordinis, ex Disquisitionibus monasticis R. P. Benedicti Haeffteni, Praepositi Affligemensis concinnatae et in tres libros distributae, per R. P. D. Carolum Stengelium. Aug. Vindel. MDCXLVII. Curis Monasterii S. Benedicti de Urbe iterum editae.* [The present paper, I may explain, arose out of a request by the editor of the *Downside Review* that I should 'review' this reprinted book. Such a task was for me, from the very character and, as I thought, present worthlessness of the *Laudes*, impossible of accomplishment. But I tried to meet the editor's wish in another way, namely by using it as an occasion, or excuse, for the brief paper now reprinted. The beginning and the end have been rewritten.]

soon after completing his fifteenth year. His great desire was to pursue higher studies at a university; but he was prevented by the consensus of the older monks of the day, as he himself tells us when writing down his reminiscences at the age of over seventy; for they held learning in suspicion, he says, and thought that solid studies were not meant for monks. This was in part an interesting result of the Protestant Reformation; but only in part. For in the later Middle Ages there had been a strong current in the German monasteries against learning; the objection was taken for practical reasons. A long and interesting letter on the subject is extant, dated 1473, written by Henry Luer, a secular, parish priest of Dillingen, to the abbat of St Afra's, strongly urging the foundation of a college for Benedictines in some university. He was an intimate friend of the abbat, he could speak plainly, and he does so. 'Sound learning and the knowledge of the Scriptures', he writes, 'require sound teachers. You prelates and your like hate this learning and detest this knowledge; for you fear that if the ark threatens to tumble, some Oza may put forth his hand to keep it steady and set it right. Change your tone, I entreat you, and join no more in the clamour of those who in their scholastic contests cry down studies and the means of pursuing them. Your cry is the cry of fear, but you fear where no fear is. See that whilst you are fearing the frost you are not buried in the snow. I quite admit that prelates can send their subjects to the university and lose them there. But before you advance that objection, look around and see how many you have ruined and lost at home in your monasteries. Be prudent by all means; but do what it is useful to do, and have a little more trust in Almighty God.' The project of a college at a university urged by Luer never came to anything. Still, his exhortations were probably not quite without effect. Perhaps the secularization of Ellwangen not long before, which touched them close at Augsburg, may have helped to make some people alive to the dangers of the policy of *laisser-aller*. At any rate there are some signs of the existence of a different spirit at St Afra's in the next generation, which counted men like W. Wittwer, Clement Sender, and the omniscient Veit Bild, the friend of Peutinger and Pirkheimer. But by Stengel's time things had all crusted over again, old style.

Stengel had no fair chance; but being an able young man he was smartly utilized. Though he did not get his wish, he still continued to say the Magnificat and the four psalms he had vowed daily to recite should he get it. Two of his young companions took the step of a transfer to another order; he remained behind to make the best of things. At the age of twenty-one he was made cantor and master of the school, which took up six full hours of his day; at the same time

he had no exemption from choir duty except prime. And so he went on for the next thirteen years, teaching, as he says, Syntax and Prosody, Cicero and Virgil, Rhetoric and sometimes the elements of Grammar, the Dialectics of Fonseca, and sometimes cases of conscience: 'and I dictated two whole treatises (he adds), one on the sacrifice of the Mass, and the other *de variorum statuum peccatis*.' Between 1603 and 1615 he also wrote seven comedies, theatricals being always much cherished in religious schools. These were in Latin; the subjects were all the life of a saint, except one which was called 'Nemesis: a Satirical Poem', at the representation of which the Most Serene Maximilian Ernest, Archduke of Austria, assisted. From 1607 he had some help in the school, but to make up for it was appointed master of novices, a post he held for four years. He was made sub-prior in 1615, and seven years later, by order of the Bishop of Augsburg after mature deliberation with the Visitors, he was appointed Oeconomus of the house. 'For twenty years', he says, 'I had been occupied only with spiritual things and kept temporal administration at arm's length, and now had to give all those up for this.'

He records three letters which he received from three friends on the occasion. They are characteristic and interesting for their points of view. One was from a private monk of Weingarten on behalf of his brethren there: 'We wish you every success—*omnia felicia et fausta*—and we are all truly sorry for your Reverence.' The next was from an abbat: 'It is a very good thing—*bene factum*—that the bishop has appointed you Oeconomus. Your life, your merits, your doctrine, your diligence, all mark you out for this responsible post. I will call you happy when you shall have found by experience that honours are no burden, nay, anything but trouble and turmoil.' The third was from the well-known Jesuit father, Matthew Rader, the author of *Bavaria Sancta*, and an old friend: 'I see you are on the high road to getting a mitre—*grassari ad infulam*. What else can we expect from your appointment to such a post as Oeconomus? I congratulate your Reverence; and hope by and by, perhaps, to congratulate you still more'; which shews too, by the way, what was this father's view of the use of an abbat.

But the bishop knew very well what he was about in appointing a man engaged so long in purely spiritual concerns to the temporal administration of a great establishment which was the head and heart of something like a feudal princedom. Stengel, it is true, was baulked of the life he had evidently desired; and, distracted by a dozen cares, had been disabled from securing a kind of excellence which of its nature demands concentration of mind and labour. Those whose influence was dominant in the low-lying pool of settled self-complacency

which St Afra's then presented might mar the man's career, but could not quench the zeal of his soul or reduce the activity of his mind to that of their own. Stengel was, in a word, the man of the occasion in his house, the man who 'kept things going', as the saying is, whilst others lost themselves in themselves or simply went to sleep. It is only when we come to look over the correspondence of this monk, of which, happily, some considerable portion for about the years 1606–1622 is still extant, that it is possible to gain an idea of his all-devouring activity. It is almost wholly concerned with literary undertakings, the promotion of sound studies and of that educational formation in which he had not been permitted to share. One is simply amazed to see the extent of his relations and his interests. The fact that the correspondence fails on his appointment as Œconomus is hardly less honourable to him than his previous activity. Of the eight years 1622 to 1630, no record remains. Then comes the realization of Rader's prophecy—a mitre. It was in this wise.

In the ebb and flow of fortune in the Thirty Years War, the Imperial troops recovered both in the north and in the south of Germany the territories of Benedictine monasteries which had been long occupied by Lutherans. In this way Lambspring afterwards came to the English Congregation. Among the monasteries thus recovered was that of Anhausen, about three miles from Ulm. For between seventy and eighty years it had been presided over by a Lutheran abbat, and occupied by a school; and people even at one time talked of 'conventuals' and 'novices' quite in the old way, and choir services were still kept up. It is a mistake to suppose that it was reserved for the aliveness of the nineteenth century and the genius of our own people to discover the virtues and advantages of ecclesiastical 'continuity'. Stengel was postulated by the bishop of Augsburg for the abbey of Anhausen in August, 1629, and again in June, 1630. The Lutheran abbat, a very old man, saw what was coming and left Anhausen on August 20 with his wife and all his household goods; on December 14 Stengel, with five monks for a community, took possession of the bare walls and nothing else; everything—furniture, stock, store, had been utterly cleared out; on the 29th he was blessed in the Jesuit church at Dillingen. Stengel's abbacy extended over the next sixteen years, and is distributed as follows. In the midst of our modern comforts, in our snuggeries sheltered from stress of storm and the blasts that blow rudely abroad, when we are so ready to cry aloud over the fate of us innocent Catholics in this hard, profane and wicked world that will not take us always at our own valuation, it is well to see what those who went before had sometimes to go through, keeping their temper sweet after it all, as Stengel did. He had his first pontifical

function at Anhausen, on January 28, 1631 ; on February 26, 1632, was turned out of the monastery by the Protestant troops, after making it just habitable ; then he became a wanderer, housed by compassionate archbishops, bishops, and abbats, whom in turn, as he notes, he relieved of some of their burdens by pontificating for them : he specifies some two hundred such occasions then and later. After an exile of three years and a half he returns to Anhausen (August 14, 1635) to find everything laid waste and ruined ; after nearly three years spent in putting the house in order, the monastery is sacked by the Protestant troops ; he is obliged to turn out again May 14, 1638, and is stripped on the road in his flight by a company of soldiers. He is back again at Anhausen August 1, 1640, but turned out again by the fortune of war on February 27 following. Then come six years in which he found a temporary resting place where he could, going back to Anhausen just to assert rights of possession whenever the military situation allowed it. At length peace was in sight—the Peace of Westphalia ; and in this prospect he made his final retirement to his old home of St Afra's on February 20, 1647, the now abbat of which was one of his oldest and best friends, Bernard Hertfelder. It was now, in 1647, that Stengel published the *Laudes S. P. N. Benedicti* ; and it is in the light thrown on the author by his fortunes and experiences that this book must be viewed. It was a sort of expression of thankfulness and of a 'renewal of spirit' when at last the weary wanderer, safe again in the old home of his youth, might in peace of soul look forward to the inevitable hour.

Stengel's life was prolonged for a further sixteen years, and these must have been among his happiest days. He was more busy in scribbling than ever, though his books came more and more rarely to the 'honours' of print. Among the rest he then wrote his memoirs ; from which we may glean many curiosities and appreciations : 'Ten times', he says, for instance, 'I took part, by invitation, in the General Corpus Christi Procession in Augsburg, 1645 to 1655, in mitre.'

His last work was to exhibit a 'Crown of Light' (*Corona lucida*) for the glory of St Benedict, in the shape of a list of Benedictine writers. This book was duly approved on November 16, 1661, and he left it ready for the press. His preface begins (at the age of eighty, ever faithful to the first ideals, it is the boy of eighteen who speaks still) : 'Via ad Deum est scientia, quae ad institutionem recte et honeste vivendi pertinet. Per scientiam itur ad disciplinam, per disciplinam itur ad bonitatem, per bonitatem ad beatitudinem. Nam scientia est Deum noscere, virtus colere ; in illo sapientia, in hoc iustitia continetur. Est igitur eruditio amplissima supellex et haereditas principatu maior.' In nineteen chapters Stengel gives his list of Benedictine writers, which

comprises in the first age, among others, Comgall, abbat of Bangor, and Dionysius Exiguus, and Gregory of Tours, and Martin of Braga. The presentment of the second age is wide-reaching and comprehensive as the first, and all is fish that comes to Stengel's net. It was not vainglory in the old man; he could only know and do as he had been taught, or had found means to teach himself.

He passed to a better life little more than twelve months later, on January 26, 1663, just at the time when a true 'Crown of Light' for St Benedict was beginning to attract the attention of the world in the literary labours of the Congregation of St-Maur. What Stengel would well have desired to do they accomplished. It was within a few months of Stengel's death, in July, 1663, that Mabillon was called up to the monastery of St-Denis, and was soon engaged on the Acts of the Benedictine Saints, a monument of piety, which, if it seemed to rob St Benedict of many whom the Wions, the Bucelins, and the Stengels had, in their zeal, enrolled in the Benedictine ranks, yet by its sincerity, simplicity, and truth, and its very rejection of false and legendary fancies, was to give new lustre to the fame of the holy patriarch, as shewing forth that his own spirit of sincerity, simplicity, and truth animated his sons still.

The name and fame of the Maurists are nowadays taken as a matter of course; as though they were a sort of inevitable offshoot from that venerable primaeval tree which, thanks to the powers of repetition of the conventional scribes, we have all learnt to know and recognize: 'Benedictine learning'. It is, as it were, assumed that the Maurist school came into existence like some wild and happy product of nature, nobody knows quite how, and nobody cared; and that it only awaited the advent of the discoverer who should find it, all fresh and blooming, like a modest dew-berry in a dry ditch under the hedge. Few persons realize that the Maurists and their work are a deliberate conception of one of the greatest of Frenchmen, and one of the greatest of statesmen, Cardinal Richelieu. With that power of seeing into the very heart's core of men which differentiates the real ruler from the pinchbeck variety, he recognized in the unpretentious Dom Tarisse the fitting instrument. To this forgotten first general of the Maurists it may be said that all they have done and the spirit in which they did their work are due. The Maurists are no accident; they are the outcome of minds that had the power to conceive a design, the wit to recognize the agents and the means proper for carrying it out, and the patience to bring it to maturity.

Stengel's preface bears witness to a trait of his character none too common among men who have led so busy and chequered a life as his—a kind, unselfish, and grateful heart. The two brothers, Charles

and George, had chosen, or been led into, different paths; but the elder ever followed the younger with a sincere affection and a certain brotherly pride. In one respect they were a pair; each wrote close on a hundred books; most of these were actually printed, and, it is to be hoped, had their day—though few indeed can have come to the honours of a reprint. In the formal dedication of the *Laudes* to two abbats, the ordinarily 'most dear brother George' is this time squeezed in between the prelates under the guise of 'clarissimus Dominus frater meus P. Georgius Stengelius, S.J.' These two abbats, by the way, had both had compassion on Charles, and had taken him in and lodged him in the days of his wanderings. In recounting their titles to his gratitude, he says of one of them, in a style that pictures the simplicity of the man: 'When I was bereft of everything, and meditating a journey home on foot, you pressed upon me three by no means sorry steeds (*tribus non contemnendis equis*), by which notable benefaction you greatly obliged me. For I not merely thus made my journey in comfort, but you were the cause, too, that I was able, when I reached home, by means of these beasts to furnish my house and feed my household.'

It has been mentioned that Stengel's correspondence shews how extended and manifold were his interests. As may be naturally expected, he was deeply concerned in Constantine Cajetan's project of a Benedictine College in Rome, and in the establishment of the Benedictine University of Salzburg. There is evidence of a certain spirit of rivalry between these two institutions, and a certain unpleasantness in their relations, at least from the side of Cajetan and Rome.

It is characteristic of the man that he was able to embrace the interests of both with equal care, and to wish them both well. As a fact the Roman project came to nothing. The Benedictine University of Salzburg was for about a century and a half the one great common contribution of the German Benedictines to the Advancement of Learning. Its writers set themselves to cultivate their distinctively professional pursuits, Theology, Philosophy, Canon Law. How many of the volumes coming from the pens of its professors and alumni are worth the trouble of opening at the present day? The work of the Maurists is still fundamental in branch after branch of learning, sacred and secular. These Maurists found in Germany in the course of the eighteenth century isolated and sporadic imitators: the two brothers Pez and Philibert Hueber at Melk; and there was an abortive attempt at Göttweih; there was prince-abbat Froben Forster at Ratisbon. The solitary case of a sustained effort during the whole century was the abbey of St Blasien in the Black Forest. But it may be truly said of the German Benedictines as a body, with

their numerous and immensely wealthy monasteries, all the revenues of which were in their own hands (for few, I think none, of them fell into *commendam*), some of them ruling veritable principalities, that the spirit stigmatized by the priest Henry Luer in 1473 but too faithfully represents the spirit prevailing in the dominant circles of the order until all went under in the storms consequent on the French Revolution. That this was so, the bootless efforts of Legipontius to excite the abbats to some common effort for the advancement at all events of sacred learning, in branches other than those purely professional, are sufficient evidence.

It must not be supposed that in these great houses the communities simply went to sleep, or were allowed to fall into laxity and non-observance, or that in spirit they were secularized. Their output in ascetical books, all consistently mediocre, is indeed remarkable. They rebuilt their houses and churches on a princely scale; as witness the monasteries still existing in Austria, or so many stupendous palaces in Northern and Southern Germany now in the hands of the greatest nobles; or in Swabia such churches as those of Weingarten, Wiblingen and Zwiefalten.[1] It is not that they were not in possession of extensive libraries, housed in some cases in much splendour, and supplemented by cabinets of minerals, &c., &c., very complete. But what came out of it all?[2] The modern and secular mind is apt to ask itself whether this literary department was not just part and parcel of the 'greatness' befitting 'our house': in a word, an item of the *vanitas vanitatum*. Everywhere there is sign and token of a real appreciation or even love of pontificality,[3] of the abbatical show on the Prälatenbank in the assembly of secular magnates in the various circles of the

[1] An interesting account of a journey through the great Swabian monasteries in the latest decades of the eighteenth century was written by Fr Nepomuk Hauntinger, librarian of St Gallen. It is printed by Dom G. Meier, librarian of Einsiedeln, in the tract entitled *Süddeutsche Klöster vor hundert Jahren*, Köln, 1889.

[2] The literary journeys of the Protestant G. W. Zapf chiefly through the monasteries of Southern Germany and Switzerland shew that an interest in historical matters and activity in researches among the local archives existed in most houses; but it was the case of the interest of individuals employing their leisure hours; and all formed no element of the life or interests of the communities. Nothing substantial could come from this sort of work. How different the case of the Maurists! in the very last years of the Congregation, in accordance with the request of the Civil Power, they undertook and added to all their other labours to bear a great share in the managing and executing the vast scheme of a real *Trésor des Chartes*, in which copies of every important ancient document, scattered in local repositories throughout France, should be copied or preserved in the truly National Archives in Paris. See a brief notice towards the end of the Introduction to Chateaubriand's *Études historiques*. He doubtless knew of the details of the matter from contemporary officials connected with the scheme. The ministerial circulars and the correspondence, &c., relating to the project are now printed in vol. ii of *Le Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1886.

[3] This tendency, or rather settled state of mind, is ingenuously betrayed by Stengel, p. 459 above.

Empire; combined pontification and piety, that seems to sum up the situation.

When shall we get some sketch of the general history of the Benedictines up to the present day in the manageable space of two or three octavo volumes? But then it would have to be a sketch giving a *rational* appreciation of what they have done, what also they attempted but failed to do. Not merely so, but a modest account would have also to be taken of those who, busy with their own satisfaction, neither succeeded nor failed, being in the spirit of what Newman calls a 'meritorious innocence, resolute cheerfulness and strenuous tranquillity', secure of a safe provision for life. Such an account of the long history and manifold work of the Benedictines in the world can be written only by one, or by those, possessing a keen sense not merely of the contrast afforded by the Benedictines of different ages, but also of the contemporaneous contrasts afforded, as well in mediaeval as in modern times, by differing kinds of Benedictine work or ideal as developed among the different races and peoples of Western Europe. It would be a chequered picture, but it would be an instructive, and on the whole a really encouraging one—I mean to ordinary people living out in the work-a-day world—if not always satisfying self-esteem and self-complacency. Still I am apt to think the Benedictine Order can well bear such make-weights—much better indeed than any of the other great Religious Orders. The reason doubtless lies in the fact that the Benedictines have never been wedded to 'one good custom', which, we have been told, is in human societies, 'corrupting'; and in their readiness to make 'new beginnings', as Cardinal Newman says.[1] This passage of Cardinal Newman's appreciation of the Benedictines has become classical; there is no need to repeat it here, only to emphasize its importance as a key to the due understanding of their history.

[1] *Historical Sketches* vol. iii p. 388 (London, Pickering, 1873); compare also ibid. p. 426 sqq.

XXVII

RICHELIEU AND THE BENEDICTINES[1]

THE volume of Dom Audebert's Memoirs,[2] from whatever point of view it be regarded, is by far the most important of those which have yet appeared in the series entitled *Archives de la France monastique*; if indeed, from the questions which it raises no less than the information it supplies, it be not the most notable publication on the subject of specifically Benedictine history that has appeared for many a long day. A brief notice of the author's life, explaining the circumstances in which these *Mémoires* had their origin, will perhaps best convey an idea of their particular value to those who would wish to understand the history and fortunes of Benedictine monachism in the period subsequent to the Council of Trent.

Dom Audebert's career may be summed up as follows: He was born in 1600, at Bellac, in the Haute-Marche—'contrée aux paysages austères, nourricière de natures positives et fortement trempées' (preface, p. vi). 'The future Maurist', continues his editor, 'ever preserved' (his *Memoirs* give us assurance of it) 'traces of these influences of the natal soil' (pp. vi–vii). He was educated by the Jesuits, the only good teachers in France at that time. At the age of twenty he was professed in the Order of St Benedict; the discipline and observance of his time of novitiate were those of the Lorraine Congregation of Saint-Vannes, founded by Dom Didier de la Cour: his obedience, however, was vowed to the superiors of the then very restricted and still obscure group of men out of which was eventually to develope the Maurist Congregation. Already in the year 1628 he began with St-Laumer at Blois a series of priorships; this position, in those days of commendatory abbats, meant real and independent headship in the house. In 1642 he became Prior of St-Denis, an appointment which, as the editor says, brought him near 'the centre of government of the Congregation';—that is Saint-Germain-des-Prés

[1] From the *Downside Review*, December 1911.

[2] *Les Mémoires du R. P. Dom Bernard Audebert estant Prieur de St-Denis et depuis Assistant du R. P. Général*, publiés par le R. P. Dom Léon Guilloreau. Paris, Jouve et Cie, 1911 (*Archives de la France monastique*, Vol. X). The foot-notes as to the various French Benedictine Congregations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are added by a friend.

(united to the Congregation in 1631), which the Superior-General, Dom Tarisse, took as his place of residence. 'In 1648 he makes another step ahead, and becomes, at the general chapter held in May, second assistant of the Rev. Father General; he remains at this post from 1648 to 1654, and vacates it only to take in hand the government of the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés' (i. e. to become prior of that house). 'At last, in 1660, he was called to the generalate in place of the Rev. Father Jean Harel' (p. viii); he resigned on account of infirmities in 1672, and died three years later.

The *Mémoires* cover the years 1642–1654. The years 1642–1644 are dismissed in sixteen pages; the next three years and a half, up to the general chapter held in the summer of 1648, in eighty. In this chapter the aged Superior-General Dom Tarisse, who was too ill to attend it, carried through his demand for release from office. From this point the record seems, in many respects, as if intended for the writer's own private use and memory of the current business brought before the Régime of the Congregation (that is, the Superior-General and his assistants) and of the determinations taken; with explanations and details of a wholly private character bearing on persons or probable motives in concerns of the most private administrative nature. It was evidently never intended for publication, and there are indications that when written it was never reviewed even for perusal within the circles immediately concerned. So far as the present paper is concerned, it is not proposed to enter on any of these details of the main record. What I wish to say arises out of the very brief notice of the years 1642–1644, sixteen pages in all, dealing with events previous to Dom Audebert's real *entrée en matière*.

Dom Audebert, as the editor says (p. vi), begins to draw up the record now published on the very morrow of the death of Richelieu. Indeed this is the seemingly rather curious beginning: '*Ad Dei gloriam* 1642. M^r^ Le Card^l^ Duc de Richelieu mourut à Paris en son palays royal sur le midy, le 4^me^ décembre 1642.' The second sentence is hardly less significant: 'Par sa mort plusieurs abbayes vacquèrent, et surtout trois qui sont chefs-d'ordre, a scavoir: celles de Cluny, de Cisteaux et de Prémonstré' (p. 1). The editor in his first note to the book enumerates the sixteen other abbeys—most, if not all, Benedictine—which the Cardinal held *in commendam*; adding 'cette énumération est assez éloquente par elle-même et dispense de tout commentaire' (p. 1, n. 1). This summary judgement raises in me doubts: and first of all whether this accumulation of abbeys—great abbeys with three *chefs d'ordre*—in the hands of the all-powerful minister does not demand a serious and well-considered 'commentary', in which the various and quite different sides of the subject should be

brought into prominence and set in a clear light. This is a task altogether beyond me; what I desire to do is something much more simple. In this brief and sketchy paper I propose to do no more than attempt to bring out clearly—and, if I can, prominently—before the minds of those who feel any interest in the history of modern monachism a simple question. It is this: What does that Congregation of Saint-Maur, which since his day has made a great name in the world of religion and learning, and what, through the Congregation of Saint-Maur, does the whole monastic order, owe to Richelieu? does it owe something or nothing? and if something, what precisely is that something? There is another, at once a more cumbersome and more restricted, way of putting the question, which I will not pretermit. Thus: What, if anything, do we owe to Richelieu as the agent in bringing about that condition of things which rendered both possible and likely the fruitful activity of the Maurists in the departments of patristics and history, to which the modern schools are so greatly indebted, without which indeed they might perhaps never have been?

It may be proper first of all to explain that the question put above was one which I put to myself some fourteen or fifteen years ago. I then took for a start in the enquiry G. Fagniez's *Histoire du Père Joseph*, but kept always in mind ideas and notions to be found in the little book that passes under the name of Richelieu's *Testament politique*. Starting thus I tried with the materials then at disposal to answer the question as nearly as I could to my own satisfaction. Since that date the matter has been dismissed from my mind; but Dom Guilloreau's publication has brought back to me again a sense of its primary importance for the due appreciation of modern monastic history.

It is sometimes convenient to approach a larger subject from a very narrow side of it. This I think may very well be so in the present case. I begin, then, as years ago, by asking how it came about, when there was question of reforming the ancient, and it may be almost said regal, order of Fontevrault, that Père Joseph in 1612 or 1613 turned to English monks as the most suitable instruments for the purpose. The question of this reform was indeed one with which Richelieu also had been concerned; and so far as my imperfect knowledge goes, it was the first occasion on which he found himself engaged (so early as 1610, when he had been three years a bishop) in the thorny path of the reform of ancient and well established religious orders. Fontevrault, it is to be remembered, was a foundation of a special character; the whole body, monks as well as nuns, was under the obedience and jurisdiction of the abbess of the head house; its abbesses were, quite commonly, sisters and cousins and aunts of kings. From the fifteenth century a sort of intermittent process of what is called 'reform' had

been going on in this order. A further reform according to the most modern ideas had been before the mind of the venerable abbess, Éléonore de Bourbon, aunt of Henry IV; she had during her long rule brought the house to a state of temporal prosperity and to good repute for piety and observance. She saw there was more, much more, to be done, especially in regard to the monks; but the task must fall to younger hands. She was content to prepare the way; first by obtaining as coadjutrix with right of succession her niece, Antoinette d'Orléans; next by appointing in 1609 Louise de Bourbon de Lavedan to the office of grand prioress, and future right hand of her designated successor. Moreover, whether with the same future in view we need not inquire, by her influence she carried through, against all opposition, the establishment of a Capuchin convent at Saumur, within a few miles of Fontevrault, thus obtaining the possibility of a discreet and efficient counsellor close at hand in Père Joseph, a man certainly likely not to make the least of his opportunities. No sooner was the aged abbess dead than Antoinette d'Orléans declared a long-cherished intention, namely, to refuse succession to the abbacy and to retire to an obscure and remote priory of the order and live in peace. It is in these circumstances that Richelieu comes on the scene. The abbess Éléonore died on March 26, 1611; within a month the bishop of Luçon was on his way to Fontevrault with a letter from Mary de Médicis, widow of the murdered Henry IV, now Queen Mother and Regent, which in effect informed the community that they were to do what the Court wished, and that this bishop Richelieu of Luçon was to be understood as master of the situation. He presided at the election, and Louise de Bourbon de Lavedan left the chapter-room as abbess. Richelieu left the monastery at once to give an account of the acquittance of his charge. The formalities in the case of such a personage as an abbess of Fontevrault took time, for many documents that cost much money had to be obtained. Louise de Bourbon took formal possession of her abbey on January 24, 1612, and on July 29 following she was blessed—as practically she had been elected—by Richelieu.

Was Père Joseph (a man always busy in many concerns) all this time forgetting Fontevrault? Had he no mind for, had he no hand in, all that was going on there? I do not know, and those may believe in his indifference who can. At any rate, things clear at once as soon as Madame de Lavedan is abbess in title and fact, and it is Père Joseph who appears as her right-hand man in promoting the object first to be compassed, the reform of the monks of Fontevrault. As for Père Joseph, he had his hand already upon the man, the monk, to initiate the work, Augustine White, or Bradshaw, who, relieved of

his vicarship of the English monks of Spanish profession, was now free.[1]

And again the question arises, Why was a foreigner, and that foreigner an Englishman of Spanish connexions above all, chosen for so delicate a work in a community, an order, so eminently national and French? There must have been those who thought in their heart the thought expressed of old: 'Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel, that we may wash in them and be made clean?' Dom Guilloreau's volume—that is, the first sixteen pages of it—gives extraordinary point to such a question, so many are the 'reformed' and other Benedictine congregations that pass before our eyes in confusing variety. To say nothing of Cluny, was there not Dom Didier de la Cour's Congregation of Saint-Vannes,[2] of Lorraine, of quite recent institution, it is true, but already of repute? Was there not also, across the northern frontier of France and in the territories of the King of Spain, the older Congregation of the Exempts,[3] few as regards the number of houses, but mighty abbeys all, and one certainly—St-Vedast, the mightiest of them—of high reputation for regularity, piety and observance? Then in France itself the newer Congregation of the Exempts,[4] which Dom Audebert calls, as if *par excellence*, the 'Congrégation Gallicane' (p. 8), with its general, its general chapter, and its several provinces. There was the reform of Chezal-Benoît,[5] the most ancient in date, still

[1] See *Downside Review* vol. v (1886) pp. 51–57, 'Archbishop Giffard and the Reform of Fontevrault.'

[2] This congregation was canonically erected in 1604, though the first professions took place four years earlier; it numbered about fifty monasteries, of which all but one were aggregated by 1672, and lasted till the French Revolution. Dom Besse, Introductory volume to the re-edition of Dom Beaunier, pp. 80–89.

[3] The abbats of St-Vedast, St-Bertin, and St-Peter at Ghent projected this union in 1504; the statutes were approved by Gregory XIII in 1575. The few abbeys which formed the congregation were themselves so great that it passed almost unperceived. The union was dissolved during the reign of Louis XV; and the abbeys of St-Vedast and St-Bertin were aggregated to Cluny in 1778. Op. cit. pp. 50–53.

[4] In 1579 the Estates General ordered that all exempt monasteries of the kingdom should unite to form a congregation, under penalty of submitting to episcopal jurisdiction. There were fifty-five monasteries divided into five Provinces belonging to the Exempts of France, but their union was artificial and lifeless, and a great number were gradually absorbed by the Maurists. In 1770 the eleven monasteries remaining in this congregation, with their sixty-eight religious and a united income of 66,204 livres, were suppressed by the Commission of Regulars. Op. cit. pp. 53–57, and Lecestre *Abbayes . . . d'hommes en France*; *Liste générale d'après les papiers de la Commission des Réguliers en 1768* (Paris, 1902).

[5] A reform begun somewhat on the model of that of Saint-Justina of Padua by the abbat of Chezal-Benoît, in the diocese of Bourges, in 1488; the congregation was formed in 1505, and 'might have been able to undertake, with every chance of success, the reform of the Benedictine monasteries of the Kingdom, if the application of the concordat of Francis I and Leo X had not raised insurmountable obstacles.' Besse, op. cit. p. 63. The five principal abbeys retained their exemption from commendam and their triennial abbats even after the absorption of the congregation

struggling on. There was the quite recent but already widely extending Congregation of Saint-Denis,[1] begun in 1607 only, counting among its members ancient and famous houses, like Corbie near Amiens in the north, St-Laumer of Blois in the west, and Moutier-en-Der in the east. And, lastly, there was the Congregation of Brittany.[2]

Why, I repeat, did Père Joseph turn to the Spanish-English monks? I should, with due submission to better judgement, be disposed to see the explanation of Père Joseph's choice of the Englishman in this, that at this time, 1610–1615, whilst the lustre of the Italian Congregation of Saint-Justina of Padua (or 'Cassinese' Congregation) was dimmed, it was the Spanish Benedictine Congregation which enjoyed the best repute for solid observance and for the good training, both mental and monastic, of its members, and which could, on the whole, best be relied on both for discretion and thoroughness, whilst (differing herein from some French Congregations) they applied themselves in some measure to various kinds of public religious work useful to their neighbours. All this, be it said by the way, is evidenced, I think, by the general story of the Spanish-English monks at large, who, by and by constituting the bulk of the restored English Congregation, had received their early training and formation in Spain. In none of the reformed congregations of France did the keen eye of Père Joseph discern—and this I conceive to be the explanation of his action at Fontevrault—the kind of spirit required for a new attempt at reform. And this notion seems to me confirmed by the consideration that, although evidently gifted and certainly zealous, Fr Augustine Bradshaw was not endowed in any marked degree (as was Fr Gabriel Giffard, an English monk of Spanish profession also, who as 'Grand Visitor' appeared on the scene at Fontevrault a few years later) with those special qualities which give decisive weight in action. Therefore it was not Father Augustine's distinctively personal qualifications which induced Père Joseph to select him.

And now we may pass to the larger question: Richelieu's deserts in regard to the Benedictines. As a fact, in none of the existing 'reformed' congregations of France and the conterminous regions mentioned above did Richelieu and his *alter ego*, Père Joseph, even-

by that of Saint-Maur brought about by Richelieu, who became abbat of Chezal-Benoît in 1634. Besse, op. cit. pp. 62–71.

[1] 'This congregation had an ephemeral existence, and has no history.' It was not a serious reform, but originated with the dislike of the monks of St-Denis to having their famous house an ordinary member of the Exempts of France. Besse, op. cit. pp. 60–61.

[2] The first Superior of the Société de Bretagne was Dom Noel Mars († 1611), who with the earliest monks of this reform was a monk of Marmoutier, dissatisfied with the observance of the Exempts. Their first house was the priory of Lehon in Brittany. The Society was united to the Maurists in 1628.

tually find a proper instrument or nucleus for effecting the object he aimed at, namely the grouping together of the whole body of French Benedictines in one reformed congregation which should be *the* Benedictine congregation of France.

Before coming to Richelieu and the Benedictines it will be useful to glance just for a moment at Richelieu as abbat of Cîteaux, and as abbat of Prémontré, those other great *chefs-d'ordre* of which, in his later years, he made himself master along with his old possession, the still greater Cluny. First for Cîteaux. The worthy abbat, Pierre Nivelle, resigned in 1635 to become bishop of Luçon, in place of Richelieu's immediate successor there, Aiméri de Braguelonne, who now resigned the see. According to his own wish Richelieu was, on November 19, 1635, elected abbat of Cîteaux. He took possession on January 15, 1636. All that really concerns us and matters here in regard to his abbacy is expressed in two or three lines of the very brief account in the *Gallia Christiana*. There are two items: (*a*) he was never confirmed by the Apostolic See owing to the opposition of the abbats of foreign countries; (*b*) on his accession Cîteaux was put under the control of the fathers of the Strict Observance and so remained during the time of his rule, but after his death it reverted at once to its former 'Mitigated Observance'. This settled for good and all the further fate of the Cistercian order with Cîteaux as its head.

As regards Prémontré, abbat Pierre Cosset died on August 12, 1635, at the age of eighty. Already, on February 28 of the same year, a communication had been sent from the king forbidding, on the near occasion of the abbat's death, any precipitate election of a successor; leave to elect was issued on December 21; the election was held on December 23, and Richelieu was abbat. Some four- or five-and-twenty canons of the house had, however, been beforehand that day and astutely chosen Pierre Desbans, Vicar-General of the Reformed Fathers of Pont-à-Mousson, who, however, by a letter from Reims dated December 25, begged these canons to desist from their enterprise, and refused, as far as he himself was concerned, to have anything to do with it. His electors abused him for his pains, but proceeded with their scheme and appealed to Cardinal Spada, the protector of the order, in Rome; but he too declined to have anything to do with such a dangerous business. And here again the Pope refused the Bulls, and the foreign abbats refused to acknowledge the new abbat's jurisdiction; accordingly, as the Prémontré annalist says, 'the imperious vice-king' reduced only the French ones to his obedience. It remains to add that Richelieu's chief supporter, and perhaps the actual manager in the business of his election, was Nicholas Le Saige, abbat of St-Martin at Laon, a man successful in restoring

the temporal affairs of his house and maintaining it in a state of order and discipline.

I submit that it was not greed, covetousness, or the love of money that determined Richelieu, now in an advanced period of life, when he knew that his time could not be long, to make himself master of these two great houses, heads of orders; but that the reasons for his action are to be found elsewhere. They are not hard, I think, to discover, but it is no business of mine to discourse on that subject. One point more alone concerns us here, namely that he did not mix himself up with the affairs of Prémontré and Cîteaux until some five-and-twenty years after he had come personally into contact with the question of Benedictine 'reform', and several years after he had personally and actively interested himself in that matter.

If any one were to suggest that a great and united Benedictine congregation appeared to his mind, appealed to him, as an item, a worthy item, in that great conception of his, the creation of a compact, self-contained, powerful France, I at least should not know, in view of the circumstances of the case, how to say nay to the proposition.

And what line had Richelieu taken in regard to the Benedictines up to the time when he laid hands on Cîteaux and Prémontré? We may start from the fact that, as early as the year 1622, he had had himself nominated coadjutor to the then regular abbat of Cluny; and subsequent events are, I think, calculated strongly to persuade us that the line he intended to pursue, the object he had in view, and the general scheme he intended to bring into effect, were already clear in his mind. Experience had shewn (for evidence of this he had only to look around) that the existing 'reforms' and new congregations, when put to the test, were no more than ineffectual essays, though all were valuable, doubtless, as a manifestation of abounding good-will of sorts in many quarters. Among all these, Cluny, though as a spiritual force but a shadow of its old self, was still a name to conjure with; and even for its present glory of magnificence, its incomparable buildings, its unrivalled church, its treasury, its great revenues and special dignity, it suggested itself naturally as a *chef-d'ordre* around which the Benedictines of France of any and every existing congregation might easily, and even naturally, group themselves. That this was his mind is a simple inference from the fact that after he became actual abbat of Cluny in 1629 by the cession of the regular abbat, Dom Jacques d'Arbouze, and had already undertaken its reform, Richelieu in 1634 made provision, confirmed by royal letters, that the next election to the abbacy of Cluny should be by the monks, and that in their choice of an abbat they should be restricted to a person already professed of

Cluny or of the Congregation of Saint-Maur. In other words, the provision of Cluny for himself was designed with a higher and better intention than self-endowment with its great abbatial revenues. In prosecuting the work of Benedictine reform Richelieu, as abbat of Cluny, made, at all events, two mistakes. The first was that he did not resign during his lifetime and thus himself see a monk duly elected as his successor. But as we look at the Congregation of Saint-Maur and its development, so unpretentious in its spirit, yet so fruitful in good work, so solid and steady in its undertakings, and withal, as shewn even by its buildings up to the time of the Revolution, impressing on its works the mark of simplicity, nobility, and greatness, we are inclined to say to ourselves 'O felix culpa!'

Richelieu's second mistake was due to his quality as a statesman sole, supreme in affairs, and accustomed to have his orders, as it were, mechanically obeyed. At Cluny, become abbat, he at once abolished old customs and traditions; 'breviary, ceremonies, constitutions, habit, all was reduced to the fashion of the Congregation of Saint-Vannes' (Dom Guilloreau, p. 2, note). Later on, with the wisdom that allows itself to be taught by experience, he confessed to himself his very natural blunders: 'It would be better', he said, 'to establish moderate reforms, in the observation of which both body and mind may rest in some measure at ease, rather than to undertake austere ones, the rigour of which even minds that are strong, and bodies that are robust, find difficulty in supporting.' There was another fact he came to learn, a feature of the case he had not duly reckoned with. Cluny, as it came to his hands, was indeed a stupendous relic of a great and once glorious past; but now it was no more than a solid, stolid monument of that past; it was an institution irreformable, that must go its own way unhindered. Turning from the Congregation of Saint-Vannes, Richelieu made a second essay in giving life to Cluny by uniting it (1634) to the Congregation of Saint-Maur, still a small body, but growing and zealous; but this measure, too, had little success, whilst it proved the cause of much and continual trouble. Richelieu was a man of too much experience of men and things and the ways of the world to hope that what he as the all-powerful minister could not effect, others could accomplish, and perhaps that is why he died abbat of Cluny, thinking that it and its revenues were as well and conveniently placed in his own hands as in those of any one else. He could not be mistaken as to the meaning of what was taking place, as regards his cherished plan of a Gallican congregation of Benedictines; the order of Cluny practically refused reform, and it must have been clear in his eyes that the future possibility of a great Benedictine congregation of France rested with the now growing Congregation of Saint-Maur alone,

which from the humblest beginnings was, piecemeal but rapidly, incorporating into itself the earlier reformed congregations that had hitherto proved so impotent. Measures—so experience in monastic affairs of all sorts must have taught him but too well—prove little more than the expression of ineffective desires without the proper men; or, in a case like the present, the man of the situation. It was in the ranks of the Maurists, and of the Maurists only, that he found and recognized the monk, the man, who embodied in himself, and could impress on others, directly or indirectly, the religious and specifically the Benedictine spirit demanded by the occasion. All that Richelieu could do was to bring about, or at least facilitate, the conditions in which the monastic life could be renewed, in a form suited to the requirements of his time and country as he, the great statesman, conceived them; in a word, to help the monks, and the ancient religious orders in general, effectively to help themselves. What he seems to have had specially at heart in this department of his general policy was the welfare and utility of the Benedictines. His share, I may say his merit, was to conceive a great idea in their regard, and use his power and influence, and engage his interest, in minor matters[1] as well as in weightier affairs, to bring it into effect. To others must be left the actual work of carrying out and realizing this idea in the monastic life itself; and in a way and form (for this was an essential part of his conception) which might profit the State also, so that these monks, living in the peace of the cloister, and remote from the great currents alike of public life and ecclesiastical activities, should still contribute to the greatness, the honour, the name, and the fame of France.

With Richelieu, so far as the Benedictines were concerned, everything depended on finding his man, the man of the occasion. In this he was more than fortunate, he was happy; for the providential man was there ready at his hand in Dom Grégoire Tarisse. At present I know no book, no place, where we can find an adequate and competent account of this monk. If we are to understand what he was, and duly appreciate what he could do, and what he actually effected, we must attentively follow him in all the varied phases of his career—in the well-nigh fifty years he spent in the world, when every recorded detail seems of significance for the future, as well as in the twenty-five he spent in the cloister as monk, and nearly all the time Superior-General of the Congregation of Saint-Maur. In those first two-thirds of his life we can see how he came to be the sort of man whom a Richelieu could deal with in practical affairs of 'reform', and on whom he could rely competently to deal with others. We must (so I venture to think) view Tarisse personally as a psychological study if we are to under-

[1] See an instance in Dom Audebert, pp. 216–217.

stand how and why, among, as it were, the seething possibilities of Benedictine 'reform' in France during the early decades of the seventeenth century, the net result—at all events the only result which really corresponded to Richelieu's ideas and design—was the Congregation of Saint-Maur. And here, for a due estimation of realities, the comparative method must also come into play. What is the reason, the secret, of the difference, the striking contrast, shewn during all the seventeenth century between the Congregation of Saint-Maur and the Congregation of Saint-Vannes, of which Saint-Maur is the offspring, the special daughter, to which it owes the very breath of its life, its intimate religious spirit? The Congregation of Saint-Vannes existed, and doubtless flourished, much to the profit of its members; but is it too much to say that in the seventeenth century it remains historically and, so far as the world at large is concerned, a respectable nullity? Nothing can be more imperfect and unsatisfactory at present than the materials available—to the common world of inquirers at all events—for the life and activities of Dom Tarisse. Yet, so it seems to me, enough exists to shew, every detail goes to evince, that the explanation of this sharp distinction, this crying contrast, between Saint-Vannes and Saint-Maur, resides in the presence, the activity, the character specially of this one man. During the eighteen years (1630–1648) of his government, the whole work of constituting the Maurist Congregation, of forming its spirit, of settling the line and determining the character of its future activities, was achieved. If the Congregation of Saint-Maur has won for itself an undying name and secures still to-day from even adversaries, religious and non-religious alike, respect and even admiration, if it is still the brightest chapter in modern monastic history, this, so I venture to think, is because it remained in the nearly two centuries of its existence, often in the most trying and most difficult circumstances, substantially what Dom Tarisse, as Superior-General, meant it to be, and made it.

There is one point which I must endeavour to drive home. The Congregation of Saint-Maur, if its history is to be really understood, needs to be looked at—there are some passages in Dom Guilloreau's preface and notes which bring this home to me afresh and with force—from the point of view of the Commonwealth, not as a *question de clocher*; not as an institution of concern merely for monks and their cloisters, but one in regard to which 'the world' and the man of the world have something to say. Richelieu's relations with the Order of St Benedict when fairly looked into, and with full knowledge of details, will prove, if I mistake not, perhaps the highest tribute paid to the genius of the Benedictine order in modern times; and the history of the Maurists a speaking and indubitable

testimony to the sureness of instinct and correctness of judgement of the great statesman who stands in history as the maker of modern France.[1]

It is easy enough, I know, to ask others to perform lengthy and laborious and thankless tasks; and yet I cannot forbear, before closing this paper, from making such a suggestion. It is true that the directors of the *Archives de la France monastique* have, in works begun, a weighty programme already marked out. Even the new *Dom Beaunier*,[2] in which we have for the first time a *Notitia monastica Galliae* that seems likely to prove a model for this type of work, of itself is calculated to absorb in great measure the activities available. It is recent monastic history, the story of the Benedictines in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that remains almost neglected, whilst in interest and instruction it is second only to that period, closing with the eleventh, which Newman has called 'the Benedictine Centuries'. Of precise and authentic information and accurate know-

[1] [Some twelve months after this paper was printed, there appeared, with a preface by M. Gabriel Hanotaux embodying a *plaidoyer* that has nothing to do with the matter in hand, a volume entitled *Le Cardinal de Richelieu et la Réforme des Monastères Bénédictins* by Dom Paul Denis (Paris, Champion, 1913). It was, I must own, a subject of lively satisfaction to me to see that, from the scanty and scattered items of information then available, I had justly divined the true story which has been so long ignored, or rather so steadily misrepresented. To put the matter in the words of Dom Denis—an entire stranger to me—in the letter, dated 12 July 1912, which he wrote me on the communication to him by a common friend of this paper: 'Vous me permettrez de vous féliciter sur la merveilleuse intuition avec laquelle vous avez signalé l'importance du problème pour l'histoire monastique des temps modernes. Et je me flatte de l'espoir que vous trouverez des réponses satisfaisantes dans l'ouvrage que je publie en ce moment.' Dom Denis's book is to my mind an entirely satisfactory answer. It is greatly to be desired that Dom Denis will be able to execute the projected series of monographs (*Mazarin et les Bénédictins*, &c., &c.) which is so well inaugurated by his volume on Richelieu. If any reader should feel interested in knowing a little further what sort of man was Dom Tarisse, I would suggest his reading Dom Tassin's short account of the fifty years before Tarisse became a monk (*Hist. littéraire de la Congr. de Saint-Maur* pp. 37–47), and for some idea how and why, though a person of but very moderate literary education and training, he is the true and real founder of the literary glory of the Congregation of Saint-Maur, pp. 59–62 of vol. ii of the late M. Léopold Delisle's *Cabinet des Manuscrits*. It is significant that when the two men met, Richelieu felt at once that he now had the man he wanted (see Dom Denis, p. 104).]

[2] *Recueil historique des Archevêchés, Évêchés, Abbayes et Prieurés de France par Dom Beaunier. Nouvelle édition, revue et complétée par les Bénédictins de Ligugé*, Paris, 1906–1911. An introductory volume and four others have appeared so far. Since vol. ii, Dom Besse's name appears on the title-page, for, as he himself says, 'The *Recueil* of Dom Beaunier forms but a very small part of the present work'. The original *Recueil* published in Paris in 1726 is in two volumes, quarto; the four volumes of the new edition (excluding the Introductory volume, which is entirely new) represent less than the first volume of the old. The introductory volume gives a series of most useful historical sketches, with extended bibliographies of the various Congregations of the Benedictine and Augustinian orders in France together with the derivatory orders, Grammont and the Carthusians.

ledge we have excessively little. The present volume, so competently edited, gives us, as it were, a view into a new—because a true—world; it is, of course, a 'dull book' also, but a source of real knowledge is offered to us here, and out of its bare statements of often-reiterated matter of fact we can get real insight into a story of the past which in itself is certainly not 'dull', whatever else it be, and of which hitherto we have hardly been able to get so much as a glimpse. It may be said to be all new vision.

As the matter stands there is an imperative call for yet further information and more light. Is it not possible—will it not be possible at a not-too-distant date—for the directors of the *Archives* to give to the world a complete body of materials for the history of the Maurist Congregation during the period of Dom Tarisse's superiority; embodying not only a full collection of documents, some printed *in extenso*, others in summary form, but also the relative portions of the works of Dom Mège and Dom Martene, and any biographical material extant; in a word a *corpus* such as would present an exhaustive record of the administration of the first Superior-General and of the historic Congregation of Saint-Maur in the days that were emphatically those of its foundation and definitive constitution?

XXVIII

HISTORICAL CRITICS ON THE CRITICAL ART [1]

NEVER was there an age when people were so ready to instruct their neighbours 'how to do it' as the present; and perhaps it is for the public advantage that the tricks of every trade should thus become public property. Two very competent persons have lately taken the world into their confidence in regard to the method whereby history is written; and as their book contains many curious and interesting and some useful observations, and as there is abroad in some quarters an undue idea of the benefits or the evils likely to ensue from the present pursuit of matter of fact in the ages past, I propose to give here a short account of the 'Introduction to Historical Studies' recently published by MM. Ch.-V. Langlois and Ch. Seignobos, both well-known teachers at the Sorbonne. The book has a merit not common in this class—it is written by Frenchmen; we may therefore expect some clearness in dealing with a subject which (as we may judge, sometimes by plain expression of opinion, and sometimes by a practice which is plain enough to the initiated) is viewed by some persons with distrust or positive aversion.

This little treatise really might be better entitled to the more German-sounding name of a 'Treatise of Historical Method'. Some adventurous person who writes in the English tongue has proposed to dub the subject 'Historic'; if the word be admitted, analogy seems to suggest a slight correction, and as 'Physik' becomes in English 'physics', so 'Historik' should become to us 'historics'. There is another fine name in prospect in the near future—'Historical Methodology', the native soil of which production there is no need further to indicate. Practically in English the subject is new ground; it is true that the late Professor Freeman has discoursed on 'the methods of historical study'; but in this, as in so much else that he has written, that author has not secured the suffrages of all the public

[1] From the *Downside Review*, July 1899.

concerned. This tractate, for instance, has been described as commonplace and empty, dwelling on a few truths so self-evident as to be best taken for granted, without loss of words or time about them. On the other hand, the subject should be of interest to educated men who are not historians; for in these days of what is called scientific progress it becomes increasingly necessary that the common as distinct from the specialist public should have easy means of becoming informed as to its instructors; since that common public has judged, and always will judge, of all things in the final resort. This rule of the final judgement of the world at large, whether it be for good or for evil, is, and in the nature of things in the long run must be, all along the line, in practice absolute and without appeal. And so long as men will read 'history books' it is desirable that they should be, as far as possible, in a position to recognize, by their method, whether such books are the productions of men of sense, care, conscientiousness, diligence, truthfulness, and candour; or whether they are the productions of artful special pleaders or pretentious quacks.

The work of MM. Langlois and Seignobos is divided into three books dealing with (1) preliminary knowledge—that is, of the information which exists, and the way to find it; (2) analysis, or the treatment to which this information must be subjected before it can be safely used; (3) synthesis, or how to use the information thus prepared. It is of the first two books that I propose to speak here. The writers begin by emphasizing in the strongest manner a truth which must be perfectly obvious to all, but which seems but dimly perceived by only too many writers—the truth, namely, that it is utterly impossible for us ever to know more than the extant documents tell us. Whatever airs or graces historians may give themselves, whatever their *allures* of mastery or freedom, it is by this inexorable necessity that they are cabined, cribbed, confined. Any past, or any part of the past, not witnessed to by documents is for us as though it had never existed. From an increasing recognition of the all-importance of the 'document' results that almost crazy activity in search of what has been hitherto unknown, that inquisitiveness as to the inedited, which characterizes our time, and not infrequently is the cause of amusement or disdain according to the disposition of the onlooker. But both amusement and disdain are out of place, and indeed are not unlikely to bring on themselves their own penalty. With the recognition that knowledge—at least the only knowledge which the historical inquirer can recognize—is conditioned by record, the importance of as full a presentment as possible of record is a necessary security against error; and in proportion as knowledge is full, a document insignificant at first sight, that tells nothing to most men, may yield

up to the practised and informed mind the key to some hitherto insoluble problem or enigma.

It is not altogether a pleasant prospect that is held out to the beginner, of the first steps to be taken in acquiring a knowledge of indexes to sources, bibliographies, inventories, repertories, catalogues of manuscripts, and finally 'bibliographies of bibliographies', for to such a pass have things come at last. The commencement of this review (p. 11) is pitched in a rather doleful key, and the authors raise a lament over the extreme deficiencies of the present 'instruments of work'. This is unreasonable; the memories of the state of things two hundred years ago, the cheerfulness with which difficulties were then met if they were not surmounted, and the amount of good work done by the giants of those days, might usefully be invoked to check present grumbling. Indeed the authors soon settle into a brighter and more contented mind as they recall the rapid progress of many great undertakings in late years, such as the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Among others mention is made of the work of the new Bollandists, who now add to their monumental *Acta* what is more valuable still, their *Analecta*, with its general review of hagiological publications, and (a yet more recent undertaking) their catalogues of hagiological manuscripts throughout Europe. The work of these Bollandists is particularly noteworthy and instructive, as it shews how in the field of learning there is no need of an army of workers to achieve great things, and what can be done by half a dozen well-trained men, thoroughly devoted to their work, themselves appreciating its value whatever be the opinion of others, inheriting and developing good traditions, along with the advantages accompanying what is generally understood to be a privileged position that practically secures them from open or secret opposition.

The first chapter of the second book, on the 'General Conditions of Historical Knowledge', is due to the collaboration of the two authors, and is a mixture of excellent observations and (as is the case where-ever M. Seignobos appears on the scene) remarks that throw the reader into a condition anything but consonant with that ready credulity which is again and again affirmed in this work to be the 'normal tendency' of the human mind. The following observations, however, are good, though not altogether free from exaggeration. After explaining that it is of the very nature of 'historical facts' that they cannot be known directly but only by the traces left of them (i.e. by means of the 'document'), and that documents are of an almost infinite variety of value, ranging from an exact representation of the facts to an absurd or intentional travesty of them, the authors continue:

'From what precedes two conclusions impose themselves—namely

the extreme complexity, but also the absolute necessity, of historical criticism. Compared with other *savants* the historian is in a very evil case. Not only is he, unlike the chymist, never in a position to observe the facts directly, but it is also very rarely the case that the documents which he is obliged to use reproduce exact observations.... He is in the position of a chymist who could know a series of experiments only on the report of the laboratory boy. The historian is obliged to turn to account rough-and-ready reports such as no other *savants* would put up with. So much the more necessary, therefore, are the precautions that have to be taken before making use of the documents which are the only materials of historical learning. Clearly, therefore, it is most important to eliminate those which are valueless, and to distinguish in the rest what has been from what has not been correctly observed. Words of caution here are all the more necessary inasmuch as it is a natural tendency of the human mind to take no precautions, but to proceed in these matters, where the most exact precision is indispensable, *confusedly*. Every one, it is true, admits in principle the usefulness of the art of criticism; but it is one of those uncontested postulates which are found to pass only with very great difficulty into practice' (pp. 47–48).

The authors have in these two words 'proceeding confusedly' put their finger exactly on the difficulty which is so often the obstacle to bringing people into accord on subjects where agreement not only is but obviously should be possible. This I think to be in some measure the case among Catholics at the present day, especially where the treatment of the past—in a word, history—is concerned. However clearly we may see the case external to ourselves, even a moderate acquaintance with our own current literature for the past generation or so must convince the attentive reader that it is not uncommon amongst us to 'proceed confusedly' in historical matters.

The next three chapters are devoted to what the authors call '*external criticism*'—the art, that is, of turning a 'document' inside out and making it tell the truth in spite of any mind or intention of its first deviser. There is no need to touch on these technicalities here; it is sufficient to say that in some respects these processes have become almost mechanical, so thoroughly have they been perfected in skilful hands, and so surely has practice verified the certainty of the prescriptions that govern them. Possessed now with the due sense of the imperfectness of his materials and his inferiority in this respect, the historian has been forced back on himself and compelled to utilize, to the full, the marvellous and all but infinite capacity of the human mind, with which man has been endowed by the Creator,

to find out all things. And so it has come to pass that no *juge d'instruction* or cross-examining counsel has a firmer grip on his victim than the historical critic on his 'document' (i.e. its author). Naturally historical criticism does not universally enjoy a good repute.

At this point it is useful to recall that, however good the rules, however well-tried the methods, very much—sometimes everything—still depends on the operator. Some people seem to imagine that a knowledge of the rules of the game is enough to ensure success in the play. This is not so: skill, natural aptitude, and the power that comes from long and careful experience, have as much scope here as in other delicate operations—in surgery, for instance. It is to the operator himself, therefore, that attention is next given, in a chapter which is perhaps the most interesting and instructive of the book. This chapter, entitled 'La critique d'érudition et les érudits', is entirely due to the pen of M. Langlois. I do not scruple to make large extracts, sometimes in free rendering, for the remarks are (if it be allowed to employ the adjective in this simple and absolute way) so applicable.

The whole criticism of erudition, or 'external criticism' (says M. Langlois), inspires only disdain in the commonplace public, which is generally superficial. On the other hand, some who devote themselves to it are disposed to magnify its value unduly. But there is a *juste milieu* fixed by good sense. The opinion of those who deride the minute analysis proper to the work of 'external criticism' does not call for refutation; for the simple reason that these obscure labours are simply indispensable—if, that is to say, the truth is to be ascertained. The professionals, on their side, seeking reasons to be proud of the labours they undertake, are not content to put them forward as merely necessary. These processes of theirs, they will have it, have raised history to the dignity of an 'exact science'; and they have tacitly persuaded themselves that *their* department of work embraces the whole sum of historical criticism. Let us never be tired of repeating that external criticism is wholly preparatory; it is a means, not an end; the ideal state would be, that it had been already so generally applied to the documents that are the source of history, that we could dispense with it for the future. If a necessity, it is after all but a provisional necessity.

If in the old days it was possible that the historian could undertake all the operations his work involved, that was only because the competent public was not very exacting. But to-day the most minute care, and something approaching a real perfection, is demanded of those who undertake the 'external criticism' of documents. And it is

not a business that can be taken up by anybody or everybody at will. Certain natural aptitudes are the necessary conditions of success in the pursuit of modern technical erudition. There are two divisions of this particular labour: one may be described as the work of strictly accurate and reliable cataloguing; the other, minute and conscientious examination of the individual 'document', which often enough does not tell all its story, or even its true story, on the face of it. The first condition of success is a natural liking for the work that has to be done. Now, except men of superior capacity (and that infinitely larger number of persons who think themselves to be such), nearly everybody finds, in the long run, a real sweetness in the minutiae of preparatory criticism. For the practice of it gratifies tastes that are very general indeed, a taste for collecting and a taste for decipherment of riddles. To 'collect' affords a sensible delight, not only to children but to grown-up persons—*les grandes personnes*—whether the subject of the collection be variant readings or postage stamps. To guess at riddles, to clear up problems that are both little and well defined, is for many excellent spirits quite an attractive occupation. Every 'find' affords a real enjoyment: and in the domain of erudition so many 'finds' are to be made. These are to be secured, either on the surface and almost for the looking, or else by dint of much pains and trouble; so that the tastes of two classes of persons may be easily suited—those who like, and those who dislike, the pleasures of a difficulty.

But then taste and a liking is not all; for 'business is business', and, strange as it may sound, the minutiae of 'external criticism' are in these days a 'business' which, by the way, has already had very unpleasant consequences for what remains on the earth of many persons dead and gone—their memory—and is likely to have results at the least as sadly unpleasant for many more before it is all over. M. Langlois has it thus: that the condition of 'taste' may be present in men, and yet such promising subjects may still be totally incapable of the work to be done. This would not be the troublesome case that it is in fact, if these persons were intellectually feeble; it would be only one aspect of their general condition. But these incapables are often men of education, knowledge, and intelligence, often more intelligent men than others who have not the special defect which is in view here. And that defect is the 'disease of inexactitude'. The English historian, J. A. Froude, presents a very celebrated case, quite a typical one, of the kind. Of course every one makes mistakes; but what is now in question is the tendency to commit them commonly, constantly, sometimes in spite even of the effort to be exact. This particular disease seems never to have been studied by the psycho-

logists. It seems to hold to an excessive activity of an involuntary and sub-conscious imagination which intrudes itself into, and falsifies, intellectual operations. Most children distort facts in this way; it is the *à peu près*—the 'near enough'—method; many men never cease in this respect to be children.

In the next place, hurry is fatal in all such work as is here contemplated. It has been rightly said that the cardinal virtue of the *érudit* is patience. Nervous folks, agitated, always in a hurry to get at the end of everything they do, always turning from one undertaking to another, anxious to appear in the forefront, to dazzle, to make a sensation, may find honourable employment in other careers, but not in that of erudition. The true *érudit* does not lose his temper over his subject, is circumspect and has his reserves; in the midst of the rush of modern life he does not rush over his work. Why hurry? What is important is to do something solid, definitive, that will bear scrutiny, that will hold, that will stand. He must be prudent, must have a great power of attention and will, disinterestedness, and little relish for the life of action; for he must first of all have taken it as his part in life to work in view of results that are distant and problematical, the full fruit of which will be almost always gathered by others. He must be ready, as the saying is in rough but graphic English, to 'take a back seat'. I would add for his encouragement, however, that he may (if disposed to be peevish with things at times) take consolation in the thought that the whirligig of time has strange compensations or revenges. The Bollandists and the Maurists are instructive in this regard.

So much for the theory. M. Langlois has entered too thoroughly into the spirit of his *métier*, the truth *quand même*, not to recognize all the weaknesses and the dangers attendant on it, and not to understand that the best way to avoid or correct them is to bring them out into the light. For this purpose M. Langlois utilizes his neighbours on the other side of the Rhine. As the labours of erudition, the cataloguing and the scrutinizing and the rest, wonderfully suit a very large number of Germans, the volume of German learning has been considerable, and it is in Germany, he thinks, that we can see the defects which the habitual exercise of the work of external criticism produces in specialists. In 1890 Dr Philippi, Rector of the University of Giessen, declared that its excessive cultivation issued in producing a condition of mind which attaches more importance to the materials than to the intellectual results of study. Men lose themselves in insignificant minutiae. He recognizes in the diffuseness of German scholars, and in the bitterness of their polemics, an effect of the excessive preoccupation about small things in which they have allowed

themselves to indulge. But this touches on the ethics of the question, and is delicate ground.

Apart from this general danger, M. Langlois finds the professional *érudit*, whose sphere of work is external criticism, exposed chiefly to three great risks: dilettantism, hypercriticism, and impotence. To take the last first. The habit of critical analysis (and, be it added, the increasing perfection and refinement of methods) exercises on some minds a perfectly paralysing effect. They become, in a word, the subject of scruples. They arrive at the point of doing nothing for fear of possible imperfections. The continual *examen rigorosum* to which they have habituated themselves makes them afraid to move; not content with this, they afflict their neighbours with their own weakness, and end by being able to see in historical works only the *pièces justificatives* and the notes, whilst in these they perceive only what is faulty and ought to be corrected.

Hypercriticism is to criticism what *finasserie* is to *finesse*. Some people find riddles where all is straight and plain; on pretext of purging texts from imaginary corruptions, they refine on them until they have made them appear suspicious; and perceive traces of roguery in documents that are perfectly authentic and honest. It is a curious state of mind; by dint of being on guard against credulity, these people come to suspect everything. The more perfect the methods become, the greater the danger of hypercriticism; when criticism has done its work, good sense will dictate a halt; but to that these men will not resign themselves. Here, be it said, the English mind can do good work. The processes of 'external criticism' when traced back to their origin are found to be really based on common sense, a quality which is the note of the best genuinely English scholarship. It seems a pity that many persons who are distinctly not the 'superior' men excepted above, do not, instead of writing 'historical works', turn their attention to the humbler labours of external criticism, to the profit of learning, and sense, generally. Germans and Frenchmen do not possess all the gifts.

On the vice of dilettantism M. Langlois dwells at much length, but not, I think, with the same force and point that characterize his other criticisms. The French love of administrative co-ordination and control does not blind him to the difficulties that attend the question; but he cannot give up the ideal. It is not the French workman only who, as has been lately said, seems to have adopted the motto: 'Réclamez toujours l'impossible et ne vous résignez jamais à l'inévitable'. M. Langlois cannot quite resign himself to suffering the dilettante as an inevitable nuisance. '"Ne vous inquiétez jamais de ce que vous ne pouvez atteindre, et ne vous troublez pas de ce que vous ne pouvez éviter."

Voilà qui est anglais,' says the authority I have just quoted, drawing his contrast. Or as one has said to whom every Englishman is ready to listen:

Things without remedy
Should be without regard.

With our more individualist notions such questions as those attaching to 'dilettantism' do not trouble even the most touchy English folk: our way is rather to leave the evil to correct itself, so far as is possible; and we only bestow a shrug of the shoulders meantime on the man foolish enough to exercise dilettantism on worthless old parchments, deeds, and dust, which surely belong to the special department of 'the Lord Chancellor' *alias* Krook.

The mind of M. Langlois once more reverts uneasily to 'the pride and excessive bitterness' evidenced by so much modern criticism, and he recalls very happily the learned men of France of two centuries ago (and notably Ducange), whose centre and meeting-place was the abbey of St-Germain-des-Prés. It is a pity that as new editions appear the volumes issued by these men are falling more and more into neglect. They have a great deal to teach us still.

It will be seen that M. Langlois is perfectly candid, and has no mind merely to theorize or to idealize in regard to his fellow labourers. That this is the part of wisdom must come home to those—and they are not a few—who see in how many departments of work and thought well-intentioned labour fails of its effect through an excessive insistence on the perfect, the theoretical, or the ideal, thus forcing the hearer or the observer to compare theory and actualities for himself, only to find, too often, that the relation between the two is represented by a gap or even a plain contradiction. Such an evil case is often obviated by plain speaking in time, though what has to be said may sound somewhat unpleasant or cause some discomfort. It would be an entire mistake, however, to draw the conclusion that, because the humbler workers in the field of history are often full of defects, their work can be safely derided or contemned or disregarded. Granted that the army—for it is hardly less—engaged in the work called by the authors 'external criticism' are mere burrowing earth-worms, it is well to remember that by their quiet, steady, persevering, and in the long run unerring labour, they have undermined more than one stately-looking edifice which there can now be no question of shoring up or buttressing any more. Down it has, or inevitably must, come. Well will it be for us, all and sundry, whom this may concern, if we are careful to see that we happen to stand, or can take our stand, on a firm rock of truth that will defy their efforts.

At this point M. Seignobos takes up the parable and discourses on

the much more difficult and important operation, that of 'internal criticism'—a sort of moral work—the basis of which seems to lie in a discreet knowledge of human nature. But 'synthesis' is a work yet more moral. To enter on these matters would be to exercise myself in things too high for me; and so I leave them, my business being concerned only with the art of 'cinder-sifting', as an old friend used aptly to call it.

ADDENDA

P. 65, note 2. 'Sacramentorium.'—This is the spelling in the 'Sacramentary letter of Hadrian I, Jaffé *Bibl. rer. Germ.* iv p. 274 (no. 92), and Dümmler *M. G. Epp.* iii p. 626 ('Cod. Carolin.' no. 89) 'De sacramentorio vero a sancto disposito praedecessori nostro deifluo Gregorio papa'.

P. 105. Note A. See further an article by Dom Morin (written before the article of Dom Manser) in *Revue Bénédictine* vol. xxvii (1910) pp. 513–515.

P. 138. Mone's masses have two 'Apologies'. See Dom A. Wilmart's article 'L'âge et l'ordre des messes de Mone', in *Rev. Bénéd.* vol. xxviii p. 382.

P. 154. The Murbach MS of the monastic Ordo Romanus used by Martene has been recovered by R. Ehwald. See Traube *Palaeographische Forschungen* iii p. 357.

P. 156. A double washing of hands is found in the Sacramentary of Ratoldus (Martene *De ant. eccl. rit.* i p. 204 col. 1 (top)).

P. 163. As to the Irish obtaining script, &c., from Spain, compare Traube *Pal. Forsch.* iv p. 29.

P. 179. See Dom Morin's paper in *Rev. Bénéd.* vol. xxxi (1914), 'D'où provient le Missel de Bobbio?', in which (p. 332) he refers the origin of 'Bobbio' to the Narbonne region (Mabillon's idea).

P. 247. The Winchester Missal at Havre has a mass containing a proper Preface of the Conception. See Ch. Fierville 'Les préfaces du Missel de Winchester, XII^{e} siècle' in *Recueil des Publications de la Société Havraise d'Études diverses*, années 1880–1, p. 451.

P. 252. It has struck me that it is as well expressly to state that I do not mention the feasts of 2 February (Purification) and 28 March (Annunciation), because in Oengus these are treated as feasts of our Lord; nor that at 15 Sept., because it is merely 'Consecration of the Basilica of Mary'. I wished to restrict myself to the facts really pertinent to the case under discussion and to disencumber it of distracting superfluities. For the same reason I have not mentioned in the text (but add here for information only) that in the Calendar of Willibrord, written (so Duchesne) 702–736, the feasts of Mary in the original hand are:

18 Jan.: adsump̃ scae̅ mariae.

16 Aug.: *erasure of a word, then,* scae̅ mariae (*another hand has added* nativi *above the erasure and in the line of 15 Aug.*).

9 Sept.: nativi scae̅ mariae hierosol.

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PRINTED IN ENGLAND
AT THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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